ACHAEMENID HISTORY • VIII

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LAST ACHAEMENID HISTORY WORKSHOP
APRIL 6-8, 1990 – ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

edited by
Heleen SANCISI-WEERDENBURG
Amélie KUHRT & Margaret COOL ROOT

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN
LEIDEN
1994

This volume is dedicated to the memory of
David Lewis († 12 July, 1994)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations . . . . VII-XI

Preface . . . . XIII-XV

Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Amélie Kuhrt, Margaret Cool Root
Introduction 1-7

Margaret C. Root
Lifting the veil: artistic transmission beyond the boundaries of historical periodisation 9-37

Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg
The orality of Herodotus' *Medikos Logos* or: the Median empire revisited 39-55

Oscar White Muscarella
Miscellaneous Median matters 57-64

Elizabeth Carter
Bridging the gap between the Elamites and the Persians in Southeastern Khuzistan 65-95

William M. Sumner
Archaeological measures of cultural continuity and the arrival of the Persians in Fars 97-105

Ursula Seidl
Achaimenidische Entlehnungen aus der urartäischen Kultur . . . 107-129

Peter Calmeyer
Babylonische und assyrische Elemente in der achaimenidischen Kunst 131-147

Janet H. Johnson
The Persians and the continuity of Egyptian culture 149-159

R. Descat
Darius, le roi kapēlos 161-166

David F. Graf
The Persian royal road system 167-189

Jean-François Salles
Du blé, de l'huile et du vin ... notes sur les échanges commerciaux en Méditerranée Orientale vers le milieu du Ier millénaire av. J.-C. . 191-215

Rémy Boucharlat
Continuités à Suse au Ier millénaire av. J.-C. 217-228

Muhammad A. Dandamaev
Achaemenid Mesopotamia: Traditions and innovations 229-234

Christopher Tuplin
Persians as Medes 235-256

Jack Martin Balcer
Ancient epic conventions in the Bisitun text 257-264

Gernot L. Windfuhr
Saith Darius. Dialectic, numbers, time and space at Behistun (DB, Old Persian Version) 265-281

Pierre Briant
Sources gréco-hellénistiques, institutions perses et institutions macédoniens: continuités, changements et bricolages 283-310

Amélie Kuhrt / Susan Sherwin-White
The transition from Achaemenid to Seleucid rule in Babylonia: revolution or evolution? 311-327

Matthew W. Stolper
On some aspects of continuity between Achaemenid and hellenistic babylonian legal texts 329-351

Antonio Invernizzi
Babylonian motifs on the sealings from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris . . 353-364

Peter Machinist
The first coins of Judah and Samaria: Numismatics and history in the Achaemenid and early hellenistic periods 365-379

Stanley M. Burstein
Alexander in Egypt: Continuity or change? 381-387

Josef Wiesehöfer
Zum Nachleben von Achaimeniden und Alexander in Iran . . . 389-397

Bibliography 399-435

List of contributions to *Achaemenid History* volumes I-VIII . . . 437-442

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Arts Asiatiques
AAntHung	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyounjik Collection of the British Museum* I-XIV, London/ Chicago, 1892-1914.
AC	L'Antiquité Classique
AchHist 1	*Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures and Synthesis*, Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., (ed.), Leiden 1987
AchHist 2	*Achaemenid History II: The Greek Sources*, Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., Kuhrt, A., (eds.), Leiden 1987
AchHist 3	*Achaemenid History III: Method and Theory*, Kuhrt, A., Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., (eds.), Leiden 1988
AchHist 4	*Achaemenid History IV: Centre and Periphery*, Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., Kuhrt, A., (eds.), Leiden 1990
AchHist 5	*Achaemenid History V: The Roots of the European Tradition*, Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., Drijvers, J.W., (eds.), Leiden 1990
AchHist 6	*Achaemenid History VI: Asia Minor and Egypt*, Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., Kuhrt, A., (eds.), Leiden 1991
AchHist 7	*Achaemenid History VII: Through Travellers' Eyes*, Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., Drijvers, J.W., (eds.), Leiden 1991
ActIr	Acta Iranica
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AHw	von Soden, W., *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1959-1981
AION	Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
Amphores grecques	Empereur, J.Y., Garlan, Y., *Recherches sur les amphores grecques*, (BCH Supplément XIII), Paris, 1986
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
ANET	Pritchard, J.B., (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Princeton, 1969^3.
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia, Vol. 8: Pohl, A., *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen*, Roma, 1933
ANSMN	The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes
AnzAWW	Anzeiger der Österreischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARAB	Luckenbill, D.D., *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Chicago, 1926-27
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa
BA	Biblical Archaeologist

BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts. Vol. 10: Clay, A.T., *Business Documents of Murašû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius* II, Philadelphia, 1904
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BEO	Bulletin d'Études Orientales
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire
BNF	Beiträge zur Namenforschung
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J.P. Morgan. I: *Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C.*, New York, 1912
Bull. Ép. Sém.	J. Teixidor, Bulletin d'Épigraphie Sémitique (1964-1980), *BAH* 127, Librairie Geuthner, Paris, 1986.
BV	Peiser, F.E., *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museum*, Berlin, 1890
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago/Glückstadt, 1956-
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
Camb.	Strassmaier, J.N., *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon*, Leipzig, 1890
CANES	Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections
CDAFI	Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran
CdE	Chronique d'Egypte
CHI	Cambridge History of Iran
CP	Classical Philology
CRAI	Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
CR	Classical Review
CRPOGA	Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce Antiques (Strasbourg)
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, London
CW	The Classical World
Dar.	Strassmaier, J.N., *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon*, Leipzig, 1897
DHA	Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne
EA	*Les Lettres d'el-Amarna*, trad. W.L. Moran, (trad. franç. D. Collon & H. Cazelles), Le Cerf, Paris, 1987
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EI	Eretz-Israel
EncIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
EW	East and West
FuB	Forschungen und Berichte
GR	Greece and Rome

HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
INJ	Israel Numismatic Journal
IOS	Israel Oriental Series
IPNB	Iranisches Personennamenbuch
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua
JA	Journal Asiatique
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEOL	Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
KAI	Donner, H., & Röllig, W., *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1962-64
Keisan	Briend, J., & Humbert, J.-B., [sous la dir. de], *Tell Keisan (1971-1976). Une cité phénicienne en Galilée*, Gabalda, Paris 1980
Kition III	Guzzo Amadasi, M.G., & Karageorghis, V., *Fouilles de Kition.* III. *Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosie 1977.
Kition IV	Karageorghis, V., Coldstream, J.N., Bikai, P.M., Johnston, A.W., Robertson, M., & Jehasse, L., *Excavations at Kition.* IV. *The non-Cypriot pottery*, Nicosia, 1981.
Kition V	Karageorghis, V., & Demas, M., *Excavations at Kition.* V. *The pre-Phoenician levels*, Nicosie, 1985.
Kition-Bamboula II	Salles, J.-F., *Kition-Bamboula.* II. *Les égouts de la ville classique*, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Mémoire 27, Paris 1983.
Kition-Bamboula IV	Salles, J.-F., [sous la dir. de], *Kition-Bamboula.* IV. *Les niveaux d'époque hellénistique*, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Paris, sous presse
LAPO	Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient
LdÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
MBAH	Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte
MDAFA	Mémoires de la Délégation Française en Afghanistan
MDAFI	Mémoires de la Délégation Française en Iran

MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
Misc.Grec.Rom.	Miscellanea Greca e Romana
NABU	Notices Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
NAPR	Northern Akkad Project Reports
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
ÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OpRom	Opuscula Romana
Or	Orientalia
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus
Or Suec.	Orientalia Suecana
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PCPS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
PEQ	Palestina Exploration Quarterly
PF	Hallock, R.T., *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Chicago 1969
PFa	Hallock, R.T., 'Selected Fortification Tablets,' *CDAFI* 8, 1978, 109-136.
Philol.	Philologus
Quad,Stor.	Quaderni di Storia
QUCC	Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica
RA	Revue Archéologique
RAsiat	Revue Asiatique
RAss, RdA	Revue d'Assyriologie
RdE	Revue d'Egyptologie
REA	Revue des Etudes Anciennes
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
RHA	Revue Hittite et Asianique
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RlA/RLAss	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und der vorderasiatischen Archäologie
RN	Revue Numismatique
ROMCT	Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts, Toronto. Vol. 2: McEwan, G.J.P., *The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum*, 1982
RTP	Briant, P., *Rois, tributs et Paysans*, Paris 1982
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
SAS	South Asian Studies
SBL	Society for Biblical Literature
SCE IV,2	Gjerstad, E., The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. IV, 2. *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Classic and Cypro-Classical Periods*, Stockholm, 1948
SCO	Studi Classici e Orientali
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
ŠKZ	(Inschrift Šabuhrs I. von der Kaʿba-i Zardušt)

SNR	Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau
StIr	Studia Iranica
TAPhA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TBER	Joannès, F., *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente* (Études Assyriologiques Cahiers 6), Paris 1982
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre. Vol. 13: Contenau, G., *Contrats néo-babyloniens: Achéménides et Séleucides*, Paris, 1929
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TMO	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient
TPS	Transactions Philological Society
TuM	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena. Vol. 2/3 Krückmann, O., *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte*, Leipzig, 1933
TTKY	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Leipzig
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WJA	Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-gesellschaft
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

PREFACE

We wish to express our thanks to a number of institutions and individuals who helped to make the Tenth Achaemenid History Workshop a success.

First of all, we thank the National Endowment for the Humanities, a Federal Agency, for the generous Conference Grant that enabled us to bring European and American specialists together at the University of Michigan in April 1990. The NEH grant also included resources which made it possible to offer fifteen stipends to junior colleagues of diverse national origins (Iranian, Japanese, Greek, German, Canadian and United States). These stipends for attendance at the conference were awarded on a competitive basis. The resulting exchange of ideas between senior and junior scholars was mutually advantageous.

Our thanks also go to the numerous units of the University of Michigan for generous subsidies: the Institute for the Humanities, the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, the Office of the Vice President for Research, and the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts. The Institute for the Humanities, the School of Graduate Studies, and the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology are to be thanked for extending a cordial welcome to the visitors and for offering their facilities for Workshop functions. We gratefully acknowledge special additional events held at the University to enhance the Workshop and to convey its intellectual theme to the larger community: a display of publications and prints documenting early European travellers' visions of Persepolis installed in the Graduate Library with the aid of the staff of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections; an international colloquium on "Empire Builders" at the Institute for the Humanities; and an exhibition entitled "Crowning Glories: Persian Kingship and the Power of Creative Continuity" at the Kelsey Museum featuring loans from the Herzfeld Archive of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. The Museum also hosted a reception for the Workshop participants.

Several people in Ann Arbor deserve special thanks for their efforts. Ms. Janet Rose, Administrative Assistant of the Department of History, offered much practical support and assistance during the preparation of the Workshop. Ms. Helen Baker, Administrative Associate of the Kelsey Museum, was instrumental in squaring away the financial accounting for the entire project. Two doctoral students in archaeology and art history, Ms. Carla Goodnoh and Ms. Susan TePaske-King, and one doctoral student in ancient history, David von Hamburg, contributed significantly to the smooth functioning of the sessions. Sally Humphreys, Elaine Gazda, Sharon Herbert, Chester Starr, Piotr Michalowski, and Ludwig Koenen chaired Workshop discussions efficiently and effectively. A special note of thanks goes to Sally Humphreys whose efforts (along with those of Margaret Root) to secure the necessary funding were crucial.

The organisation of this tenth and final Achaemenid History Workshop would not have been possible without the appointment of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg as the Netherlands Visiting Professor to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1989/90. The Dutch Ministry of Education as well as the University and its Departments of History and of Classical Studies are to be thanked for this exceptional opportunity.

Last, but not least, we are grateful to the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten for enabling us to publish the proceedings of the Workshops without the need to solicit additional funding.

Although this is the last volume of the Achaemenid History Workshop publications, it is not the end of the *Achaemenid History* series. The series will continue publishing monographs that follow the direction of research agendas pioneered by the Workshops.

Many have asked us why we decided to end a tradition that, in a relatively short period, had become so successful and stimulating. In many respects, the meeting in Ann Arbor made it especially clear that the regular participants of earlier Workshops had developed a new type of scholarly discourse on the Achaemenid empire — one that had become firmly established within the immediate context of the Workshops. In this discourse, resolution and definitiveness were not the goals. The raising of more and more questions within an environment conducive to productive give-and-take was always the real issue. In this endeavour, people of wide-ranging specialist perspectives and experiences mingled successfully to lay the groundwork for important new considerations in ancient studies. It was clear from the last Workshop, however, that the time had come to devote increasing attention to the opening up of our patterns of communications, and to the sharing of our approaches and research efforts, with a wider audience. The mainstreaming of Achaemenid history in the broadest sense and in all its myriad aspects of friction with traditional Western constructions of antiquity is the new adventure.

All of us will, of course, miss the annual meetings out of which have grown extremely positive scholarly and personal contacts. The good thing is that we have in effect established an Achaemenid History Network, which has outlived the Workshops.

July 1994

Shortly before this volume went to the press, news reached us of the death of David M. Lewis, Professor of Ancient History at the University of Oxford, aged 66, on July 12, 1994. We wish to dedicate this volume to his memory. With David Lewis, we lost a colleague to whom we all owe much, both on a collegial and on a scholarly level. His participation in the Workshops and his interventions, characterised by his mixture of profound learning and dry wit, will be remembered by all those who attended the meetings.

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and the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology
University of Michigan

INTRODUCTION

This volume is indeed the last in the series of publications of papers presented to the thematically organised Achaemenid History Workshops. The Workshops themselves began in 1981 as the multidisciplinary brainchild of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg. The first volume of collected papers (published in 1987) was largely devoted to proceedings of the Third Achaemenid History Workshop which was held in 1983. Thereafter, each annual Workshop has yielded its own representative volume.

In one way or another all the Workshops have dealt with problems of *sources* in the study of the Achaemenid Persian empire. The reasons for this deserve a quick review. Within the first three generations of its more than 200-year existence (550+ - 330 B.C.), Achaemenid rule gradually expanded from its southwestern Iranian homeland, Parsa, reaching from India to Egypt; from southern Russia to Arabia. The Achaemenid hegemony encompassed a variety of nations, earier empires and kingdoms, as well as a number of small-scale tribal groups — each with its own history, culture and language. As far as we know at present from available texts and archaeological evidence, 480 B.C. marks the last major military thrust in territorial acquisition by the Achaemenid kings. In that year the Achaemenid imperial forces made a final attempt to conquer mainland Greece.

The actual battles involved in this initiative seem to have been relatively unimportant for the Achaemenids in terms of overarching strategies of power maintenance and economic stability across their vast empire. From the Greek perspective the successful repulsion of the Persians in the Persian wars was, however, an historical turning-point of profound significance. Thus, the Persian wars stimulated extensive writing on the subject of Persia by the Greeks. The Greek preoccupation with Persia (and penchant for casting their encounters with Persia in a variety of written genres that have fortunately been retrieved for posterity) has meant that Greek textual sources offer far more extensive narrative characterisations of Persia and of Achaemenid court life than are supplied by any other single cultural/linguistic body of contemporary written evidence.

Critical interrogations of political bias (or other particularistic agendas) in these sources as well as of bias in subsequent scholarly interpretations of the documents have figured prominently in the Workshop papers over the years (especially, but by no means exclusively, in *AchHist* I and II). Ongoing revisitations of the classical canon with these and related concerns in mind are now a well-established phenomenon.

Written sources emanating from the Achaemenid imperial context itself are extremely diverse, reflecting the many languages in use regionally across the empire as well as a broad spectrum of genres. If text-based Achaemenid studies are to break new ground, close and methodologically sophisticated attention must be paid to this material as well as to the Greek canon. The very diversity of these sources demonstrates the necessity of collaborative research crossing traditional linguistically determined lines of academic specialisation. The non-Greek material includes Biblical narratives; Babylonian documents ranging from versions of the multilingual royal texts of the Achaemenids to Babylon-specific edicts, to temple records, private business archives and terse paylists; Egyptian religious and administrative records; Aramaic administrative edicts and documents, correspondence, and inscriptions on seals and other artifacts; Old Persian versions of the Achaemenid royal texts and inscriptions on seals; Elamite versions of the royal texts, inscriptions on seals, and thousands of imperial administrative records primarily from Persepolis.

Texts in regional languages such as Lycian add further to the diversity and potential for new material. For some of the non-Greek texts, work has reached a secure stage of interpretive synthesis where sweeping historical insights have been possible on issues such as regional religio-political interventions (e.g., Kuhrt 1983) and regional socio-economic structures (e.g., Stolper 1985).

Work on the royal inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings is at an interesting adolescent stage. The extant texts themselves are increasingly well understood on the level of basic epigraphical and linguistic issues, even though numerous controversies remain (among which the date of Old Persian in written form and the range of oral and written functions of this language within the Achaemenid court context are particularly intriguing). In terms of content, the royal inscriptions are being problematised more than they once were as serious sources on ideology, religion, and other social constructions that need to be read on various levels in order to grasp their potential as documents of history and metahistory.

With much of the material in Elamite and Aramaic (particularly the Persepolis Fortification tablets) work is still at an early documentary stage of painstaking copying and transliterating. Elamite is an esoteric language posing special difficulties in translation. One of the most encouraging developments in Achaemenid studies has been the extraordinary degree of commitment among some Classicists to integrating the contents of those Elamite tablets that have been translated into wide-ranging historical discourse on the Greater Mediterranean in the mid-first millennium B.C. David Lewis stands out in this context, for his willingness to engage his formidable philological talents (known to most of the world in the realm of Greek epigraphy and history), in the exploration of Achaemenid Elamite.

The primary sources available for the study of the Achaemenid empire are not, of course, limited to texts. The *material* record is equally complex, equally diverse, and equally varied in the range of stages of development reached in different branches of its investigation.

Parallel to certain aspects of the Greek textual sources, there is abundant visual evidence produced in and for the Greek sphere that is a type of historical documentation of social attitudes towards, and receptivity to, the Persians at particular phases of the long relationship between the Achaemenid empire and the various groups comprising this Greek sphere. As with Greek literature, the Persian wars also stimulated an active, complexly motivated *engagement* with the notion of Persia and things Persian in Greek (especially Athenian) art of the later fifth century. Critical interrogation of these categories of Greek art also has the capacity to inform directly, as well as obliquely, our understanding of Achaemenid art, institutions, and ideology. Inquiry into these matters proceeds on several fronts (e.g., most comprehensively, Miller 1985 and Root 1985 — both with related monographs forthcoming).

The material record deriving from the multicultural context of the imperial lands themselves reflects a daunting variety of media, stylistic and iconographical traditions, and social functions. Efforts to work synthetically with large categories of these artifacts pose a special set of problems in source diversity not encountered to anything approaching the same degree with the textual record. In addition to the abundance of objects of a wide-ranging nature derived from relatively well-controlled excavations, we must contend, on the one hand, with excavated material poorly documented and on the other hand with clandestinely retrieved or totally unprovenanced material floating on the art market and forming the basis of many museum collections. While we might wish that such problems could disappear, realities are different. This material (especially the unprovenanced items) must be dealt with — albeit in a special and guarded way. The ideal scenario is for the bodies of artifacts emerging from controlled, systematically documented excavations ultimately to establish the paradigmatic cores around which other objects can be clustered as sets of subsidiary evidence.

Archaeological enterprises include the interpretation of field survey data and excavation reports/artifacts retrieved in Iran itself before 1979 as well as ongoing site exploration, excavation, and interpretation in many parts of the empire (including the furthest frontiers) where work has been active in the last fifteen years. Alongside this documentary work, analyses of aspects of the material record from the vantage point of art historical methodologies (such as stylistics, patronage, iconology, reception theory) are an important agenda. One major area in which a number of approaches are coming together is the study of corpora of seal impressions on excavated documents and commodity or document tags. The Achaemenid period sealings (in chronological order) from Persepolis, Daskyleion, Nippur, and Wadi el-Daliyeh are emerging through research and publication as rich sources that promise to help close significant gaps in our ability to contextualise the monumental palatial art programme of the Achaemenid kings within a multicultural environment populated by individuals with extensive scope for aesthetic discretion.

Although the problems of the sources have been a current running through all the Achaemenid History Workshops, different thematic mandates have projected a specific discursive structure onto each of the annual gatherings. The theme of the 1990 Workshop was *The Persian Empire: Continuity and Change*. Various papers presented at past Workshops had emphasised the continuity of local traditions which often seem to reflect little if any impact of Persian conquest and rule. Several basic issues relating to the concept of continuity seemed, in fact, to have risen to the surface

The fairly precise known chronological limits of the Achaemenid empire have at times imposed the label "Persian" or "Achaemenid" period on the available documentation without articulating or justifying the use of the period characterisation any further. The chronological framework has thus moulded the material. This in turn has inhibited a more nuanced understanding of the different and complex changes that in part are due to long-term developments within specific areas.

As was argued in the Introduction to *Achaemenid History* IV (1990), socio-economic structures and ecological circumstances are only slowly affected by new administrative systems. The results of interplay between old institutions and new ruling organisations become visible only after some time and in an apparently random manner. Very often, changes that do occur are noticeable without any obvious reference to the Iranian nature of the rulers. For instance, the local or regional hierarchies may shrink or expand due to the imposition of the new Iranian governmental structure without displaying any of the emblems of the Iranian ruling class. Even the presence of Iranians in certain areas did not always lead to observable Persian influence on the cultural developments of that area. This phenomenon has been described as the elusiveness of the Persian empire (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990: 263-273).

By delineating a period and naming it after the imperial structure, research often tends to overemphasise the pecularities that distinguish the Achaemenid evidence from that of earlier and later periods, and to underestimate the elements of local and regional continuity. The aim of the 1990 workshop was precisely to gain a clearer appreciation of the very complex nature of changes and continuities resulting from the formation and expansion of the Persian empire and its dominance over diverse regions. Coherent results were unlikely to emerge, given such an approach. This was indeed the case. The papers contained in this volume should be regarded as no more than the beginning of an analysis. They demonstrate in most cases the importance of studying local traditions, often apparently unaffected by the rise and fall of the empire. In other cases they discuss how the structure of the empire was itself affected by these local traditions. The present volume presents no answers, it simply raises further questions. And that is how it should be: trying to impose order on apparent contradictions runs the risk of forcing evidence into a straitjacket, which distorts the historiographical picture and obscures historical processes.

One problem afflicting the study of the Achaemenid empire is locating it within established disciplines: its size and cultural diversity makes it difficult to study in conjunction with the standard regional areas (e.g., Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece). The Persian empire does not fit in easily because it transcends these divisions. This is one of the problems addressed by Margaret Root, who emphasises that it has led to the absurd situation whereby Achaemenid culture can be characterised as peripheral in standard art-historical studies. She argues for the need to set Persian art history within a historical continuum of development. Particularly important for the art-historian is tracing how (and which) images have been received, re-invested and re-incorporated from one period or culture to another, how significant an ingredient this transmission might be in the creation of a new iconographic repertoire. Root's past work was already concerned with this question (Root 1979); here she attempts to pin down the possible processes by which specific elements of the Achaemenid repertoire may have become available to the creators of the royal artistic programme, thus setting the development of Achaemenid art into the centre of Near Eastern art history. The 'survival' of motifs taken by the Persian rulers from subject states has been frequently noted; in this volume, Calmeyer refines our understanding of Achaemenid borrowings from the Mesopotamian cultural sphere by analysing some stylistic details of Achaemenid sculpture. Seidl's contribution to the debate about the sources of constituent elements of Achaemenid art is particularly interesting. She highlights its oft-suspected, but never clearly defined, links to the Urartian artistic tradition. Urartu is an area of the Persian empire that continues to remain obscure and poorly documented in the sixth to fourth centuries, although some progress is now being made (cf. Summers *AnSt* 1993).

One other major problem is the question whether the Persian empire did, or did not, carry on traditions of earlier Iranian states, most notably Media and Elam. Such discussions are bound to produce widely differing conclusions. This is the case with the contributions of Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Muscarella, both of whom develop their earlier arguments (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988; Muscarella 1987). The central issue is how to deal with the almost complete absence of contemporary evidence for the Median period and with the relative lateness of the narrative sources. The difference between the two contributors is one of approach: Muscarella typifies the positivist tradition of the archaeologist, Sancisi-Weerdenburg the theoretical analysis of the historian. A problem apparently connected with the Median period is the question of the Greeks dubbing the Persians 'Medes.' Following up a verbal report on an as yet unpublished work by Sancisi-Weerdenburg during the 1989 workshop, Tuplin analyses the context in which the term Medes is used. This represents a shift from an earlier approach (unpublished contribution to 1989 workshop) in which he accepted the arguments of Graf (1984). This refocusing of research, prompted by Sancisi-Weerdenburg's verbal response, proved to be more fruitful.

Sumner attempts to clarify the archaeological sequences in Fars, which might allow us to date the arrival of the Persians. He argues for a date in the second millennium, which supports Miroschedji's thesis (1985) that Persians and Elamites had inhabited the same environment for many centuries before the rise of the empire. Miroschedji has given new impetus to how scholars assess the Elamite element in the Achaemenid empire. Carter builds on this and suggests a refinement of his position, by arguing that Elamite towns continued to exist between the eleventh and seventh centuries in the frontier zone between Elam and Fars and that it was here that the Persians first encountered Elamite urban traditions. Boucharlat, concentrating on Susa, stresses the importance of Persia's Elamite heritage, exemplified by the Neo-Elamite kingdom and its capital. The indebtedness of Persian art and administration to its predecessor is often noted. What Boucharlat points out, interestingly, is that the survival of some Elamite elements is even detectable in the Seleucid period. Late Elamite culture as a definable entity is becoming ever clearer (cf. Root 1991).

The Iranian contribution to Achaemenid culture is, of course, most striking in the development of the Old Persian royal inscriptions. The longest of these, and the only surviving narrative text, that of Behistun, is studied by Windfuhr and Balcer. The latter suggests that the types of story-patterns describing Darius' seizure of power can be classified as deriving from the Indo-European oral epic tradition.

Descat, Graf and Salles all argue that the Persian empire basically continued to work with, and eventually to build on, pre-existing infrastructures. Descat concludes that the monetary policy of Darius was not a break with past practice, but rather that the Persian king followed Croesus' earlier example of manipulation of the monetary standard in order to maximize tax-profits. Graf reconstructs parts of the extensive royal road system, stressing that although it was not a total innovation of the Persians, the sheer size of the empire and the need to establish links between centres not previously in direct communication, inevitably led to developments. Salles' article is itself an example of continuity. In *Achaemenid History* 6 he discussed the trade in grain and oil; in the present volume he completes the triad by studying the trade in wine. His basic point, as before, is that under the Achaemenids the Neo-Assyrian pattern of trade circuits continued to be used with no modification. The real change, in his view, comes in the hellenistic period, when the primacy of the Neo-Assyrian trading pattern is reversed with the development of a Graeco-Aegean commercial policy.

Dandamaev and Johnson present case studies of specific regions under Achaemenid rule; i.e., Babylonia and Egypt. Both stress that the lack of Persian interference allowed indigenous cultural traditions to survive and develop. This is modified, in the case of Babylonia, by Dandamaev's emphasis on changes wrought by the Persians in the field of administration, land-tenure, taxation and military and labour organisation. Johnson, on the contrary, denies any Persian impact except at the most superficial level. It might be helpful with respect to these arguments for readers to consult the articles by Briant on the subject of local particularities versus imperial imprint (1987 and 1988).

The final papers in the volume address the transition from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic period. Briant makes the important point that many hellenistic historians have interpreted features that appear under Alexander as continuities from the Achaemenid period, although we have no evidence for such institutions from the Persian period itself. He alerts us to the danger of getting involved in circular arguments. The other papers (Burstein, Kuhrt & Sherwin-White, Invernizzi, Stolper, Machinist) are regional studies. All have in common that they emphasise the gradual tempo of change. New structures do not appear with Alexander but manifest themselves in different spheres at varying rates. In all cases, continuity with the Achaemenid past clearly emerges (cf. Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993).

The fate of the Persian heartland after the demise of the Achaemenid empire is very scantily known and what evidence there is, is problematic. Wiesehöfer analyses this complex material and points to some survival of elements from the Achaemenid period in the Seleucid empire (see now Wiesehöfer 1994).

The rich variety of papers presented here suggests an agenda for a new historical perspective on the Greater Mediterranean in the first millennium B.C. — a perspective that is driven by close engagments with the sources and energetic experimentation with creative, interdisciplinary interrogations of those sources.

Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg
Amélie Kuhrt
Margaret Cool Root

LIFTING THE VEIL: ARTISTIC TRANSMISSION BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF HISTORICAL PERIODISATION

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Introduction

Achaemenid studies tend to be isolated from the continuous narrative of history and art history. This paper attempts, first, to characterise particular aspects of the pervasiveness of the imposed isolation of the Achaemenid empire. Thus, Section I emphasises broad problems of historical periodisation in art — notably as they are manifest in survey texts. Its purpose is, first, to demonstrate the degree to which Achaemenid cultural history has been divorced from concepts of continuity precisely at the level of publication likely to be used by interested educated lay people, by colleagues in other disciplines who are curious about Achaemenid studies, and (perforce) by specialists in their teaching of the subject in lecture courses. Its second purpose is to show some ways in which discourse on the creative environment of the Achaemenid empire can be redirected in order to transcend its isolation and dismissal.

Section II reassesses the context of art production in the regions that came under the control of the Persian empire. This reassessment suggests strong continuities across historically defined eras. It presents a case for the importance of craft tradition in the mechanisms of continuity within the Near Eastern and Egyptian artistic environments. It also argues for the need to assess continuities of tradition engendered by the societal functions of art and by the availability of art as living source material. Although the Near Eastern regions of Mesopotamia/Iran are emphasised, Egyptian material is also introduced at relevant points. This is essential, since Egyptian traditions and craftsmen played a major role in shaping the Achaemenid artistic response to empire.

'Continuity' is a tricky term. It may seem to suggest a sluggish but ever-moving river of accumulated culture passing inexorably across the landscape of time. As Greenhalgh has written very astutely, art historical studies frequently convey the impression that 'continuity' expresses the assumption of a motif that is "handed down from generation to generation like the baton in a relay race" (Greenhalgh 1989: 6). 'Continuity' in this paper does not imply lack of change; nor does it imply unaltering relationships to past traditions. The word necessarily embraces a range of tensional and even dichotomous nuances. Thus, for instance, continuity in art traditions can be reflected in phenomena of revival as well as of survival. Neither revival nor survival would be possible without threads of what I am calling 'continuity' running through the fabric of the particular cultural experience that is making use of the past.

[I]. *Historical periodisation — The plight of the Persians*

The Achaemenid empire is a paradigmatic victim of periodisation in historical scholarship (on which more generally, see, e.g., Boas 1953). Its art (as, indeed the entire context of its being) suffers from various stigmata that have complex causes. One effect of these causes has been the tendency to sweep up the remnant evidence of 200 years of Achaemenid hegemony in the Greater Mediterranean and to shove it hastily under the rug. Within such a framework, elements of continuity from the past are dismissed as evidence of a paucity of cultural originality and as early signs of imminent social decline. Elements of continuity into post-Achaemenid times are rarely dignified even by disparaging reference. All this amounts to historical housekeeping. On the one hand, some tidying up is always necessary, in order to make ancient Near Eastern history truly a 'story' with an easily defined end. On the other hand, such housekeeping is also necessary in order to set an organised stage for the arrival of Alexander. (On various aspects of the motifs of historical isolation and cultural decline see, e.g., Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987; Kuhrt 1987a; van Driel 1987; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987b)

The Achaemenid empire has not, of course, been the only civilisation to suffer from the adverse effects of over-zealous periodisation or categorisation. The Etruscans, like but worse off than the Romans, have suffered greatly from a hellenocentric worldview (Brendel 1978: 15-16). This worldview insists upon all things being evaluated in relation to a Greek standard. This same worldview is the one that has declared the Greek standard to be the 'classical' one — in the sense of superior. Thus, of course, for Greek culture, the terminology of periodisation has acquired a built-in assessment of superiority against which all else must be judged (on the use of 'classical' as a qualitative term, Ridgway 1981: 3-4; Greenhalgh 1978: 11-15).

As for Roman art: Otto Brendel's exemplary discussion of the case of Roman art (and its indigenously rooted traditions) offered arguments for its reassessment that began radical shifts in academic discourse (Brendel 1979, reprint of 1953 ed.). Nevertheless, there is still a good deal of polarisation in scholarly attitude on the degree of dependency of Roman art upon Greek models and (ultimately) upon its intrinsic worth in comparison to Greek art (compare, for instance, Pollitt 1978 and Brown 1975).

By the same token, medieval art has needed champions of special eloquence in order to get out from under oppressive comparisons with the art of ancient Greece and Rome on the one hand and of the Renaissance on the other (e.g., numerous essays in Schapiro 1977; recent overview of problems in Kessler 1988: 166-171).

Even the Renaissance itself is not immune to debate focused on the historiographic causes and effects of its periodisation as the quintessential turning point in the history of western civilisation (Panovsky 1959). In fact the debate has raged heatedly and is surely not over yet. Note, for instance, Sauerländer's comments on the distinctions between survival and renaissance in twelfth century medieval art (Sauerländer 1982). Bober and Rubenstein (1987: 32-33) have articulated the basic historiographic cusp neatly. They characterise the long-lasting influence of Vasari's conception of the Renaissance — as a "comprehensive renewal of civilisation after decay and barbarism in the Dark Ages." Vasari's conceptions were embraced eagerly by 18th-century romantic positivists. The romantic vision of the Renaissance as a rebirth of antiquity after utter darkness essentially determined the scholarly approach to the field even up to the last generation. This categorical concept made it less difficult for previous generations of scholars to impose a definition on the Renaissance than it can be for today's specialists. As Bober and Rubenstein put it

> Present-day historians of art who study the impact of classical Antiquity on Renaissance masters share a more sophisticated understanding of *imitatio*; the Dark Ages no longer appear so dark; and the Italian renascence can be sited more justly among enduring survivals and punctuating revivals of the Antique throughout Western history (Bober and Rubenstein 1987: 32-33).

Those of us working in Achaemenid studies need to be aware that scholarly dialogues about period definition and identity are not uniquely ours. We can, in fact, gain a certain amount of methodological assistance from trends in debate over similar issues — as these have, or continue to, run their course in academic controversy centred around other periods. Judicious reference to analogues is important for analyses of ancient Near Eastern art of all phases (Gunter 1990a: 11).

The case of Achaemenid art does seem especially problematic even in comparison to other examples of stifling periodisation. And thus its students should be especially willing to draw upon the methodological and conceptual assistance of scholarship from other realms. The Persian empire as a 'period' is burdened with even more layers of negative association and with even more particular difficulties of information retrieval and assessment than the Etruscan, Roman, and medieval.

Take the Romans, for instance. Bias against their cultural achievement is still strong among hellenists — Brendel notwithstanding. In many quarters, the best that can be said of the ancient Romans is that they at least took up the thread of western civilisation and at least acted as the vehicle through which the Renaissance recaptured something of the glories of the classical past. So, for instance, Boardman's remarks on the quality of Roman art as an intermediary that functioned essentially in spite of itself:

> It is the mystery and miracle of Western art that Renaissance artists were able to take up the tradition of Classical art more or less where the Greeks had left it in

> the Hellenistic period, with a spirit and understanding which seem the logical succession to the Greek achievement; and that the main intermediary was the technically brilliant, but *monumentally dead* art of the Roman empire (Boardman 1985: 234 — emphasis mine).

To be sure, negative bias is evident here. Nevertheless, the significance of ancient Roman art as a conduit mechanism between Greek art and Renaissance art is acknowledged explicitly. The recourse to the imagery of death to describe a disparaged culture is interesting. Boardman's 'monumentally dead' Roman art has close parallels in the rhetoric of death that is familiar indeed from descriptive scholarship on Achaemenid Persian art. Examples from the pens of many distinguished specialists are available. Note, for instance, Sir Mortimer Wheeler's remarks:

> On that night, then, in the spring of 330 BC when flames reddened the sky over Persepolis, the Macedonian had lighted a funeral-pyre that was ready for his torch. In Persepolis, there perished in that moment an era of Middle-Eastern civilisation that had outlived — if it had ever fully discovered — creative impulse. The great age of the Assyrian and Persian empires was at an end — and it is no chance that those mournful, immobile processions of laboriously chiselled and polished soldiers and sycophants beside the stairways of the palace have about them a semblance of the pageantry of death. (Wheeler 1968: 58)

Although the Roman and the Achaemenid material are both characterised as dead and non-creative, there is a critical difference. The significance of the Roman achievement is acknowledged at minimum as a conduit mechanism. So too for the case of medieval Europe. The world of the medieval West at least was a largely Christianised world (even if it would be a mistake to characterise western medieval art as a monolithically Christian art). Medieval art has, by virtue of its links with Christianity, had some courtesies extended to it by western scholarship. These courtesies have carried burdens of their own. A critical burden has been the tendency in some brilliant and pioneering work of the previous generation to stress aspects of a static, all-embracing essence of spirituality (viz., Mâle 1951). This element was perhaps stressed at the expense of other equally significant socio-economic elements and processes at work in the creation of medieval art.

The student of medieval art today remains aware of an historical categorisation that describes the area as the one in the middle (with the obvious subtext being "between the two periods of really good art") (Panovsky 1959: 8, n. 3; Kessler 1988). But at least, as I have said, the importance of medieval art as a vehicle of Christianity and as a conduit between two prime historically canonised categories (the Classical and the Renaissance) has offered it some protection from outright dismissal. And increasingly in recent scholarship, as already noted, intricate patterns of creative continuity from, and reintegration with, antiquity are being explored for medieval art (Kessler 1988: 186); and wide-ranging investigations of sources and mechanisms of this continuity are being attempted (Greenhalgh 1989).

Achaemenid culture has also been defined by its existence between other period entities. But what is so difficult about the case of Achaemenid art is that its betweenness is not perceived, valued, exploited, and probed as a conduit mechanism. Rather, it is seen as a dead end. The history and the art history of the ancient Near East are perceived by many authorities to come to a halt with the taking of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B.C. A revealing index of the commonality of this perception derives from accounts offered in survey literature intended for the educated layman or the university student. Many such survey texts of the ancient Near East simply stop at the point when Cyrus arrives. Hallo's contribution to *The Ancient Near East: A History* (1971) is a good example of the problem. Ironically, its otherwise superior qualities highlight the neglect of the Persians. The narrative history closes as follows:

> Led by the Marduk priesthood, Babylon turned against Belshazzar, the son whom Nabonidus had left behind at the capital, and delivered the city into the waiting hands of Cyrus the Persian. In a bloodless conquest (539), he assumed control of all of Babylonia and rang down the curtain on the last native Akkadian state. (Hallo 1971: 149)

Hallo does, in fact, allude to post-Cyrus times in the Near East. But he relegates this discussion to a thematic appendix section under the category of 'The Loss and Recovery of Cuneiform' (178-183). Here he deals with the Achaemenid empire only by necessity (and in de-contextualised fashion), since it was the Achaemenid trilingual cuneiform texts that provided the key to the decipherment of Akkadian.

Interestingly, the companion survey of Egyptian history, by W.K. Simpson, does include as part of the continuous chronological narrative a brief account of some major issues relating to the study of Egypt in the late period and assesses the concept of continuity and change in Egyptian history with the conquests by Alexander (Hallo and Simpson 1971: 295-298). Presumably, the collaborators will have deliberated over the eventual decision to offer different historical cut-off points for the two segments of the book. Presumably, in other words, Hallo's decision to end the ancient Near East at 539 was a conscious one based upon his obviously learned assessment of the issues at hand. It would have been interesting to have a more elaborated statement at the close of Hallo's section reflecting upon his criteria for a definition of the period embraced by the ancient Near East that excludes the Achaemenid empire. What he does say seems to imply that traditional *Assyriology* finds little intrinsic interest in the Near Eastern cuneiform texts produced after 539.

The willingness of many philologically based students of ancient Near Eastern societies to sever or deny ties with the Achaemenid empire — to ring down the curtain at 539 — effectively leaves the Persian empire in limbo. It is rejected, in a sense, by much of the influential scholarly community that ought reasonably to be interested in probing the nuances of continuities, discontinuities, and transformations of the great civilisations embraced within the Achaemenid hegemony. To be sure, numerous gifted Assyriologists have taken on the study of these very issues with reference to the cuneiform textual record of Achaemenid history. But anyone who does much teaching in the context of 'liberal arts' college education will recognise the significant message of silence in the non-esoteric genre of survey texts. This message of silence says something about a rather generally accepted disciplinary mindset on the Persian empire. This mindset cannot simply be passed off as the idiosyncratic approach of a few eminent scholars.

The situation regarding non-esoteric scholarship on Achaemenid *art* is also problematic. Survey type publications on the art history of the ancient Near East that include the Achaemenid empire are rare. There is a tendency to divide the material into histories of the art of Mesopotamia and histories of the art of ancient Iran. The surveys of Mesopotamian art tend to stop with Neo-Babylonian (e.g., Strommenger 1964; Moortgat 1969). Surveys of Iranian art are useful; but the vertical insularity of their structure divorces Achaemenid art (and to some extent Elamite art before it) from its links with a broader network of Near Eastern tradition (e.g., Porada 1965; Ghirshman 1964; Godard 1965).

Frankfort's *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1970) stands out by treating the art of the Achaemenid empire as material to be included in a survey of Near Eastern art. But it classifies Achaemenid art as peripheral; and it stresses not its links with ancient Near Eastern tradition, but rather its anomalous situation as, to a significant extent, a permutation of Greek art (Frankfort 1970: 366). This approach was emphasised simultaneously by Gisela Richter on the classical side. Thus, for instance, Richter characterised Persian art as a peripheral, parvenu distillation of Greek culture in the service of restrictive Orientals whose social and creative limitations imposed "a certain foreign element" upon the essential Greekness (Richter 1949: 194, n. 2).

Amiet's deluxe survey suggests the possibilities of integrating the history of Achaemenid art into the narrative of the history of ancient Near Eastern art before Alexander (Amiet 1980). But this volume is not itself intended as a textbook for teaching purposes — having its emphasis almost entirely on visual documentation rather than upon a balance with historically based analysis. In any case, even Amiet's very brief text commentary seems to reflect an interpretive attitude that stresses a concept of decadence imbedded in any continuities from the past:

> Having finally attained unity (via the 'conscious eclecticism' of Achaemenid art), the ancient East was nonetheless ripe for a radical mutation (under Alexander), of which the Greeks were the instruments. The Persian rendering of the old mythological themes in political terms already revealed a symptomatic neglect of their

> significance, and was therefore a sign that the tradition of which they were the evidence was at the end of its tether. (Amiet 1980: 257)

I do not wish to seem to target Amiet here as wrong-minded. Really what interests me in the present context is the problem inherent in the survey text. The survey genre of writing seems to elicit precisely those generalities about the Achaemenid situation that, when plucked out for scrutiny, appear pejorative in nuance or subtext. This happens even among some of those scholars who, in their more specialised articles, have championed the need to assess Achaemenid art in fresh, less eurocentrically burdened ways. In fact, Amiet has been a major figure in this effort (e.g., Amiet 1974b).

Occasionally in survey texts written from the perspective of field archaeology a presentation of issues of continuity and change from pre-Achaemenid times down through (and even beyond) the Persian empire are attempted. Oates' *Babylon* (1986) — focusing on one city — is very helpful. It provides students with an affordable and accessible antidote to the dead end scenario. But Oates does not deal in any depth with issues of traditional art historical inquiry (modes of artistic production, technique, distribution, aesthetic dynamic, patronage, iconography). For discussions of these issues, it is primarily in surveys of the art of seals that one sees Achaemenid material treated as part of a continuum with earlier Near Eastern tradition in any systematic way (e.g., Frankfort 1939; Porada 1948; Collon 1987).

If Achaemenid art and history are typically divorced from discourse on what constitutes the Assyriological tradition of ancient Near Eastern studies, the same situation prevails at the opposite end of the periodisation of the empire. Achaemenid art and Achaemenid society are usually characterised as undergoing an inexorable decline after Xerxes' failure to conquer mainland Greece (a motif discussed by Kuhrt 1987a and Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987). For the official architectural sculpture at Persepolis there does seem to be a dependence upon models formulated under the patronage of Darius and Xerxes (Root 1979; Calmeyer 1990a). But this in itself does not necessarily constitute decline — particularly within a social structure where change for its own sake may not have been valued (Nylander 1970: 17, n. 38). Furthermore, too little is yet known of the later Achaemenid phases of monumental work at, e.g., Susa (where there is tantalising but meagre evidence of figural representational schemes in glazed brick and wall painting from the late palaces; Labrousse and Boucharlat 1972). In the portable arts it is certainly evident that rich cross-currents facilitated by the imperial hegemony were stimulating diversity and experimentation in the peripheral regions (both east and west).

This diversity and experimentation has often been dismissed as one more evidence of moribund Achaemenid culture. The exciting creations of 'Graeco-Persian' art, for instance, have been suggestive to many of the sterility of the Achaemenid repertoire and the intensity of its patrons' needs to seek aesthetic gratification through the exploitation of Greek visual experience and expertise. I am increasingly inclined to view this *koinē* material as a significant reflection of positive cultural activity in the empire rather than a symptom of Persian sterility. Closely datable Neo-Elamite style sealings used on the Persepolis Fortification tablets now suggest an alternate scenario to generally accepted dichotomies between 'Oriental' style and Greek style (Root 1991). In this analysis of the problem, I have discovered only recently that I am bolstering a theory proposed in a general, intuitive way long ago by Rostovtzev (1935: see below). Certain aspects of 'Graeco-Persian' art must be viewed as a complex and creative synthesis of specific ancient Near Eastern (and especially Elamite) visual traditions distilled through the Achaemenids and interrelated with Greek-associated conceptions of formal solutions. An active world of artistic creation was at work in the extant remains of the later Achaemenid period. The scholarly motif of decline has obstructed analysis along these lines. It has, furthermore, aided a related historiographic syndrome: the motif of the fall of the Achaemenid empire as an absolute end, a kind of historical death.

For the Achaemenid empire, the concept of collapse with no reprieve is an historiographic set-up that has tended to leave little room for revisionist discourse. The utter collapse, the death, of ancient Persian civilisation is accepted with hardly a qualm. There are probably many reasons for this. One is that hellenocentric scholarship recognises, at least subconsciously, that the utter collapse of the Persian empire was deserved. The Persians had fallen into decadent torpid habits. And they were guilty of hybris. Their absolute demise was essentially self-inflicted. Secondly, the death of the Achaemenid empire was a preamble to deliverance. It was a happy occasion, since Alexander came as a hellenising agent to redirect the course of civilisation in Asia. To entertain notions of fuzzy transitions from Achaemenid hegemony to universal hellenism would be to admit the possibility of intrinsic significance imbedded in the 200 years of Persian rule.

The emphasis on dead-end periodisation in Achaemenid studies is not universal by any means, even in the realm of survey texts (as opposed to esoteric articles). Thus, for instance, S.K. Eddy (1961), R.N. Frye (1963), and the truly remarkable volume by P. Briant (1987b) deal in one way and another in historical terms with issues of cultural continuity and discontinuity between the fall of the Achaemenid empire and the advent and aftermath of Alexander. Briant's *Que-sais-je* book on Alexander shows us that revised histories can be written for a mixed audience. This one really should be translated into English for teaching purposes.

Prompted by the subject of this Workshop, I have recently returned to some of the old standard works on Achaemenid art specifically in order to see how different authorities of the early years of this century have characterised the issue of periodisation of the Achaemenid empire. It was with genuine surprise that I reread Herzfeld's *Iran in the Ancient East* (1941). I have long been aware of his somewhat ambivalent attitudes to the aesthetic value of Achaemenid art in comparison to Greek art. But I had completely forgotten the pejorative zealousness of his convictions about periodisation in the Persian context. Herzfeld says the following as a bridging statement between his discussions of Achaemenid art and Seleucid art:

> ... Achaemenian art is the very end of developments that started in the highest antiquity. We have not studied certain works of the late Achaemenian epoch, after Artaxerxes II, which show an astoundingly quick decline, an unparalleled fall, to the point that even the mere technique was almost entirely lost. Old Persian art was dead before Alexander conquered Persia, and with the art the whole culture died: This complete decay was the cause, the conquest its consequence. The burning of Persepolis by Alexander was only the symbolic expression of the fact that the Ancient East had died. ... There is no deeper caesura in the 5,000 years of history of the Ancient East than the conquest of Alexander the Great, and there is no archaeological object produced after that period that does not bear its stamp. (Herzfeld 1941: 274-275)

This statement surprised me because most of *Iran in the Ancient East* seems really to be devoted to expressing aspects of continuity in Iran and adjacent Mesopotamia. Herzfeld's documentation of Near Eastern art through the Sasanian empire and beyond had always seemed implicit — if not always explicit — testimony to his understanding of important continuities from Achaemenid times. In recent years I had not taken the trouble to return to Herzfeld's texts *per se*. I had simply carried away a set of assumptions about his views. These asumptions were based on the richness of visual associations made in his publications. Yet there the statement stands. It is unequivocal in its emphasis upon the dead end phenomenon of Achaemenid civilisation in the wake of Alexander.

Perhaps Herzfeld was so caught up in a vision of the discrete significance of Iranian culture that he could not adequately consider the impact of Alexander and the Successors as a possible system of cultural reciprocities. Perhaps Iran for Herzfeld was, in a sense, too fresh a discovery. He was captivated by its remarkable remains (which he explored vigorously) as a contained phenomenon. But — extraordinarily gifted Orientalist that he was — he was also reared, like everyone else, on the romance of Alexander and the pan-Hellenic mandate. He saw clearly the continuities within the course of Iranian culture — from Achaemenid times to the Sasanian. But this system was somehow seen as a separately functioning ecology that could not be fathomed in tandem with hellenism.

An atypical voice in this discourse of the early decades of the century was Rostovtzev's (e.g., 1935: esp. 262-272). While other specialists were busy defining 'Graeco-Persian' art as an offshoot of Greek, Rostovtzev was thinking along radically different lines. He embraced the notion that 'Graeco-Persian' art and the art of the eastern and northern fringes of the Achaemenid empire had to be considered a kind of Achaemenid art. Furthermore, his definition of these fifth- and fourth-century *koinēs* as an expression of the Persian empire enabled him to discuss the existence of an active, responsive, and influential late phase of art made within, and representative of, the Achaemenid imperial domain:

> There is no doubt that the artists of Dura in drawing their war and hunting scenes had before their eyes monuments similar to and derived from the originals which the Graeco-Persian intaglios and the products of Achaemenid toreutics reproduce. Here again we must suppose that the art of late Achaemenid Persia was still alive in Hellenistic and Parthian times. (Rostovtzev 1935: 267)

Rostovtzev's was a voice in the wilderness on these matters. Accepted wisdom is such that serious and learned recent surveys of hellenistic art are able to act as if the Achaemenid empire hardly existed (e.g., Pollitt 1986). Two hundred years of kingship, ritual, and sophisticated artistic creation (viz., Root 1979) continue simply to be muted.

This has been possible partly because of a critical missing link in traditional reflection upon the nature of the Achaemenid impact upon the imperial lands. As noted above, there has been a tendency, for instance, to view Graeco-Persian *koine* material as a reflection of Persian weakness and cultural indebtedness to the west. If we are ultimately able to demonstrate compellingly that the Graeco-Persian phenomenon was actually a positive two-way encounter, we shall have paved the way for a reversal of the notion that the Achaemenid empire was a dead end. More refined understanding of Graeco-Persian art will make it clear that the seeds of some elements of what we call hellenistic art were sown in the fertile multi-cultural land of the first universal empire. Similarly, when there is increased willingness to consider the energetic emulation of elements of Persian culture on the Greek mainland during the classical period, this will provide another significant conceptual bridge (see Root 1985; Miller 1985, 1989). This feature of the scenario will offer mechanisms for certain types of filtered transmission. Such filtered transmissions might constitute phenomena of influence that moved from the Achaemenid sphere to mainland Greece (and Macedonia), and then moved back out (in modes filtered by Greek and Macedonian adaptation) to the hellenistic kingdoms.

One important reason for strict disassociation of hellenistic art from the Achaemenid past needs to be confronted head-on. Hellenistic art does not seem to look anything like Achaemenid art. This being the case, it is understandable that no attempt is made to explore possible links. For the sake of discussion here, however, it is worthwhile to acknowledge two factors: first, hellenistic art, as it is presented in the discipline, has an accepted repertoire canonised by scholarly tradition. This repertoire is pre-selected for and defined by its Greekness. Monuments and artifacts that do suggest formal continuities with Achaemenid art are not part of this repertoire or else are treated as anomalies. Secondly, the notion of utter shift in artistic spirit between Achaemenid art and hellenistic art tends to be determined on the basis of over-simplified formal dichotomies. These perceived dichotomies may actually mask significant relationships of various types.

In the study of hellenistic royal portraiture we are taught about a world seemingly as far removed from Oriental kingship as possible. This is a world of individualism rather than hieratic sameness (Pollitt 1986: 7ff.; Smith 1988: 109ff.). Smith remarks that

> The idea of Oriental influence in Hellenistic kingship has often been asserted. However, all the elements of the Hellenistic image, made for Greek consumption, can be traced satisfactorily in Greek culture, as can the set of ideas about kingship implicit in that image. (Smith 1988: 110)

It is possible, however, that some elements of the concept of portraiture were in fact bred of the still elusive Graeco-Persian *koinē* in the western Achaemenid empire. I think, for instance, of the marvellous coin portraits of western satraps. These satrapal coins are not 'Achaemenid art' in the very restricted sense of the official court art of the Achaemenid king. But they are most definitely examples of the art of the Persian empire. These early ruler portraits must be re-evaluated within the definitional context of the imperial environment. They should not simply be harnessed as 'Greek art.' This courtly environment seems to have placed significant emphasis upon the individual and his commemorative artistic representation. There is evidence that such representations could specifically bespeak relationships of loyalty to the king. They certainly need not suggest revolt from the centralised authority, or a withdrawal of social/ethical affinity with the imperial centre (Root 1991). The idea of art in the service of the individual — of private monuments on a grand scale — is one frequently cited as a special development of the hellenistic period. Thus Boardman remarks, for example,

> These arts of the new age are deployed more for the satisfaction of men and kings, for the embellishment of private houses and palaces, than for the glory of the gods and the State. Even dedications display a degree of pride and propaganda rather than anonymous piety. In these respects at least the political and social climate of the day had a most profound effect on the arts. The change was brought about by the vision, brilliance and ruthlessness of one man [Alexander]. (Boardman 1985: 179)

I have a different perspective on this issue. Monuments such as the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus must, in my opinion, be understood as important precursors of this phenomenon which is usually considered a hellenistic invention.

Whether built and decorated by Greek stonecarvers or not, the conceptions and forms behind this tomb and accompanying sculptural programme reflect the complexities of the Persian imperial environment on the western fringe. The environment that fostered such 'private' commemorative monuments reflects the goals and structures of a society coloured richly in one way and another by attitudes condoned and propagated by Achaemenid court society. Little is known of the range of trends in monumental 'private' art in the empire. The correspondence of the fifth-century Persian satrap of Egypt, Aršam, describes an aristocratic world embellished by sculptures of specific significant personages other than the king (Driver 1957: 32). In this world, the elite employed their own corps of artisans. These craftsmen sometimes traveled about the empire, on command, producing sculptural monuments of and for the employer. The correspondence of Aršam refers to sculptural depictions of him as an equestrian. This is a representational type not yet documented for the Achaemenid period by actual remains. We are surely missing a great deal (in unretrieved art of the privately functioning elite) that would elaborate the concept of continuities from the Achaemenid empire into the hellenistic period.

There is also another aspect to the importance of understanding why the Achaemenid empire should not simply be pushed aside in surveys of hellenistic art. Influence as a concept does not confine itself to a phenomenon that induces emulation (Hermerén 1975). Influence can also result in radical rejection, or in only highly selective modes of emulation or in quite subliminal assimilations. However much of the canonical repertoire of eastern hellenistic art may seem utterly different-looking from what we know of Achaemenid art, we still need to assess this art against a more nuanced understanding of the 200 years of Persian hegemony and cultural cross-fertilisation.

Kernels of these various ideas are certainly found in the survey literature. But they are usually buried rather deep and not presented as aspects of overarching issues of approach. In his discussion of the Belevi Monument, Pollitt suggests that blendings of Oriental and Greek ideas and forms during the Achaemenid period may have led ultimately to the creation of this hybrid-looking structure (Pollitt 1986: 290). We need more probing of this type of problem.

Smith seems to suggest the idea of radical rejection of Achaemenid forms as a conscious factor in the creation of the Alexander image in portraiture. He does not see this proposed conscious rejection as a kind of influence. But I would reiterate the following: if Alexander systematically rejected all previous models of royal imagery, then this is indeed an important measure of the influence exerted by these images. Smith comments:

> Alexander the Great created a quite new royal image for himself as the new Macedonian-Greek conqueror and king of Asia. It defined him as separate from (and above), firstly, previous Macedonian kings, secondly, the defeated Persian

> king, and thirdly, the Greeks of the cities. ... Alexander's portrait style provided the basic mode for the majority of subsequent hellenistic royal portraits in that it was youthful/clean-shaven and had a measure of implicit divinising. (Smith 1988: 58-59)

This suggestion of systematic formal separation of the Alexander image from the images of earlier power-brokers is an interesting one. On the other hand, I question the extent to which the 'implicit divinising' in the portraiture of Alexander is an invention of his patronage mandate. There is quite a bit of evidence in some phases of Mesopotamian and in Achaemenid art for nuanced 'implicit divinising' in representations of kings. The different formal and symbolical associations acquired for this feature of 'implicit divinising' in the portraits of Alexander are obvious and logical. But we should not be distracted by this difference in visual vocabulary. The differences in visual vocabulary notwithstanding, Alexander's concept of royal portraiture and the concept of kingship behind it may have been profoundly affected by the Achaemenid imperial programme. The Achaemenids devised complex messages of heroised royal power, ecumenicalism, and cosmically ordained harmony focused on the *persona* of the king (Root 1979; 1989; 1990b). Alexander is likely to have been impressed by the thrust of these skilfully programmed messages of 'implicit divinisation' spelled out on the walls of Persepolis.

The characterisation of what things look like in very specific and direct ways is only one aspect of the analysis of the traditions informing the creation of art and royal enactment. It is possible for programmatic concepts and messages to be embraced and internalised by a new patron without the newly created programme directly and explicitly imitating the style and iconography of the prototype. As noted above, the dismissal of the Achaemenid period as a vehicle of continuity into (and beyond) hellenistic times is made easy by the way in which the canonical repertoire of hellenistic art tends to be defined. Emphasis is placed upon the concept of Greek overlay. We need more focus on those areas where indigenous traditions will have persisted relatively intact. A key *locus* of such continuity will have been the entrenched temple domains of Mesopotamia. To his great credit, Smith does allude to a text referring to the existence of a presumably native-style image of the Seleucid king set up in a Babylonian temple (Smith 1988: 24; see McEwan 1981). The image itself does not survive.

Downey's recent monograph on religious architecture catalogues a beguiling set of alternative monuments to the canonical hellenistic east (Downey 1988). Here we see formal and symbolical continuities in temple architecture from a more ancient Near Eastern past into the Seleucid era and beyond. But even in Downey's book, the place of the Achaemenid empire within the construct of continuities and revivals from early times through the hellenistic and Parthian periods remains elusive. This is partly because specifically Persian-inspired (as opposed to Mesopotamian or Elamite) temple architecture is still a mystery. This problem of the missing Persian-style temple (in the sense of a dwelling place of a deity and its cult statue) is complex. We may need to think more flexibly about what physically may have constituted a distinct Achaemenid Persian temple. The key may ultimately rest in clarification of the functions of 'palatial' architecture of the Achaemenids (Azarnoush 1994).

Another factor must also be considered when we try to measure the extent of continuity in temple architecture from the Achaemenid imperial situation into the hellenistic period. For 200 years the Achaemenid hegemony facilitated a significant amount of preservation and perpetuation of indigenous traditions in the subject lands. Particularly in regard to local cults, we gather that the Achaemenids provided (as a general rule) an officially ordained policy of protection. This policy will have predetermined the lack of 'Achaemenid' style temple architecture systematically replacing indigenous forms. Thus, in this particular case, the dearth of material record reflecting Achaemenid impact is itself a type of evidence of cultural impact.

I remarked years ago that "In many ways the Persian empire represents a culmination of all that had gone before — a final 'packaging' for posterity of the pre-hellenistic historical and cultural experience" (Root 1979: 40-41). This aspect of the plight of the periodised Persians is the most critical one and the most subtle. The Achaemenid empire made creative initiatives in its official art. But an integral part of that creativity lay in its mining of earlier traditions. The result of this process was in a sense the safe-keeping and revalidating of those traditions as well as the often remarkable reworking of them. Much of the creative impact of the Achaemenid hegemony will be invisible except under nuanced scrutiny — precisely by virtue of its success as an agent of creative synthesis and continuity.

[II]. *Tabulating mechanisms of transmission: Approaches to the lifting of the veil*

By what mechanisms can we postulate that artistic traditions were kept safe, transmitted, revalidated, through the cultural vehicle of the Achaemenid imperial situation? In earlier work I have focused on the importance of patron choice in the formulation of politically-motivated revivals and adaptations of antique models for the programme of official Achaemenid art. Here, I shall be more concerned with the complex nature of the continuities that were imbedded in the Near Eastern environment by virtue of the craft tradition itself — simultaneous with the extraordinary patron mandates imposed by kings.

A. Continuities within the craft tradition

We hear a great deal about mobile labour forces of artisans in the Achaemenid empire and earlier (Zaccagnini 1983 for recent survey). This feature of art production is certainly critical to any overarching discussion of the creative enterprise of the Achaemenid imperial programme. But in this paper, I want very particularly to de-emphasise this dynamic vision of uprooted craftsmen on the move. I want, in so doing, to highlight a typically overlooked element in the entire picture. Not all craftsmen were first-generation deportees or independent itinerants primarily from the west. There were also relatively stable, closed systems of craft practitioners at work in the imperial lands — even in the Persian heartland. These craftsmen will have maintained continuities of skill and repertoire simply by virtue of learning and doing their jobs in workshop environments. Unfortunately, texts about mobile artisans, occurring often in conjunction with records of victory, are more explicit, more dramatic, and more likely to be retrieved for scrutiny than are texts obliquely referring to artisans who stayed at home. Nuances of interpretation of references to palace and temple labour organisation frequently remain obscure (Postgate 1987: 267-9 & Menzel 1981 for Assyria; Eyre 1987: 193 for Egypt). And how these relatively stable groups actually may have interacted with mobile or mobilised workers in the Achaemenid empire is a further elusive point. This whole set of issues needs the attention of specialists in the texts. Painfully little is known about the demography of craft tradition in ancient Mesopotamia (cf. Gelb 1979 on the significance of craft-specific family names). This is especially clear in comparison with the rich archival resources available in some other, far removed, historical contexts (e.g., Montias 1982). It is also true in comparison with the more abundant material from Mari in Syria (e.g., Sasson 1990).

Even without systematic investigation of possible text sources, we can cite some documentary evidence for structures of personnel continuity over time in the practice of crafts. Contracts witnessed by members of craft 'guilds' in Achaemenid Mesopotamia provide genealogies that suggest long family involvements in specific crafts — stretching back before the Achaemenid political takeover and continuing uninterrupted by it (Weisberg 1967). Personnel lists of scribes seem to document familial descent within that craft in a tradition of continuity that persisted, apparently, through the Persian period and on down to Parthian times. That is, it persisted until the cuneiform writing tradition itself ceases to be documented (Lambert 1957). In Egypt, a similar chain of craft continuity is exemplified by the 19th dynasty artist Dedia. He represented the seventh generation in his family line in the performance of the duties of chief draughtsman of Amon (Eyre 1987: 173-4). I cannot supply a formula for the quantitative assessment of artistic continuity-value in generation-to-generation family specialisation in a particular craft (or in a set of skill-related crafts). Ethnographic studies might be useful here (e.g., De Boer 1990). I suspect, at any rate, that such continuity-value is significant.

The very concept of the craft association itself further suggests an important mechanism of personal and personnel continuity and transmission of tradition through time. Family ties in the crafts will have been reinforced by non-filial professional associations linking the generations. The development of 'guilds' (a loaded term) has sometimes been seen as a hellenistic phenomenon. In fact, the origins of this *type* of organisation may well have emerged in and developed directly from the craft associations that we find some evidence of already in the Old Babylonian period (Mendelsohn 1940: esp. n.38; Weisberg 1967 on the Achaemenid manifestation).

Craftsmen in Mesopotamian temple contexts will, then, frequently have functioned within tradition-bound networks bonded by family ties in craft and by craft associations. On the administrative level, there is also some evidence suggesting continuities in the functioning of specific temple officials who exercised control over artisan-related activities. The *shatammu* was a type of temple administrative official who apparently exercised direct oversight of personnel activities relating to cult and cult paraphernalia. Officials designated *shatammu* existed at Ur as early as the Third Dynasty and continue to be documented at Uruk down into the early Persian period (Saggs 1959a). Van der Spek discusses evidence for the *shatammu* at Babylon down into the Parthian era (van der Spek 1987). Whatever the precise and probably evolving roles of the *shatammu* over time, the responsibilities seem to have included supervision of activities associated with cult paraphernalia. This presumably will have included the creation of items as needed and the routine polishing and restoration of items such as divine images and their accoutrements — in other words, jobs that were done by temple craftsmen. We have in this office of the *shatammu* some suggestion of a thread of continuity in the immediate authority structure governing certain realms of artistic activity within the Mesopotamian temple community.

Another factor as well may have contributed to the persistence of workshop environments in Near Eastern temple settings that were particularly conducive to systematic continuities of tradition. It has been suggested that specific temple bureaucracies maintained their own corps of artisans (linked to a temple through the generations); and that such corps of artisans held, as a kind of sacred trust, the maintenance and perpetuation of the programme of divine imagery particular to that temple (Weisberg 1967). This phenomenon will have had the possibility of producing vertical cores of continuity in native contexts of visual expression of cult practice from pre-Achaemenid times down into the Seleucid period.

It is well known that Mesopotamian cult tradition insisted upon the referencing of established precedent in the creation of new divine images. The rhetoric of the Cyrus Cylinder affirms the continuity of this age-old mandate even after the Persian conquests (ANET: 315). The value placed on the correctness of images according to ancient precedent presupposes the organisational capacity to maintain access to appropriate models and stylistic modes as needed and to exercise adequate evaluative oversight of the implementation by craftsmen. We shall delve into the mechanics of this factor below. Here, it is only important to note the congruence of elements within the temple setting which will have reinforced the value — indeed the necessity — of image transmission through time. The generational ties of artisans and supervisors in these contained contexts were reinforced by the (quite literal) generational ties of the temple artistic programmes themselves.

Another factor in the mechanisms of transmission — and one that is particularly applicable within the relatively closed contexts of temple domains — relates to training procedures. The craft tradition in the ancient Near East and Egypt was based on training through direct copying of earlier material (Root 1979: 26; 1990b: esp. 130). Similarly, in the Renaissance, Raphael and his pupils 'learned' the classical past by studying and actually tracing the paintings in Nero's *Domus Aurea* (Greenhalgh 1978; Slomann 1967: 26). The past (at least some cross-section of it) was available for ancient Near Eastern craftsmen. I shall touch upon this further at a later point. But the past was not only available. This word specifies access, but not necessarily interaction. Art of the past was part of the present, because the training process (and the needs of the society served by that process) taught it to the artisans' eyes and hands.

Continuities in scribal training show the persistence of learning cuneiform by copying remote and ancient Sumerian and Akkadian texts. School texts written (perhaps) by a Greek student of the classical cuneiform languages seem to date to the late second or early first century B.C., for instance (Sollberger: 1962). And more generally, the persistence of the use of cuneiform and of the transmission and development of knowledge emanating directly from the ancient cultic, astronomical, rhetorical traditions, forces us to view artistic activity within the same framework (see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987b and Sherwin-White 1983 for valuable commentaries on indigenous continuities in language and bureaucracy down into the Seleucid period).

Another aspect of the training/working environment in the ancient Near East is also critical to our understanding of mechanisms of artistic transmission. There is significant evidence for the existence of drawings and of three-dimensional models that were used by ancient Near Eastern artisans as resources for the accumulation of stock repertoire and/or as training devices. The existence of maps, architectural drawings, artists' sketches and models is well known for ancient Egypt (e.g., Davis 1989: 94-113; Peck and Ross 1978; Brunner-Traut 1975 and 1979; Capart 1957; Röder 1941). But such evidence for the Mesopotamian/Iranian sphere is not so frequently cited or conveniently assembled as it is for Egypt.

Maps and architectural plans are known from ancient Mesopotamia and Elam as sketches on clay tablets (Millard 1987; Cameron 1936: 123). School exercise sketches from the temple school at Nippur reinforce the notion of an art education that was rather similar in pedagogical approach to the education of scribes (Hilprecht 1903: 527-8). Codified technical terms for a vast repertoire of geometric shapes suggest the systematic inventorying and recording of visual terminology for applied artistic practice. This linguistic codification was paralleled by illustrative geometric sketches on clay (Kilmer 1990). We also have sketches on tablets that seem to be rough drafts for actual art productions rather than geometric or figural *disjecta membra* (Van Buren 1930).

Preliminary sketches for Assyrian reliefs show the application of artists' compositional sketches to the working procedures of a monumental achievement (Nagel 1958). An artist's sketch slab of Achaemenid date has been recovered at Persepolis (Roos 1970). Furthermore, the actual sculptures there were elaborately embellished with sketches to guide the painting of figural and geometric motifs on garments (Tilia 1978). This follows more ancient precedent, of course (e.g., Canby 1971).

In sum, we have evidence of the use of sketches as teaching devices — where they suggest the copying and recopying of traditional images in order to achieve basic proficiency within a supervised learning environment. They show a range of concepts — from compilations of discrete forms meant to be learned for use in varying combinations, to depictions of integrated figures and compositions. We also have evidence of the sketching skill, once acquired through repetitive drill, directed toward the planning and implementation of actual art works. Exemplary of this implementation procedure are the drawings (perhaps) made by artists during the military campaigns of the Assyrian kings (Reade 1981: 262). Such drawings could have been used as aids in the creation of historical reliefs. Thus, drawing provided an important means of image transmission within the systems of learning and art production in the ancient Near East. A Seleucid astronomical text from Uruk is tangible testimony to the continuity of visual resources through sketching mechanisms from pre-Achaemenid to post-Achaemenid times. It is illustrated with a sketch of zodiac imagery that harks back to motifs found in abundance as relief illustrations on Kassite Babylonian *kudurrus* (Oates 1986: fig. 129).

One vivid sketch of a lion attacking a boar (found in a presumably Kassite period house at Babylon) exudes the vigour and spontaneity of a self-sustaining drawing (Koldewey 1913: 240; Oates 1986: fig. 71). It is easy to imagine this drawing having served as a model for a formal art work. Similarly, the Sasanian graffiti drawn on a wall of the Harem of Xerxes at Persepolis have an immediacy and confident elegance about them (Schmidt 1953: pl. 199). They instruct us that devices for the perpetuation of imagery and style within the craft tradition will certainly have included free drawing. The extensive series of graffiti from Roman-period Dura Europos are most interesting. The scenes of Persian horsemen and hunters display strong ties with 'Graeco-Persian' seals of Achaemenid date. Rostovtzev (1935: 262-272) interprets these similarities as evidence of strong craft continuities within the indigenous Near Eastern context. These continuities, he proposes, maintained themselves in pockets of tradition that remained viable through the periods of hellenistic and Roman political domination.

The concept of the systematic compilation of sketches as patterns for repeated consultation by a workshop or an individual artist is well documented for medieval times and later (Kessler 1988: 183, with numerous references; Bober & Rubenstein 1987; Harprath & Wrede 1989). The earliest extant examples on papyrus are presumed to be fragments from extensive rolls. They date to Ptolemaic and early Christian times in Egypt (Scheller 1963: 45-46). The Ptolemaic example is interesting not least because it renders a vulture in multiple views—apparently as a guide for creation of a three-dimensional sculpture. This evidence is important. It suggests strongly that we are not applying anachronistic concepts to the ancient Near Eastern milieu when we postulate the role of systematically compiled drawings (on paper, stone, and clay) in the complex mechanisms of continuity in artistic imagery.

Three-dimensional models are also well documented in ancient Egypt and the Near East from pre-Achaemenid times through the Achaemenid period and down into hellenistic and Roman times (specifically for discussion of Egyptian models for three-dimensional images in Achaemenid style, see Frankfort 1950 and Kantor 1957). The sites of Mesopotamia have yielded a wealth of clay plaques and clay figurines (Van Buren 1930; Opificius 1961; Barrelet 1968). These are almost without exception interpreted as objects intended for display or ritual use. But some were clearly meant specifically to serve as artists' models (e.g., full-composition models from Assur illustrated by Moortgat 1969: pls. 280-281). Opificius assumes that the generally poor quality of the plaques and figurines, combined with their retrieval in domestic and temple contexts, eliminates them categorically from consideration as art models (Opficius 1961: 245). I question this set of assumptions. Concerning the findspots, temples and structures defined archaeologically as dwellings seem entirely plausible as locations for the storage of models and for the performance of art production using those models. Beyond that, a plaque, figurine, or other artifact made originally for display or some other non-craft function could nevertheless also come to have a secondary function as an artist's model. Furthermore, the prototype artifact could gain secondary status as a model by being replicated through a casting process.

The ninth-century 'sun-god' tablet from Sippar offers revealing testimony about the existence of clay models in temple art production and about three-dimensional prototype artifacts acquiring secondary status as artists' models used in the creation of new art (Oates 1986: 109; Ellis 1968: 105). The text tells us that a clay model of the plundered image of Shamash was found. The new image was certainly archaising and thus plausibly dependent upon a specific antique formula — just as the text suggests. A cast of the prototype image was included in the foundation deposit along with the newly made Shamash tablet commissioned by the king.

The production of replicas of existing art to serve as artists' models and referencing devices on 'correct' imagery must have been widespread in the temple domains — where visual citation of ancient precedent was so critical. Similarly, a squeeze of an inscription of Sargon of Akkad made by a Neo-Babylonian temple scribe at Nippur is wonderful evidence of this type of antiquarian replica-making. (Hilprecht 1903: 517). A collection of clay impressions of seals and clay models of coins (and small metal medallions probably from vessels) has been excavated from an Achaemenid period grave at Ur. This find seems to represent a systematic compilation of models owned by a craftsman and buried with him (Legrain 1951; Porada 1960; Downey 1969: 3-4). The artifacts represented by the models include Greek items as well as Persian ones. Furthermore, among the Persian items there are images of male and female portrait busts in an otherwise undocumented representational format that seems to presage the concept of portrait coin types of the west. These deserve more elaborate discussion elsewhere. They relate back to my earlier remarks here on possible formulations of so-called hellenistic concepts of portraiture already in the Achaemenid sphere. The manufacture of clay casts of coins is well documented slightly later at hellenistic Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (McDowell 1935: pl. VI). We must suppose continuity in this tradition of craft and/or archival referencing procedure within the Near East. In addition to the hoard of casts from Achaemenid-period Ur, much evidence exists in the ancient Near East for the manufacture and systematic compilation of casts for new art production. A hoard of Roman-period plaster casts of Greek metalware found at Begram in Afghanistan is most remarkable (Hackin 1954: 137-146; Richter 1958). This collection of Roman casts replicates prototype artifacts as remote in time as the Greek archaic period. The provenance at Begram demonstrates the realities of the systematic continuities of art across space as well as through time by means of a mechanism deriving directly from exigencies of craft procedures. It is noteworthy, furthermore, that these casts (as well as others from, e.g., Memphis (Rubensohn 1911; Burkhalter 1984)) are primarily casts of isolated elements from metalware prototypes (such as medallions). Thus the new art based on these collections of models will not have been point by point copies of antique prototypes. The new products will have assigned antique elements to modern suppporting contexts.

Many of the plaster casts discussed above were perforated for suspension — presumably to be hung on workshop walls. The whole scenario suggests a longstanding tradition that we simply have rather little evidence of because of the difficulties of archaeological retrieval and interpretation. Even for the Italian Renaissance the analysis of artists' use of casts of antiquities has not yet been explored as extensively as one might suppose (Bober & Rubenstein 1987: 41, n. 6; Ost 1975: 33-43, esp. 34, for interesting discussion of material relating to Leonardo's use of casts and models). We do know that the Romans produced paste reproductions of antique intaglio gemstones; and these became important as models of the antique available to Renaissance artists (Slomann 1967: 64ff.). Renaissance artists also produced their own replicas of ancient art for use as models.

Slomann has argued the theory that Orientalising Romanesque sculptures are based upon casts of surviving Mesopotamian monuments — casts made by Crusader pilgrims (Slomann 1967: passim). His presentation is compelling in its careful documentation of plausible mechanisms for the availability of such early Mesopotamian sculptures. I find the theory viable even though I am aware that it has met with resistance elsewhere. Wittkower, for instance, seems not to have been able to embrace the possibility that actual surviving Mesopotamian monuments could have been available to the Crusaders. His scepticism seems to have been emphatic in spite of his general sympathies with the effort to probe eastern impact on the west (Reynolds 1989: bibliographic annotation on 221-222).

This discussion of casts of antiquities made to serve as models for new art begins to plunge us into the macrocosmic setting of artistic continuities — continuities that show tangible links between greatly separated times and places. Before pursuing that issue further, I want to acknowledge one more aspect of the temple-oriented milieu of art production. This relates to royal interaction with temple affairs.

Near Eastern kings had complex obligations to support the well-being of temple domains. The rhetoric of rebuilding of temples and restoration of divine images is a leitmotif of kingship that remains in place through the Achaemenid empire and into the hellenistic period. Thus, for instance, in the context of rulership of Mesopotamia Antiochus I casts himself in the role of pious guardian of Babylonian Esagila and Ezida (Weissbach 1911: 132). Hand in hand with the royal prerogatives of guardianship of Esagila and Ezida will have gone the need to support the maintenance and refurbishing of visible cult manifestations (i.e., of art, architecture, sartorial manifestations, and liturgy) in traditional indigenous form. Probably the lost royal statues and other images commissioned by the Seleucids for the temple precincts of Mesopotamia offered an interesting blend of indigenous ancient formulae and critical allusions to the contemporary age. This phenomenon was not a new one to the ancient East. One need only think of the archaising stelae of Assurbanipal, created to commemorate his temple restorations at Babylon (Oates 1986: 121-123, fig. 82). Here the Assyrian king of the seventh century B.C. is presented in the revamped guise of the third millennium Neo-Sumerian type of the pious builder-king. Similar reworkings of indigenous ancient visual formulae of authority occurred under the Achaemenid kings. A familiar example is Darius' adaptive emulation of the late third millennium rock relief at Sar-i Pul for his own rock relief at Behistun. More complex and less well-known examples of the phenomenon are documented for other representational images in official Achaemenid art (Root 1979: passim).

Linked closely with creative continuities in the production of new (but anciently rooted) art and rhetoric of kingship and cult was the need to maintain certain traditional ceremonials such as the *akītu* — the venerable New Year festival of kingship. Ceremonials of this sort were, of course, major forces perpetuating the demand for lavish visual displays of portable monuments. They were also major forces in the broad-based social reaffirmation of traditional artistic imagery. These were the occasions during which high art became public performance (see McEwan 1981: 181-182 on continuity of Mesopotamian cults through the Persian period and down into the hellenistic era). We should not underestimate the impact of such performances on the imaginations of the people (patrons as well as artists) who witnessed the great processions of life-encoded cult statues and the cultic dramas of fish-garbed priests and gold-bedecked kings (Cassin 1968: 7, 129-131; Barrelet 1970; Sasson 1990: 25). In short, critical and multiple social functions were served and reinforced by a craft tradition that had fertile associations with its past. These issues, as they pertain to continuities from Achaemenid dominion into the hellenistic period, are also applicable to the Egyptian context (e.g., Quaegebeur 1979).

As we have seen earlier, research into temple archives was sometimes pursued when new art needed to be created according to ancient precedent — both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. The authority of antique texts was equally compelling when information was needed on the performance of specific cult liturgy and royal ceremonial protocol — or on the visual representation of such events in art. A classic case is the antiquarian research undertaken at the mandate of the eighteenth dynasty pharaoh Amenhotpe III in preparation for his first Sed festival (Hornung & Staehelin 1974; Epigraphic Survey 1980: 43 for the tomb texts documenting the investigations). Aldred (1988: 161-2) notes a fragmentary predynastic palette illustrating an early version of a Sed ceremony. This palette must, presumably, have been retrieved from a temple treasury (at Hierakonpolis?) for use as a documentation on remotely archaic festival practice. The back of the fragment has been reworked to bear an image of Amenhotpe's favorite wife, Queen Tiye. Indeed, she did play a very active role in Amenhotpe's lavish celebrations. It seems quite plausible, given the textual testimony we have concerning the antiquarianism informing this particular celebration, that use was made of early material specifically in a search for items relevant to Tiye's position in the festivities (note, e.g., Varille 1968: 136-7).

In the Mesopotamian context, documents of Seleucid date record guidelines for ritual activities which are explicitly characterised as copied from much earlier texts (ANET: 342-5). The colophon of one text describing sacrifices to the gods of Uruk has been rendered as follows:

> Tablet written by the hand of Shamashetir, son of Inaqibitanu, son of Shipkatanu. Tablet (containing) instructions for the worship of Anu; for the holy ritual; or the ceremonies of kingship, together with the rituals of the divinities of the Resh Temple, the Irigal Temple, the Eanna Temple, and the (other) temples of the city of Uruk. (Also) the procedures (to be followed) by the *mašmašu*-priests, the *kalu*-priests, the singers, and all the artisans behind the ..., not to mention all things having to do with the novices of the *baru*-priesthood. (This tablet was copied) from tablets which Nabuaplauṣur, king of the Sea Land, carried off as plunder from the city of Uruk; but now Kidinanu, a citizen of Uruk, a *mašmašu*-priest of Anu and Antu, a descendant of Ekurzakir, an *urigallu*-priest of the Resh Temple, looked at these tablets in the land of Elam, copied them in the reign of the kings Seleucus and Antiochus, and brought (his copies) back to the city of Uruk. (ANET: 344-5)

For our purposes, this text is of special interest because it describes tablets from Uruk which were taken as booty to Elam in the late seventh century. We must suppose that the plundered tablets remained accessible in an archive at Susa (?) continuously even through Achaemenid times, until Kidinanu copied them sometime during the Seleucid era.

A helpful analogue for the implications of this type of access to antique ceremonial precedent is described by McCormick, who discusses the conscious use of antique sources by planners of medieval ceremony (McCormick 1986: 131-2). He warns us against interpreting the use of antique models as resulting in a constant, never changing nature of imperial ceremonials. His caveat is instructive. For we must attempt to understand how the impact of antique precedent played itself out in formal terms across the greatly shifting political/cultural landscapes framed within millennia of Near Eastern and Egyptian tradition — while having fewer documents and works of art to use as resource material. McCormick remarks:

> The continuity, then, of Byzantium's early medieval victory celebrations with those of late antiquity is evident. But continuity does not imply identity. It would be more accurate to think of the enduring traditions of the later Roman empire's public life as constituting a kind of ceremonial repertory, from which the rulers of medieval Byzantium could select and assemble the elements they favored for the ceremony of the moment. Like the use of classical *spolia* in medieval monuments, for all the constituent elements, the resulting whole is surprisingly novel. (McCormick 1986: 132)

Ancient processions and festivals need to be looked at anew, systematically and synthetically as vehicles of cultural transmission (viz., for Egypt the insightful overview of Bleeker 1967 and the important specific studies of Rice

1983; Hornung and Staehelin 1974). They also need to be examined with unblushing recourse to the exploration of similar art/performance interactions in even roughly analogous contexts. As Strong remarks in his study of Renaissance spectacles, the subject of the festival has been a major victim of the modern trend toward compartmentalised academic investigation: "It has fallen between so many stools, those of the historian of art, literature, ideas and political history" (Strong 1984: 172-3). The problem is not, however, merely a compartmentalisation along disciplinary lines. It is also a compartmentalisation along the lines of historical periodisation. Thus, for instance, even in Strong's rich book, one can read about the phenomenon of the royal entry without so much as a passing comment on the ancient Near Eastern traditions that ultimately lie behind it. Similarly, with Price's learned and pioneering examination of the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor (1984) there is no allusion to a world before Alexander that might conceivably have provided the basis for some aspects of the practice of ritual enactments of power relationships. The far-reaching ideas of L'Orange (1953) on the ancient Near Eastern roots of the iconography of cosmic kingship seem here to have been totally muted. I have recently urged a new look at the role of the Achaemenid court in the formulation of ceremonials of kingship (based in creative ways on more ancient precedents) that ultimately find reflection in Roman and Byzantine traditions (Root 1989; note also Berger 1970).

I have been suggesting here a view of artistic continuities within the inherently conservative setting of the temple and of specifically cult-related royal activities. There were also workshop environments that were more open, more 'secular.' The palace-serving workshops were the places where innovation was most likely to occur in compressed periods of time in order to meet the urgent demands of specific political ideologies and the demands of specific clients of the court circle. These workshops were probably also based to a great extent on inherited employment patterns that had long continuities built into them. Seal workshops in the Persian heartland reveal the abilities of artisans of the Achaemenid court milieu to reference antique stylistic modes in the creation of new art (Root 1990b: 130-2; 1991: 22). Garrison's stylistic analyses of the heroic combat sealings on the Persepolis Fortification tablets have shown that very few of the antique-looking impressions in this iconographic category are actually antiques. Most of them are archaising artistic products (Garrison 1988). Garrison has demonstrated that this active referencing of the past in the creation of new seals was a process that did not come to an abrupt end with the development of the Achaemenid court style. The referencing of antique stylistic modes in the seal workshops of the heartland was not the result of a paucity of creative options. It was an expressive and creative statement (Garrison 1991). The ability to make such a statement presupposes patron knowledge of and interest in such a mode of self-assertion, the craftsman's access to antique repertoire, and certain continuities in the craft skills needed to actualise those citations from the antique. There must have been a subtle balance operating among these aspects of the situation. The Fortification seals analysed in Garrison's dissertation will appear in a fully illustrated catalogue as the first fascicle of a publication (Garrison & Root forthcoming) of all the Fortification seals on tablets published by R.T. Hallock (=PF).

For the Achaemenid empire, great insistence has been placed upon the dependence of the court art on imported Greek artisans (a problem discussed in Root 1979: 4-15). This notion has so overwhelmed discourse that it has thwarted serious comment on issues of the mechanisms of transmission of visual formulations in an internationalised environment (for some preliminary comments see Root 1990b: 127-35; see also the significant contributions of Roaf — along very different lines — to the study of mechanisms of artistic planning and production: Roaf 1983 and 1990).

One of the great ironies of scholarship on Achaemenid art relates to the selective reading of the Susa Foundation Charter (DSf) of Darius I (Kent 1953: 142-144). This official proclamation presents a rhetorical litany of tasks performed by specific foreign artisans. Scholars emphasising the primary importance of Greek artists in the creation of Achaemenid art have used this text to bolster the claim. Yet, to the extent that the text can be used as a factual account at all, the roles of other national groups appear equally important. This text has been used to exaggerate the role of Greeks at the Persian court. In the process, the significance of the participation of indigenous Near Eastern craftsmen (e.g., Egyptians, Babylonians, Elamites, Medes) has been effectively muted. In other words, the typical scenario of artistic production in the Persian empire has avoided reference to natural mechanisms of continuity in indigenous craft tradition because of the insistence on the supreme importance of Greek creative overlay.

Craft tradition in the fluid, internationalised settings of major imperial building programmes involved the broadening, the horizontal cross-fertilising, of the vertical craft continuities much-discussed earlier in this paper. When artisans travel (whether freely or by force) they see things and learn things. This received information becomes some part of their professional equipment that goes wherever they go.

The visual and social environment of the Achaemenid empire had not been wiped clean of the more ancient past. Much was available for the scrutiny of the migrant artist as well as the indigenous artist. This environment also maintained rich visual association with its past after the conquests of Alexander. In the last section, we shall examine aspects of continuity that were reinforced through the authority of art itself.

B. Art as its own vehicle of transmission

The antiquarian zeal of certain kings is well known. Just as there were libraries that held collections of literature, so too there were treasuries of valued monuments and artifacts. Babylonian copies of the texts inscribed on much earlier Akkadian royal statues show us links between archival traditions of information preservation and the perpetuation of traditions in visual imagery (Sollberger and Kupper 1971 for the texts; Root 1979: 134-135 for the statues). The Babylonian copies of the statue texts include annotations giving indications of the nature and placement of imagery of the enemy figures on the bases of the sculptures. These works of Akkadian art were not simply held as symbolic hostages of victory; they were the subject of some form of retrospective historical observation.

The antiquities collected at Susa, right in the Achaemenid heartland, enabled the preservation of many of the (to us) most famous freestanding monuments of Mesopotamia (Cameron 1936: 110 and 129; Harper et al. 1992). Given Assurbanipal's vivid descriptions of the loot removed from this city during the siege, we are entitled to imagine a wondrous place indeed. It is apparently impossible to reconstruct from the excavation records precisely how the different preserved antiquities relate to one another contextually. This is unfortunate. It would have been exciting to know for sure which of the antiquities were still visible in early Achaemenid times. The collection excavated in the northern sector at Babylon, apparently started by Nebuchadnezzar, was definitely still functional during the reign of Darius. A copy of the Behistun monument of Darius was part of its holdings (Koldewey 1913: 164; Seidl 1976).

The antiquities collection at Ur, maintained by the princess En-nigaldi-Nannar, daughter of Nabonidus, has a surprisingly modern feel to it because of the label appended to one of the curios:

> These are copies from bricks found in the ruins of Ur, the work of Bur-Sin king of Ur, which while searching the ground-plan (of the temple) the Governor of Ur found, and I saw and wrote out for the marvel of beholders. (Woolley 1954: 238)

The mutilated bronze head from an Akkadian ruler's statue, found in the late seventh century destruction debris of Nineveh suggests the existence of an Assyrian royal treasure there, with antiquities laden with political meaning (Nylander 1980). The collections housed in the Treasury at Persepolis are well known and provide clear evidence of the perpetuation of this tradition among the Achaemenids (Schmidt 1957; Cahill 1985).

Finally, to bring the discussion down into the post-Achaemenid context, we note the extraordinary sculpture gallery of Adad-nadin-ahhe, a local ruler installed at Girsu (Telloh) during the Parthian period. From the tell that he had reoccupied, Adad-nadin-ahhe acquired a group of eight statues of Gudea, dating back to the late third millennium B.C. He arranged them in two flanks — the seated figures opposed to the standing figures. He also reused bricks stamped with Gudea's name. And he made new bricks, stamped with his own name (in both Aramaean and Greek characters) — these carefully made to imitate the bricks of Gudea (Downey 1988: 48).

Seals occupy a special place in the story of artistic transmission through collections. Seal hoards are one indication of the value placed on this class of artifacts. A seal hoard from Nimrud found in a grave of the second century B.C. included a set of cylinder seals, the oldest of which was an Akkadian contest seal. This was made about 2,000 years before its final interment (Mallowan 1966: vol. I, fig. 276). Similarly, a wooden box found in the excavations of Nippur contained a collection of Kassite semi-precious seals. Presumably they had been assembled for recutting about 1,000 years later (Hilprecht 1903: 335-6). In the pavement joints around the podium of the Parthian period Gareus Temple at Uruk four cylinder seals (ranging in date from the Early Dynastic period to the Kassite period) were carefully placed (Ellis 1968: 137; see Collon 1987: 135-137 for additional seal hoards of great interest).

Seals traveled widely along with their owners. A seal carried by its owner on his travels will have been a critical source of affirmation of its imagery in new contexts every time it was activated as a positive, legible impression. When the traveling seal was an antique or an archaising work, its activated image reasserted vertical links with the past on an expansive horizontal mode simultaneously. The continued use of antique seals on state documents of international affairs is another significant means by which the authority of ancient images and stylistic modes was reasserted horizontally across cultural zones as well as vertically through time (e.g., Wiseman 1958; Collon 1987: 97-99).

The re-cutting of antique seals during later periods is an important phenomenon demonstrating continuities in the available repertoire through time. Collon notes, among several other remarkable cases, an Ur III seal recut in order to add an Old Persian inscription (Collon 1987: 120-2, fig. 518). An even more time-overlayed example is the 'Nebuchadnezzar Gem.' This is in fact a Renaissance paste reproduction of an inscribed Neo-Babylonian gemstone (possibly the eye inlay for a statue) bearing the name Nebuchadnezzar. To this Neo-Babylonian artifact (preserved down into the Renaissance), a male portrait in Greek hellenistic style was added at a later time. Menant suggested Alexander as the subject of this likeness (Menant 1886: 142-148). Unfortunately, the object is no longer extant for examination.

We have seen that treasuries and hoards of various sorts constituted a significant vehicle for the continuity of artistic imagery. In the ancient Near East, the countryside itself was also a kind of treasury. The rock reliefs of ancient kings were an integral part of the visible environment (e.g., Herzfeld and Sarre

1910; Börker-Klähn 1982; Root 1990a). The ruins of many ancient cities remained partly visible. They were investigated, plundered, and re-inhabited by succeeding generations (Root 1979: 25). Nevertheless, in most discussions of artistic transmission relating to the ancient Near East, the notion of direct encounter with visible, non-portable remains is ignored or dismissed. A good example is Dentzer's meticulously researched study of the ancient Near Eastern 'banquet couché' and its influence on western art. Here, the remote possibility of direct encounter with prototype monuments is acknowledged; but it is not pursued, because it is considered difficult to believe (Dentzer 1982: 50).

Many scholars have championed the impact of famous Greek artists on the sculptures of Behistun and Persepolis. But this same scholarly tradition has simultaneously emphasised that the Greeks had never even heard of Persepolis until Alexander arrived there; and that Persepolis was off-limits to foreigners because it was a religious centre. A good example is von Graeve's very interesting discussion of the possible ways in which the audience and heroic combat scenes painted on the shields of the Alexander Sarcophagus could have been copied from the Persepolis prototypes (von Graeve 1970: esp. 108-9). Von Graeve remarks that no Greek artist was likely to have seen Persepolis (because of the reasons noted above). He is forced to propose that the only possible moment of vision of the monuments by the Greek artist who painted the shields on the Sarcophagus had to be just when Alexander was there. There is an unspoken assumption that Alexander's destruction of the city meant that none of the relevant reliefs remained visible after that point. In other words, the only window of opportunity, from its foundation onward, when Persepolis could have had an impact on the Greek world would have been the winter of 331 B.C. — during Alexander's stay preceding the burning of the city.

This notion is not tenable. To be sure, the classical sources describe the utter destruction of Persepolis by the Macedonian army (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991b). Be that as it may, the site never lost its glamour. It is well known that Persepolis became a source of building materials and visual inspiration after its demise as a capital city of the vast Achaemenid empire. A great deal of Persepolis remained standing, uncovered by debris, throughout its entire post-destruction history. Hallmarks were the Gate of All Lands, the north facade reliefs of the Apadana, the 'Harem' of Xerxes, and the doorjamb reliefs of the Throne Hall. This much is very clear from the illustrations of the site made by early European travelers (see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991a, 1991b). The interest that the ruins held for the Sasanians is clear; and it is generally acknowledged. The awe in which they were held in early Islamic times is captured by medieval Arab writers (Ouseley 1821: 316-420, for a valuable survey of these works). Al-Mas'udi (early tenth century A.D.), for instance, describes the animal capitals of the Apadana as well as the great stairway reliefs of the north facade, noting that the latter were thought by the local populace to represent images of the prophets (Al-Mas'udi 1914: 76-77). The standing ruins were a continual resource for Iranian artists long before they were ever excavated by the Oriental Institute (viz., Peterson 1979; Lerner 1980). Surely they held a fascination for Alexander and for the Greeks who ruled this part of the Near East in his wake.

I venture to speculate on the impact of Persepolis upon Alexander and his close associates. The description by Diodorus (XVIII 26,3) of the accoutrements of Alexander's funeral carriage includes a mention of a suspended representation of Alexander enthroned and holding a scepter, in the company of an honour guard of Macedonians and Persians. This sounds strikingly similar to the scenes on the north door reliefs of the Throne Hall at Persepolis (Schmidt 1953: pls. 96-101). Here, the Persian king is enthroned, holding a scepter, with a male honour guard below him. These guard figures are dressed in two distinct costumes: the Iranian riding tunic and trousers and the pleated robe. The sartorial differentiation is meant to suggest the unity of the two essential elements of the Achaemenid Persian powerbase: the military aspect and the courtly aspect, according to my interpretation (Root 1979: 281-2); or the Median and Persian cultural groups, according to the standard interpretation. In either case, it is clear that the funeral tableau made for Alexander could have been inspired directly by the Achaemenid imagery and message as available on the perpetually visible post-destruction ruins of the Persepolis Throne Hall. As an illustration of Alexander's dream of a world order confirmed by the supportive unity of Macedonians and Persians, the funeral tableau demonstrates the reliance of this idea of empire upon imperial visions formulated by the early Achaemenids and displayed with absolute clarity of implication in the imperial programme of monumental sculpture.

Our desire to compartmentalise history allows us to imagine 'utterly destroyed' cities as absolutely closed books. In reality, however, the authority of ruined but living splendor can be a powerful mechanism of continuity (viz., Greenhalgh 1989 for the middle ages). The significance of Persepolis was no exception. The history of its isolation and dismissal in twentieth-century scholarship neatly epitomises the conventional eurocentric approach to the study of the empire as a whole.

THE ORALITY OF HERODOTUS' *MEDIKOS LOGOS* OR: THE MEDIAN EMPIRE REVISITED

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The present paper takes up an issue which I first presented to the Achaemenid History Workshop of 1985 in London: the question of the existence of state-formation in the Median period, or in other words: Was the so-called Median empire indeed an empire? In that paper I argued that, if compared to an anthropological definition, the evidence for the Median empire does not display any of the features that we might expect to find according to an anthropological model. This sceptical position has encountered some criticism from colleagues who told me that they believed that, although there might never have been a political structure in Median times which corresponded with the precise definition I had applied to the situation, nevertheless there must have been 'some sort of empire' or an 'empire of a different kind.' In discussions I was, furthermore, repeatedly told that there was indeed archaeological evidence for the Medes (cf. also Muscarella, this vol.). Before taking what I regard as the logical next step in this discussion, an analysis of the only source which seems to picture a Median empire as such, Herodotus' *Medikos Logos*, some misunderstandings should be clarified.

Of course there were Medes. Even if they were absolutely undetectable in the archaeological evidence, their appearance in the Assyrian and Babylonian records is sufficient proof that such a people lived in Northwest Iran. Whether or not one can detect a typical Median archaeological culture (Genito 1986; Muscarella 1987; Calmeyer 1987a) is in this respect irrelevant. Their existence is sufficiently documented by the cuneiform texts. Neither can one argue that there were no developments of a state-formation kind in the territory in which these Medes lived. There clearly were tendencies towards intensification of the social structure that are indicative of processes of political development. The case has been stated most clearly by Brown (1986). The Medes did not live in a vacuum and were not isolated from their neighbours: contacts, especially with Assyria, may well have triggered off processes that might eventually have led to the formation of a state or an empire (these processes are described by Brown 1986: 114). My argument was, that as far as one can see, it had not.

This matter is far from being purely a problem of definition. What is at issue is whether we may *assume* a linear development of increasing political stratification, starting sometime in the seventh century in Median territory and continuing directly through the early Achaemenid empire. What I was arguing was that, although initial processes of state-formation are visible in the seventh century (cf. Brown 1986; Briant 1984b), this development seems to have been interrupted or entered a phase of devolution (retrogade evolution) and, on the Iranian plateau, only received new impetus during the reign of Cyrus. My deviation from the standard opinion, or rather the different hypothesis I am proposing, is based on two methodological points. It is worthwhile to remember that neither my propositions, nor the more accepted position can be anything but a hypothesis, unverifiable for the present, but potentially 'falsifiable' in the future. The methodological points in question are 1) the occurrence of lacunae in the records should be evaluated and taken into account, and 2) our customary loose terminology and concepts should be calibrated by the better defined conceptual systems of the social sciences. Nobody, as far as I know, has yet argued that for the sixth century B.C. the Median territory yields abundant documentation. There is an obvious vacuum in the source-material. One may take an expectant attitude and hope that it will be found some day, meanwhile assuming that it is there, buried underground for the time being and awaiting future excavation. Most scholars, when discussing the Median empire prefer this position. All analyses of the Median empire that postulate a linear development are based on the *assumption* that the lacunae will some day be filled. Because we lack contemporaneous evidence for the first half of the sixth century, all statements on the Median empire are either assumptions or hypotheses; they cannot be regarded as descriptions, since there is no evidence that they describe.

Epistemologically, it is perfectly sound to try to explain a lacuna. That is what the hypothesis I proposed in 1985 aimed to do. If we have no evidence as yet, can there be any intrinsic reason for its virtual absence, other than mere hazard of discovery? Is there an explanation which fits both the state of the available evidence and the apparent absence of other documentation? The first rule in historical research is to assess the nature and quality of the source-material, before using it. That should apply both to extant, as well as to apparently absent, material. We cannot guess what may be found in the future. It is, therefore, at present safest to develop alternative hypotheses which only future excavations can put to the test. The hypothesis of a full flown empire is available and is the prevalent option in the literature (although it is often presented in such positive terms that its hypothetical character is easily overlooked); what is lacking at present is an explanation or hypothesis which takes the lack of sixth century data into account. To present the case in the most unequivocal terms possible: a hypothesis is not the same as a statement. A statement is an assertion. A hypothesis is: "a tentative assumption made in order to draw out and test its logical and empirical consequences" (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*). I have nowhere in earlier papers claimed to describe a situation and I am not intending to do so in this paper. I merely offer a tentative assumption to be tested for its logical and empirical consequences. It should be emphasised that too often what in fact are hypotheses or assumptions, through repetition and reiteration, are masked as facts. Accumulation of scholarly support for such 'well-established facts' does not prove much.

The second point is the matter of terminology. Concepts like 'state' or 'empire' are indeed applied rather loosely, but *do* carry with them a set of connotations. They suggest the existence of an administrative centre, of some kind of bureaucracy, in short, of a state system.[1] If we apply terms such as 'state' or 'empire' to the situation in the Median territory in the sixth century, we thereby at least imply the existence of such a structure. It is no good justifying the use of terms like 'empire' and 'state' by saying that it was probably a particular kind of empire and in reality more like a tribal confederacy or something similar. If it was like a tribal confederacy, then we should call it so. There is an essential difference between a state and tribal systems: the first type of political constellation has, at the very least, *some* stability, the second one is *by definition* unstable (see Sahlins 1968: 4ff.). It may be difficult to abandon familiar and cherished terminology, but progress in scholarly discussions is helped by conceptual clarity. To sum up this part of the argument: what I am pleading for is that we take a fresh look at the available records and see how far an alternative hypothesis takes us.

In my earlier paper I argued that the archaeological evidence seems to point to a lack of state-structure (Sancisi - Weerdenburg1988: 198ff.) and that the linguistic evidence (the Median loanwords in old Persian) cannot be accepted as proof of a cumulative process of political development along linear lines (1988: 208ff.). In this paper I want to discuss the evidence provided by Herodotus' *Medikos Logos*, discussed only briefly in the last paragraph of my previous article. Again, my main point is a basic rule of historical methodology, i.e. before accepting the facts supplied by a source, an evaluation of the character and reliability of the document is needed.[2] Although Herodotus deserves full credit for his achievements, understanding of the enormity of the task he carried out is not furthered by uncritical acceptance of everything he reports.

Herodotus' Medikos Logos

In chapters 96-107 of the first book Herodotus describes developments in the Median area from the period of Deiokes, who founded the Median empire, to the time of Astyages who lost his realm to his grandson Cyrus the Persian.

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[1] E.g.: one cannot very well imagine how the reform which, according to Diakonov (1985: 122), was either carried out by Cyaxares or completed by the time of his reign, and which had transformed a tribal army into a "a regular army fully equipped by the state," could have worked without an extensive administrative apparatus. Yet there is no evidence at all suggesting its existence.

[2] The more usual procedure is to accept at face value the data given by a source and to apply source-criticism *only* if these do not seem to fit into the established interpretational framework. Needless to say, from a methodological point of view such a procedure is far from flawless.

We are told how Deiokes cleverly contrived to establish a monarchy, how his son Phraortes subsequently attacked the Assyrian empire without success, how Phraortes' son Cyaxares suffered from a Scythian domination of his countries, but managed to shake the nomads off and afterwards defeated the Assyrians. Cyaxares was succeeded by his son Astyages who eventually became the grandfather of Cyrus and was defeated by him.

These chapters, as I have said earlier, form our only written evidence for the *kind of developments* which took place in Western Iran in the late seventh and early sixth century. This becomes clear if one has a look at recent manuals on early Iranian history: references to the *events* of this period are to the cuneiform sources, to *developments* in the political sphere to Herodotus.[3] The cuneiform sources give names of peoples, clashes with Assyria and names of chiefs or kings, they do not provide any precise information as to the political constellation east of the Zagros. It hardly matters whether one argues for unification of the Median state in the second quarter of the seventh century[4] or towards its end. It is understandable that we would prefer to keep such a precious source rather than discard it, and consequently a number of arguments have been brought forward in defence of Herodotus' essential reliability.

1) The names which Herodotus gives are either corroborated by Babylonian sources or convincingly Iranian and/or attested in other cuneiform sources. I will make no attempt at listing the scholarly literature dedicated to this problem. The case has recently been stated by Helm (1981) and Brown (1988) with full bibliographical references.

2) Since it must be presumed that an oral source lies at the base of Herodotus' report, it is argued that oral traditions can faithfully preserve facts and dates over long periods and that, in view of the corroborating evidence from the surrounding areas, it has done so in this case (Brown 1988; cf. Helm 1981, who moves the date of origin of this oral tradition, supposedly preserved in Herodotus, to the early sixth century and believes its beginning to coincide with the unification of the Median state).

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[3] E.g. Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 53; Diakonov 1985: 115. Statements such as: "The rise of a *unified* (it. H.S.-W.) Median state in the early seventh century B.C. is attested in Assyrian texts" (Yamauchi 1990: 51, merely accompanied by a reference to Diakonov 1985: 110), are misleading.

[4] So e.g. Cook 1983: 7: "The unifying of the Medes, which Herodotus attributes to Deiokes, may have been largely the work of Khshathrita in the second quarter of the seventh century. This would not conflict with the archaeological evidence ..." The archaeological evidence referred to here is pottery "typical of the Iranian speaking intruders," which is then regarded as a "suitable context for Herodotus' statement that ... Phraortes went on to conquer the peoples of Asia" (*ibid.*). Even if pottery can be used to trace the coming of a group of newcomers, conclusions as to what level of political development these intruders had reached are beyond the scope of this type of material.

3) A more recent argument holds that the *Medikos Logos* gives an essentially plausible report of the formative process of the Median empire, and therefore deserves trust (Brown 1988).

All these recent discussions agree in assuming that Herodotus' source must have been an oral one. It is agreed implicitly that no written historiography had existed in Median times, and that therefore no written data could have reached Herodotus. How Herodotus obtained his, essentially oral, information remains unclarified, although elsewhere it has been said that his report shows signs of reworking of the data in Greek or Ionian surroundings and that the chronological framework is Greek rather than Iranian (Masetti 1971-72: 278ff.; Miller 1965: 109ff.). I will argue that the Greekness of these chapters is reflected not only in their chronology but throughout the story, which explains why it is such a plausible reconstruction of Median history. Historians do not tend to write implausible histories. Greek historians had some ideas on how state-structures came into being and those ideas are not entirely different from our own views on the subject. The *Medikos Logos* was, as I will try to explain, primarily a Greek product, made up not from Iranian oral elements, but from primary material (or semi-primary material; the precise stages of its production will remain elusive) derived from Babylonian archival traditions. Given this line of reasoning it is important to consider first of all the question of the presumed orality of the *Medikos Logos*.

Oral traditions

The assumption that the *Medikos Logos* goes back to an oral source is, in a sense, a logical consequence of the verifiability of some of the names occurring in it. The names and deeds of Cyaxares and Astyages are both well attested in the cuneiform records. Phraortes is an authentic Iranian name occurring in DB II 14,66,71,73, IV 18. Although Deiokes' name presents more problems it is clear that even in this case Herodotus presents no product of phantasy (cf. Schmitt 1974: 147). Therefore Herodotus must have had a reliable source. Since it is clear that the Medes had nothing similar to historiography or to other systems of recordkeeping of historical events, the only alternative has to be that there was an oral historical tradition available on which he could rely. The existence of such a Median oral tradition is a postulate, needed to fill a gap, rather than a fact for which there exists direct, or even circumstantial, evidence. This should not be taken to imply that I deny the existence of Median oral traditions. I merely want to underline the hypothetical character of this part of the traditional interpretation, as well as the circularity of the argument.

The next question is in how far oral traditions may be regarded as trustworthy. Here one is inevitably confronted with the research of Jan

Vansina.[5] Unfortunately his work is often used in a rather selective way. It is true that Vansina in his important *De la tradition orale* says that oral traditions *can* preserve facts for long periods: some two hundred years seems to be the longest possible stretch for authentic preservation. In the case of the Median empire one is at the limits of this period: Herodotus writing around 435-430 is separated by two and a half centuries from the presumed rise of the Median empire, sometime at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. It should, however, not be forgotten that Vansina addressed himself to historians who, as was usual at the time of the first publication of *De la tradition orale*, 1961 (quoted here in the American edition of 1965), denied all trustworthiness to oral sources. Vansina's argument was directed at this sceptical attitude, hence he argued that oral traditions ought not to be discarded *in toto* by historians. He demonstrated that under *some* conditions and in *certain* circumstances oral traditions do retain valuable historical material.

But Vansina said more: he argued first of all that not all oral traditions retain their data in the same way: some are more reliable than others. Oral tradition merits *some amount of credence within certain limits*: "The historical information that can be obtained from oral traditions is therefore always of a limited nature and has a certain bias" (Vansina 1965: 172). He did not say anywhere that one may automatically assume that, if certain data can be proved to be correct, other data in the same tradition may be assumed to be equally reliable. On the contrary, the way oral traditions work should make us extremely cautious in this respect. The reliability of the oral tradition is more or less congruent with the degree of political organisation in a given area (1965: 170): highly developed political systems tend to pay more attention to their oral records than segmentary societies or micro-societies were traditions are carelessly transmitted (Vansina 1965: 171-2). But, while paying more attention to the oral record is some sort of warranty for more careful transmission, it also entails the danger that it is more deliberately tampered with. Vansina's work has stimulated a large number of investigations into living African oral traditions and, as is bound to happen with really original research, his results have been heavily criticised. There is criticism from structuralist oriented, mainly anthropological, scholars, who more or less argue that all oral traditions are essentially statements about the present and therefore utterly useless to investigations of the past (cf. Miller 1980: 3f.). This extreme position is not very helpful to historians interested in a meticulous reconstruction of the past, but it should nonetheless not go unnoticed and inspire us to some caution.

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[5] For the importance of Vansina's work cf. Henige 1982: 21.

More useful to an analysis aiming at a reconstruction of the past are attempts, such as that made by Miller and others, to define the anatomy of oral traditions (Miller 1980). What do they look like, how are they to be distinguished from written traditions, how are they constructed and transmitted? Miller's volume contains a number of case-studies of analyses of African traditions, preceded by a theoretical introduction by Miller (1980: 1-59) and followed by a very thoughtful discussion of the working of the human memory by Vansina (1980: 262-279). It is clear that precisely this type of analysis can be very useful to ancient historians who usually, unlike the African examples, have just one version and cannot compare it with other traditions or with divergent versions. In this respect it is more helpful to look for comparisons in Africa than to turn to the Homeric tradition as an analogy, although the form of this latter one is undeniably better and more extensively investigated. But research in the archaic Greek situation suffers from the same problems as the ones we encounter in the Iranian situation: a lack of immediate context from which to verify data.

The undeniable fact that oral traditions can preserve reliable data is not sufficient to assume that they did so. In his recent book *Oral Tradition as History* of 1985, apparently meant to supersede his 1961 volume, Vansina is very outspoken about *a priori* assumptions of the reliability of oral traditions. "Superficially, this leads to gloomy conclusions because cases of unreliability are piled one onto the other" (1985: 197). There are, of course, some more optimistic notes in Vansina's conclusions and he gives some indications as to how oral traditions may yield important information on the past, especially for periods in the history of mankind to which we would have no access without these traditions. He calls the whole process of gathering these data a 'historiology,' thus explicitly indicating that the results are by definition different from what we are accustomed to call historiography (1985: 196).

In the case of the *Medikos Logos*, this implies that if we put trust in all the facts in Herodotus' report because of the correctness of some of them, we are neglecting the warnings of those who have struggled with the contents of live oral historical traditions. It is perhaps worthwhile to emphasise once more that Vansina's most recent monograph is entirely dedicated to the process of extracting historical information from oral sources. The process is far more complicated than the one assumed or implicitly used in the case of the retrieval of Median history from Herodotus' account.

But it seems to me that we could go even further setting out from the results of research in African history and from those in other comparable and better studied oral traditions: we should question whether the *Medikos Logos* is an oral tradition at all.

The anatomy of oral traditions

As we have seen earlier, the assumption that the *Medikos Logos* is an oral *tradition* is the more or less logical consequence of accepting the reliability of the data in it. The facts are (some more, some less) correct, therefore the *Logos* should be regarded as a historical document originating from the regions where presumably this kind of knowledge was available and, since in these regions written historiography is not attested and presumably did not exist at that time, it must have been orally transmitted. One should, however, study the source on its own merits and ask what features it has that would point to an oral origin. Regardless of its potential veracity, correct methodical procedure prompts the question: Is the *Medikos Logos* the kind of story, report or tale that one could classify as oral because of the features it shows? Instead of a reasoning by default, which has led to the assumption that it must be oral, it is important to argue from the characteristics of the source itself.

In the next paragraphs I will take the role of devil's advocate in arguing that the *Medikos Logos* is not oral history at all, that it does not have the most common characteristics of oral traditions and that in fact its congruence with Mesopotamian data is a powerful argument *against* its presumed orality. This in turn will have consequences for our vision of the Median empire to which I will return in the last part of my paper.

There are, of course, many forms of oral tradition, from the mere transmission of news and gossip to very formal and rigorously guarded traditions. There are public traditions and family traditions. Although the particular shape or form which a tradition takes is of great importance with respect to the reliability of the data preserved in it, in the case of the Median empire we have very little to go upon. Vansina has consistently argued for a connection between political structure and oral tradition (Vansina 1965: 171f.), but this is of no help at all when one is questioning the very existence of the political — or rather imperial — structure. There obviously was a religious oral tradition at this stage of Iranian history. It is not hard to believe in the existence of a more secular tradition as well and the most likely form one would assume for this tradition is one which was structured by the names of kings and/or heroic figures. That such a tradition had indeed existed is confirmed by the *Shahnameh*, and by various fragments and scraps of information in the Greek sources. This, it seems, is the kind of tradition that is assumed to underly Herodotus' *Medikos Logos* (cf. Helm 1981; Brown 1986).

Such a tradition would be similar to the ones discussed by Miller for Africa. The names of kings, and therefore their reigns, commonly serve as the backbone of the tradition. To those names are attached memorable deeds and events. Miller, in his introduction to the collection of studies in African oral traditions mentioned above, discusses the historiographical merits of oral traditions. He distinguishes several elements from which oral traditions are constructed: clichés, episodes around these clichés and the personal memories of the teller of the tale. All these elements are brought together by means of 'structuring and selection' (Miller 1980: 7). They are formed into what Miller calls 'epochs,' sometimes connected by 'magical' causation, often linked through anachronisms and genealogies and given shape by variation. It is very characteristic for an oral narrator to leave rough edges, to leave the 'seams' in his story visible, or rather audible. It is precisely those seams which may serve the historian as a clue to how the complete narrative was composed from the various original elements (Miller 1980: 7). The main element, the cliché, can also be described as 'nuclear image' or 'symbolic image' (Vansina 1965). As examples of such clichés Miller gives the arrival of a foreign hunter who settles in the new society as king, or elements such as legal or royal dicta. Vansina (1985: 21) mentions that in Central Africa marriage often serves as a cliché expressing the relationship between chiefs. In societies that knew or had known state-like organisations, these traditions are very often structured through the reigns of kings. This might suggest that there is a real chronology behind the story but extreme caution is needed: battles can be seen to move from one king to the other, stereotypical good kings or stereotypical bad kings each attract appropriate and characteristic clichés. There is no firm link between the cliché and the epoch to which it originally belonged and they easily get separated. This may in part be due to the faint connection and the logical relation between a certain event and the period in which this happened (if indeed there is a connection) in the memory of the teller. "Thus, founders of dynasties tend to receive credit in oral traditions, not only for their own deeds, but also for the notable achievements of their successors" (Miller 1980: 16). The important point here is that, although both events and names may at first sight look historically authentic, there is no guarantee whatsoever that either of these, or the connection between them, merits trust. In a society where there is no firm and written evidence of the past and no clear picture of various developments in that past, it is almost impossible to backdate typical historical events. If we, for example, are confronted with an isolated report of an historical event, it is usually possible to relate that event to our knowledge of the past. We know that in certain periods certain types of armour were used, specific kinds of poetry were current and so on. Our historical knowledge is cumulative and made possible by the existence of writing. Anachronisms on medieval paintings of the birth of Christ, for example, may serve to illustrate better what I mean. Although the event, or the narrated activity, belongs to the distant past, the portrayed figures, their clothing and the landscapes belong to the present.

This should be borne in mind when we are dealing with oral traditions: "In many oral societies the remote past is of little concern beyond its essentially synchronic purposes of justifying land rights and lineage segmentation, and it is therefore forgotten. The development of certain exigencies caused, for example, by the imposition of indirect rule, required a reorientation of their own views of the past, whereas telescoping may once have best suited their social and political relationships, a new view of the past now seemed desirable. There are other reasons, of course, for lengthening the past ... much artificial lengthening is not the result of these kinds of conscious and motivated efforts at legitimation, but rather the product of a period of indifference and neglect" (Henige 1974: 41), and further: "The creativity with which oral narrators construct their tales about the past, suggests rather that variation in detail is more a result of positive value placed upon individual elaboration of historical clichés than a failure in handing down of some literal description of events" (Miller 1980: 17, see also Henige 1982: 87f.). What this amounts to is that although oral traditions may look like genuine historical knowledge in our meaning of the word, there is no guarantee that they will stand the test of historical criticism. Technological limitations of remembering the past in an environment which lacks reading and writing has important effects: "Oral historians turn to clichés to create evidence in a form that is easily remembered and therefore likely to persist in time. They select only those that are most vital, and memory of the past endures only so long as people survive who care enough to maintain it" (Miller 1980: 51).

African research is a sort of laboratory in which the reliability or trustworthiness of the traditions is one of the foci of research interest. There is an obvious need to give the African continent its history and it can only be reconstructed from orally transmitted data. In other oral traditions historical reliability or the need to reconstruct a historical past from the tradition are less well studied, or, as in the case of the Homeric tradition, have recently received less attention. Both the African and the Greek epic traditions, however, share one very important feature, which is so remarkable that it can be generalised: all oral traditions deal with concrete events, deeds and facts. They tell or retell *faits et gestes*, they do not relate abstract developments and processes. It is clear that, when performing in front of an audience, concrete events and activities are much better remembered than abstract analyses (or will hold the public's attention better). Vansina indeed warns against the occurrence of abstractions: one should be mistrustful "... of statements about former norms or general rules" (Vansina 1980: 269). Concrete facts, more often than not in the form of stories (or the elements from which these stories are composed), are the core of each oral tradition. These actions are frequently linked to a name: if the action has become irrelevant to present day knowledge, and disappears from the tradition, the name to which it was related disappears as well and the 'historical knowledge' is irretrievably lost. In the same way, if there is, in view of contemporary exigencies, a need to claim a longer past, the past can just be extended: names can be invented, repeated or inserted and deeds can be attached to them. Henige (1974: 38-64) gives a long list of devices employed to obtain the desired results. The reverse procedure is also known: artificial shortening of the past, commonly called 'telescoping' is, for obvious reasons, much rarer (Henige 1974: 27). Although the above results of the African research in oral traditions are only given here in an abbreviated and summary form, we nevertheless have some indications with which we can compare the *Medikos Logos*.

Median history in Herodotus

An analysis of the Median history in Herodotus results in the following scheme:

I 95 Medes free themselves from Assyria.
I 96 Deiokes, son of Phraortes becomes tyrant and withdraws from speaking justice.
I 97 Medes give in to Deiokes' demands.
I 98 Deiokes becomes king and obtains a body guard, a palace and a fortified residence in Ecbatana.
I 99 Establishment of royal protocol.
I 100 Deiokes speaks justice and maintains discipline.
I 101 List of Median tribes.
I 102 Phraortes succeeds to the throne. He atttacks Persians. Phraortes killed in attack on Assyria.
I 103 Cyaxares succeeds. Organises army.
[Cyaxares fought against the Lydians]. Attacks Niniveh in revenge for the death of his father. Scythians attack Cyaxares
I 104 Description of migration of the Scythians.
Scythians victorious over Medes.
I 105 Excursus on Scythians.
I 106 Scythians rule for twenty-eight years. Cyaxares defeats Scythians by a trick. Medes recover their empire (*tēn archēn*). Renewed attack on Niniveh. Medes victorious this time. Assyria, save Babylonia, subject to Cyaxares.
I 107 Cyaxares succeeded by his son Astyages.

The framework on which these chapters hinge is a chronological one: the Assyrians had held sway over upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years when the Medes liberated themselves from them; Deiokes ruled for fifty-three years; Phraortes twenty two; Cyaxares ruled forty years, including the twenty-eight of Scythian domination, and Astyages' reign lasted thirty-five years (I 130).

The 'facts' in the *Medikos Logos* are interlaced with comments such as: Deiokes was clever and had fallen in love with royal power (I 96); absence of justice results in lawlessness (I 97); Deiokes needs to separate himself from his equals and to establish himself as different from them; he enforces discipline in his territory (I 100); he unites the Median territory (I 101); Phraortes is not content with ruling the Medes only; the Assyrians were devoid of allies, although still quite strong (I 102); Cyaxares was a better soldier than his forebears (I 103); before him the army fought in disarray (I 103); Scythian rule was characterised by violence and pride (I 106).

What follows, in chapters 107-130 on the vicissitudes of Astyages, is primarily part of the tale of Cyrus' rise. Contrary to the preceding chapters summarised above, it shows clear features of an oral source. This, however, can not be said of the chapters forming the core of the *Medikos Logos*. We would expect stories, stereotypes, clichés, *faits et gestes* of kings, but what we actually find is a) a chronological framework, b) a structuring by reigns of kings, and c) only in the case of Deiokes a concrete story of his behaviour and that of his subjects who take action, hold a meeting and discuss the situation. It should be noted, however, that here as well the events are told in abstract terminology interlaced with value judgments on the results and effects of the activities. In the reign of Cyaxares there is a glancing reference to a story, namely to the ruse by which the Median king managed to get rid of the Scythians. If we compare these chapters with the ones immediately following them, the situation becomes even clearer. The conflict between Astyages and his grandson is told by means of a story (or a number of stories with actors, interaction and reactions). The preceding *Medikos Logos*, in fact looks more like a chronicle than a history drawn from an oral source. Only the short reference to the defeat of the Scythians and the description of Deiokes' rise to power look in any way like concrete activities. None of the attacks on Assyria mentioned is, for example, accompanied by a tale (or a reference to a tale) such as Cyrus' conquest of Babylon (I 188-191), Darius' conquest of that city (III 153-159), Cyrus' conquest of Sardis (I 84). The mention of Phraortes' subjugation of the Persians is a dry and abstract fact, the appraisal of Cyaxares' military qualities is unaccompanied by tales of the kind found, for example, about Smerdis (III 30) being able to draw a bow better than his royal brother.

What is also strikingly absent, is the divine: no dreams, no divine warnings, no difficulties in interpreting *omina*, no signs from heaven, not even in the case of Deiokes, whose story is told in some detail. It seems superfluous to quote here further examples. A comparison with the subsequent chapters on Astyages and Cyrus is sufficient. There we find dreams (I 107, 108), the explanation of these *omina*, divine intervention or at least a remnant of it (Spaka, I 122) etc. Furthermore, in the *Medikos Logos* there are no seams or rough edges, the whole report is perfectly consistent, perfectly plausible and therefore — it seems to me — perfectly unlike oral traditions.

One may of course argue that Herodotus had no time or space to tell a lot of stories about the Medes, that he abbreviated whatever he found as tales and stories and reduced them to their bare essentials, hence the seemingly abstract report we find in his *Medikos Logos*. This argument is, however, hardly convincing if we consider how few words are needed to tell a story in a nutshell, like the one on how Cyaxares got rid of the Scythians (I 106), a cliché for which parallels exist. Why would a good story-teller like Herodotus, who himself had been raised in Ionian *narrative* traditions (cf. Murray 1987: 107), suppress 'interesting' information and reduce his account to a colourless summing up of facts? The most logical answer to this question seems to me to be that Herodotus did not have more than he gives; that, therefore, he did not have an oral tradition to work with; that, therefore, he cannot have had at his disposal a Median tradition, which at the time when Herodotus' was collecting information was the only medium that could have transmitted such data over a stretch of roughly two centuries.

The provenience of Herodotus' information

The theory of the orality of the *Medikos Logos*, as we have seen above, seems to be a logical conclusion from the fact that some of its data are reliable. It is, however, not the only possible conclusion, nor is it the most economic hypothesis. In an oral tradition one might expect data to get mixed up, to appear in an erroneous, or at least garbled, chronological order, to have facts linked with the wrong names. It should be emphasised here once more that, if we are indeed dealing with an oral tradition, this tradition must have spanned the 150 to 200 years between the events and the time of Herodotus' writing. The correctness of the information, in my opinion, pleads rather *against* the orality of Herodotus' information. What I am suggesting here is that what has usually been regarded as independent evidence confirming Herodotus' reliability might well have been the very source which he tapped either directly, or, more likely indirectly. In other words, Herodotus' data do not derive from a Median source at all, but are brought together from information obtained in Babylonian surroundings. It is, in fact, remarkable that the reigns of Cyaxares and Astyages in Herodotus' description are almost totally congruent with the few data preserved in the (extant) Babylonian chronicle tradition. For earlier data we, as well as Herodotus or his predecessors, would have to search the Assyrian documents. It is very likely that the destruction of Assyria's main cities had resulted in the total disappearance of its archives and records, in sofar as copies were not preserved in Babylonia. It seems plausible — but more research should be done on this — that this Assyrian tradition was less easily accessible, or even totally unavailable after the fall of the empire, to curious and inquiring Greeks in the sixth and fifth centuries. Even if the state records had survived the destruction of the capitals, it should be remembered that the Assyrian habit of keeping historical records may well have declined in the second part of the seventh century, which was a time of considerable turmoil.

As to the availability of cuneiform sources to Herodotus or his predecessors, recent research has increasingly demonstrated that there were active contacts between the Greek world and Babylonia throughout the sixth and fifth centuries (Helm 1980: 237ff.). It is also clear that in Babylonia, the historical tradition was constantly being reworked, re-administered and rewritten and as such was open enough to answer the questions of inquisitive Greeks (Kuhrt 1988a; Harmatta 1974: 42). Archives were not closed in Babylonia, to be found unchanged and unadulterated by nineteenth and twentieth century archeologists. Archives formed part of the literate culture and documents from the past were reworked and extrapolated to cater for present political needs and contemporary understanding of past events. (Zawadzki 1988: 148; Kuhrt 1987a: 148f.). Any Greek interested in Mesopotamian history, could obtain reliable data at the source.

While this may explain the provenience of some of the constituent parts of the *Medikos Logos*, it does not account for the entire narrative as such. It has been suggested earlier that the chronology of the *Medikos Logos* is essentially a Greek product (Masetti 1971-72; Drews 1969). The beginning of the story, i.e. the rise of Deiokes, has also been labelled appropriately as "parts of the ordinary Greek Tyrant's progress" (How & Wells 1912: ad.loc.). Furthermore, the orthography of both the names of Deiokes and Astyages seems to show traces of reworking in Greek surroundings (Schmitt 1974; Schmitt 1967: 124). It seems indeed that a good case can be made for hypothesising Greek origins for the *Medikos Logos*. Only in this way is it possible to explain why the narrative presents such a plausible reconstruction of the rise of the Median empire.

The Medikos Logos *as a Greek product*

If we start from the hypothesis that the *Medikos Logos* is a Greek explanation of the stages preceding the Persian empire, we can sketch the following outlines: the Babylonian chronicles were reworked in the Persian period, i.e. astronomical diaries were used for the extraction of historical data (Kuhrt 1987a: 149), chronicles were being rewritten (Zawadzki 1988: 132). From these sources the names of Astyages and Cyaxares were retrieved. The connection between Cyrus and Astyages gave rise to a tale such as the one told by Herodotus in chapters I 107-129 and the alternative one told by Ctesias. Whether or not we want to believe that Cyrus was related by marriage to the

Median king depends on the amount of trust we are prepared to put in an oral tradition (cf. the opinion of Vansina quoted above). Proof both ways is obviously lacking, but parallels from other oral traditions make it clear that the insertion of a marriage-motif is a convenient way to connect legitimacy-claims to previously ruling families — called genealogical parasitism by Henige (1974: 55).[6] Once this relationship between the Persian Cyrus and the Median king is forged through marriage on the narrative level, it becomes more easily understandable why, on the same level, the aggressor in the subsequent conflict has to be Cyrus, the vassal. Herodotus here deviates from the Nabonidus chronicle, where it is Ištumegu (i.e. Astyages) who starts the war.

The various stages of the attacks on Assyria are well documented in the Nabopolassar chronicle (Grayson 1975a: 90ff.). The name of the king commanding the Median forces is equally well attested (ibid. ll. 29, 30, 40, 47). It should be mentioned here, that the relationship between Astyages and Cyaxares is only attested in Herodotus. Doubt about the historicity of the family-ties between these Median kings is not exaggerated, since the Median rebel of the Behistun inscription claims to be a descendant of Cyaxares, not of Astyages.[7] One can, of course, argue here that Astyages was the less successful and more hated Median ruler of the two and that therefore Cyaxares had a better reputation which made him the likelier candidate for serving as the name on the banner of revolt. If, however, we follow the line of reasoning sketched above, this argument does not hold. Astyages' portrayal as a greedy despot and a harsh master should then be regarded exclusively as a product of a much later, primarily Greek, set of historiographical explanations. Astyages fits perfectly into this exegetical system of the conquest spoiling the conqueror and eventually leading to his downfall. The claim by Phraortes in DB II,15 is about legitimacy: I am from this family and therefore I have a right to revolt and to rule. Whatever the personal character of the last legitimate king, it would have been logical to trace succession from him, i.e. from Astyages. I will not stress this point any further, since evidence both ways is lacking. It is sufficient to have made some critical remarks, which should be taken into consideration before we build any further constructions as to the state of affairs in the Median empire, on the foundation of these genealogical ties, which are only attested in the Greek sources.

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[6] His subsequent comments: "Genealogies become all-purpose tools, substituting for an array of unavailable mechanisms for social and political regulation. As such, they are regarded, not as immutable abstractions, but as pragmatic and serviceable instruments readily adaptable to continuing exigencies" (1974: 55) might well be borne in mind by those who attempt to forge Persian protohistory out of the various Achaemenid genealogies. Genealogies are the most likely material to be tampered with under the pressure of political demands. It is erroneous to suppose that collective memory poses a limit to the possibility of constructing a more or less fictitious genealogy. Even in our own time, it is hard to remember beyond one's grandparents. It is necessary to take into consideration how what we regard as 'tampering' might have been regarded by societies of the time.

[7] Cf. Young 1988: 17f. "we have no evidence independent of Herodotus that the kingship of Media at the time was hereditary."

The remarks on Cyaxares' talents as a military leader are the passages which form the basis for most scholars to assume that the real formation of the empire took place in this period.[8] The statement in Herodotus merely mentions that Cyaxares was much stronger (*alkimoteros*) than his predecessors and that he had organised his army in regiments and made a division of his troops into horsemen, bowmen and spear-fighters.[9] From the sceptical point of view which I am taking here, none of these remarks are difficult to explain once it was known that Cyaxares had successfully completed attacks on Assyrian territory. That fact in itself obviously qualifies him as a good general or a good leader of his men. If he could be assumed to have military capacities, knowing that the Persians were fighting with organised armies, and assuming (or 'knowing') that at one time the Medes had been a chaotic horde of warriors, it is not difficult to situate the reorganisation of the army at the time of Cyaxares. The connection would be no less far-fetched than the one modern historians have made of deducing processes of state-formation from Herodotus' mention of military reorganisation.

The Scythian troubles are attested in the Assyrian chronicles and it seems plausible that stories of Scythians roaming around were also circulating in Asia Minor. Although the two chapters on the Scythian migration seem to come from some other source, the version of the *Medikos Logos* which reached Herodotus, must have contained the element of the Scythian domination. The Herodotean Protothyes is (as Bartatua) well attested in the reign of Essarhaddon (Klauber 1913: n. 16; Knudtzon 1893; n. 29). It seems to me that we cannot get much further here unless more research is done into the way terms such as *Gimirru* and *Ummān-Manda* were applied to various peoples.

Much ink has been spilt in attempts to link the Herodotean Phraortes to the Mannaean chief Kaštariti mentioned in the prayer-texts of Esarhaddon (cf. Helm 1981: 86; Brown 1988: 76 for references). The connection is made through the Fravartiš of DB who claims to be Khshathrita of the house of Cyaxares.[10] If one were doing research sometime during the fifth century — and not during the twentieth century — and found a rebel pretending to be a descendant of Cyaxares while not knowing the forebears of the latter, would it not be a logical assumption along the lines of the papponomy principle to suppose that Cyaxares' father had been a Phraortes? This same principle could then have resulted in creating a father for Deiokes.

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[8] E.g.: Young 1988: 21: "Cyaxares was also almost certainly the king of a unified or confederated Media, for he led a formidable power against the walls of Niniveh".

[9] This statement is considerably weaker than Diakonov's conclusions: "a regular army fully equipped by the state" (1985: 122).

[10] For a more sceptical attitude Young 1988: 18.

As to the provenience of Deiokes' name in Herodotus' report, I have no explanation to offer. The form of the name itself suggests some slight Greek reworking (Schmitt 1974: 141). The tale of Deiokes' rise to power has been recognised long ago as a typical description of an ordinary Greek tyrant's rise to power (How & Wells 1912: ad.loc.) although the elements in it reflect 'les practiques auliques' of the Achaemenid court of the fifth century (Briant 1984b). Both the Median liberation from Assyria and the Median control of the Persian lands are elements required by the type of story reported and may be regarded as inserted at the most convenient point. This does not mean that I necessarily deny the historicity of these 'facts,' merely that some scepticism to the accepted chronology of these events might be useful.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would suggest that economy-reasoning would make the hypothesis that the *Medikos Logos*, as we have it, is essentially a Greek product, the preferable one. It is not a report which should be regarded, or used, as contemporaneous with the situation it describes. Even if it did go back to an oral source, that would have been most unlikely since oral traditions, when they do preserve reliable data, frequently show relations between these data to be inspired by present-day (i.e. of the time they were told) concerns. Once more, I would like to ask was there ever a Median empire? And if the empire did not exist in the seventh and early sixth century B.C., who then was responsible for its construction in the historiographic tradition? Herodotus or earlier Greeks? Or, as Metzler (1977) has suggested, the Persians themselves who, in need of legitimate imperial predecessors of Iranian stock, pieced together out of the scrappy information which their record-keeping neighbours and subjects had preserved, the outlines of a respectable past — as has so often been done in history?

MISCELLANEOUS MEDIAN MATTERS

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In my 1987 paper entitled 'Median Art and Medizing Scholarship' it was argued that no examples of Median art and artifacts are known to exist in the archaeological record. I have no revisions or retractions to present on that paper, only comments on certain issues that expand on, and interrelate with, some of the observations made there. These comments are generated from reaction to a number of recently published scholarly works on Median art and history that warrant further discussion.

Median geography

Comprehending the geographical boundaries of the Median state (and to a lesser extent Median controlled areas) is obviously a necessary component in discussions of Median art and artifacts, for modern recognition of a people's/polity's art style and artifactual production is to a large degree based on that polity's identified geographical region. If archaeologists are not cognisant of the precise, or even general, location of Media — of Median sites — at a given time, what criteria would be cited to determine a correct Median attribution for an uninscribed artifact *excavated* somewhere in Iran (Muscarella 1987: 112, 125ff.)? But one is obliged to begin this discussion by noting that archaeologists remain ignorant of the geographical extent of Media (leaving aside Median controlled areas, *infra*) from the ninth to the late seventh centuries B.C., i.e. generally, let alone precisely, how far in all compass directions from the core Hamadan-Ecbatana area (*infra*) the polity (or tribes) extended. A crucial problem in this regard is the location of Mt. Bikni, which is cited always with reference to the Medes by Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, and Esarhaddon (here as a lapis lazuli mountain). A number of scholars have equated Bikni with Mt. Demavand located near modern Teheran (viz. Young 1967; Reade 1978; Negahban 1983; Stronach 1969; Barnett 1967; Cook 1983; and recently Ghirshman 1977: 54; Diakonov 1985: 64ff., 84, 105, and Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 47, in these cases asserted without reference to contrary opinion). In 1974 (118ff., nn. 167, 168) Levine (following König 1938: 28f.) presented cogent arguments for an identification of Bikni with Mt. Alvand to the west of Hamadan, which range, he argued, was a barrier to Assyrian advance further east (see also Brown 1986: 116). This identification was subsequently accepted by Genito (1986: 63), Frye (1984: 67f.), Brown (1984: 84), and Muscarella (1987: 109, n. 3; 1988: 106, n. 4). Briant (1984a: 14ff.) leaves the identification open, but he does not seem to accept Assyrian penetration to the Caspian; and Dandamaev & Grantovskii (1987) seem at first to accept that Bikni is Alvand (808), but later (811) seem undecided. In 1987 Vallat (60, 62) extended the argument, and the geographical limitations, by arguing forcefully that Bikni could refer only to the Badakhshan mountains in Afghanistan primarily, it seems, because of the Esarhaddon reference to lapis lazuli (such a reference does not occur earlier), and references to 'the distant Medes.' He saw no difficulty in accepting that the Assyrian armies marched to Afghanistan — after all, they marched to Egypt. I submit, however, that the 'minimalist' interpretation, which explicitly exludes the South Caspian area as a component of a greater Media, including the homeland of 'the distant Medes,' best fits the Assyrian textual evidence. This position confronts a problem, namely that in 522 B.C. (DB 32) Rhages, near Teheran, is said by Darius to be in Media. This reference might actually refer to a centre allied to, or politically controlled by, Media at that time, something different than signifying that Media as a state extended so far east (v. Frye 1984: 80; Briant 1984a: 21, 37, 39f.; 1984b: 88).

The minimalist position further aligns itself with the perception of the Hamadan, Godin and Nush-i Jan (incorrectly described as a 'fortress' site: Frye 1984: 76; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988: 203) triangle as the core of the Media known to modern scholarship, inasmuch as these sites are the only possible Median sites known to archaeology (Muscarella 1988: 208f., n.4), and which locations do not conflict with the Assyrian textual evidence. Research — historical and archaeological — on Median boundaries thus must commence from that triangle. I believe that there is no archaeological (or geographical) evidence to indicate that Baba Jan was a Median site (Muscarella 1987: 112, n. 12; 1988: 140, n. 1, 208; Genito 1986: 59),[1] and it is improper archaeological reasoning to assert that Sialk — an anomalous site — was Median (as claimed by, among others Young 1967: 31f.; Ghirshman 1977: 54; Genito 1986: 34, 61; Diakonov 1985: 57f., 140; Calmeyer 1987a: 566 — 'perhaps'): no one knows what language was spoken at Sialk at any time (period A or B), or what polity it represented.

Moreover, even given the important — but certainly preliminary — work of Levine 1974 on the ancient geography of the Zagros range, we are still ignorant of the precise locations of most of the many other polities known to exist in western Iran (see Dandamaev & Grantovskii 1987: 807 for a rare admission of this fact). For example, I have difficulty in accepting Levine's placement on the map of Ellipi, and his placement of Parsua so far south (see Frye 1984: 66; Dandamaev & Grantovskii 1987: 808 place it near Sanandaj, which seems to be closer to where it may have been than where Levine places it). I also disagree with some of his Urmia locations, although here too we both accept the minimalist interpretation of Assyrian advance (Muscarella 1986). It follows then that, if the minimalist position reflects reality, the historical geography presented by Young 1967: 18, fig. 1, Vallat 1987, and Diakonov 1985 (*passim*; see his map on pp. 98f.)[2] is wrong, with bold assertions concerning ancient locations (not always agreeing) throughout the Zagros from the Urmia region south, and east to the Caspian.[3]

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[1] See, for example, the discussion of Medvedskaya (1982), who uncritically confronts the site reports of the Baba Jan excavations. Medvedskaya first seems to accept an architectural connection between Hasanlu IV and Baba Jan (8f.) and misstates that Dyson also claimed such a connection), but then (9f.) she seems to argue (correctly!) against the alleged Hasanlu connection with the "Median site of Baba Jan." And later (10) she asserts a clear "linking ... of [the architecture of] Hasanlu, Baba Jan Tepe, Godin and Nush-i Jan Tepe." In fact, no architectural connections of significance are demonstrated to exist between Baba Jan and the other three sites — which are related through the columned hall and its appointments, and the architecture of Baba Jan cannot be employed to demonstrate a Median connection (for architecture see Muscarella 1988: 208, n. 3).

Median writing

I suggest that it is futile to assert either the existence or non-existence of Median literacy except in a qualified, uncategorical sense. Thus, I would argue that Genito's (1986: 33) negative reaction to those who suggest that Median writing probably existed, or Sancisi-Weerdenburg's 'hypothesis' (1988: 199) that "there was no writing during the Median period" in any script, are not justified; they state more than is warranted.[4] The fact that no evidence of a Median writing system has been recovered ought not indicate that writing did not, or could not, have existed (v. Diakonov 1985: 114, 139; Muscarella 1987: 111f., n.11). A disinterested archaeological and historical position would simply note the record and leave the question open.

Diakonov (1985: 139) cites the small silver fragment with a few broken cuneiform signs from Nush-i Jan as Median writing, but the claim is ambitious and unwarranted: the signs are too broken to be read, and they could represent any cuneiform writing system. Diakonov (1985: 115) also claims that "reading and writing must have existed among the Mannaeans," which is not — in the same sense as noted for Median writing — an unwarranted assumption; but as evidence he obliquely cites an old, and incorrect, assertion of Ghirshman (1950: 188) about the existence of writing at 'Ziwiye,' for which see Godard 1951: 244 and Muscarella 1977a: 200f., 202.

In short, we do not know whether or not the Medes had a writing system (whether in their own language or in a lingua franca), and any strong assertions, either for or against its existence, cannot muster enough arguments to compel acceptance. The question of Median writing is separate but parallel to that concerned with the existence of Median art.

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[2] See a critique of Diakonov 1985 by Kuhrt (1989b) in her review of *CHI* II.

[3] I am of course aware that my conclusions are an interpretation also — and could be wrong. I state them strongly because I think Levine's analysis of distances travelled by the Assyrians correctly explains the inferences of the texts.

[4] Cf. remarks of Sancisi-Weerdenburg this volume, p. 43 (eds.)

State and empire

The issue of the existence of a writing system is not unrelated to the question whether the Medes were ever organised into a unified state. But the relationship need not be stressed. Hasanlu IVB contained a number of monumental structures of great size and appointments and their debris yielded thousands of artifacts. Many of the objects recovered are manifestly luxurious and many were imported pieces. Collectively, these elements suggest that Hasanlu was the centre of a major and powerful polity: but not a single example of local writing ever surfaced.

Probably all scholars agree that from the ninth through most of the seventh century B.C. the Assyrian records suggest that the Medes were not a unified state; even during the time of Esarhaddon Median chiefs, who were in conflict with each other, are still mentioned (Helm 1981: 86). But the Babylonian Chronicles suggest/indicate to me (and others) that a more unified situation had developed by 615 B.C.

Now while Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988: 201) notes the different concepts of a state and an empire, my reading of her paper perceives a lack of precision on this distinction. She argues against the existence of a Median state (a kingdom) and an empire; but, accepting the existence of Median kings, she uses this feature to deny an empire. In the same discussion, she presents certain anthropological criteria to define the state, criteria that cannot always be tested from the records available to us. Despite her position against a Median state or empire, she acknowledges that there was a king, an army, and evidence of social hierarchy — as interpreted from the complex architecture from the sites of Godin II and Nush-i Jan (also articulated by Brown 1986: 115). Sancisi-Weerdenburg also posits (1988: 204, 207) but without documentation, that Media lost rather than gained trade and power in the late seventh and sixth centuries B.C.[5] And she seems to cite the very lack of historical sources (there are only 'silences') to deny that "a flourishing and wealthy Median state" existed. However, the lack, or better, the limitation of sources — for which we have no explanation — cannot be used against the available sources (Babylonian Chronicles, DB, Herodotus) which do support a modern perception that a Median state existed between at least 615 to 550 B.C. (accepted by, among others, Frye 1984: 74; Brown 1986: 107f., 111ff.; Dandamaev & Grantovskii 1987: 814; Levine 1987: 232).

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[5] On page 204 she cites the Babylonian Chronicle 3: 27,45: which citations are irrelevant to the issue of loss or gain of trade. She also suggests that the Medes attacked the Assyrians for economic reasons — to make up for the loss of trade income that she asserts occurred: but for which there is no evidence. And why would Media destroy its — to Sancisi-Weerdenburg — main customer? Furthermore, Media could still have traded with Babylonia after 612 B.C.

Based also on anthropological data, Brown (1986: 114ff.) offers a secondary state-formation theory: Media formed itself into a state because of the pressures involved in satisfying Assyria's demands for tribute. Contrast the anthropological data of Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988: 205, 207, who arrives at different conclusions. This is fine as theory, and may in part reflect reality. However, unless I misunderstand his thoughts, there is an apparent contradiction to this theory when he further (anthropologically) argues that Hamadan could have developed as the centre of Median state authority precisely because it was outside, to the east of the limits of Assyrian penetration and pressure (1986: 116). Thus, it seems to me that there are two concepts expressed. In any event, Brown accepts the reality of a Median structured state.

Arguing against the existence of a Median empire, Sancisi-Weerdenburg notes (1988: 202) that the Medes did not occupy Assyria after its defeat. This to her is an indication that the formation of an empire was not part of their strategy; rather they "clearly were used by the Babylonians." But this narrow interpretation ignores Babylonian interests and relations with Media concerning boundaries, the Median occupation of Harran, and the Median-Lydian war, with its settlements of the Halys River as a boundary between Median and Lydian controlled areas in 585 B.C. Is there not here an indication that an empire, however limited in area, probably existed, albeit not including Mesopotamia in its interests? And note that Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988: 207) accepts Media's eastern interests.

Briant (1984a: 21, 39ff.; 1984b: 88) sees Media to be politically involved in the east, and playing a role in the lapis lazuli trade with Afghanistan. This, along with the DB Rhages reference and historical interpretation, suggests to him that the Medes had some control either by the presence of garrisons or by treaties, if not conquest, of the east. It seems to me that the importation of lapis lazuli by the Medes tells us nothing either way about Median control of the East. Media may only have been a receiving area for caravans stopping at many sites along the way west; and Media was not alone in supplying lapis lazuli to the Assyrians.[6] But Briant's views on eastern control (and possible empire) deserve more exploration.

In this context it is not quite clear what ideas are being expressed by Brown (1986: 107f., n. 4) when he called Media "a predatory state," refers to its expansion, but wishes to avoid the word empire; or by Sancisi-Weerdenburg

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[6] Briant 1984a: 21 says Tiglath-pileser III imposed a tribute of lapis lazuli on the Medes: but the reference he gives (ARAB I: 768) refers to booty from Arazi; see also Dandamaev & Grantovskii 1987: 809.

(1988: 197) and Genito (1986: 29, n. 39) when they both suggest that (in Sancisi-Weerdenburg's words) the 'Median empire was *much less an empire* [italics mine] than is commonly assumed. "Are they not actually hedging, leaving open only the question of empire size? Are they not (in essence) acknowledging that there was an empire, but one 'much less' in terms of size and organisation than the Assyrian and Achaemenian empires? I suggest that the answer to my question is yes; it is not incorrect to recognise the existence of a Median empire, in the sense of a predatory state extending its power and control beyond its territory, but one of relatively limited size. And the 'limited size' modifier would be considerably less significant if one agrees with Briant concerning Median control of the eastern areas of Iran, and if we knew something specific about Median control of western and northwestern Iran before the Lydian treaty of 585 B.C. (which suggests that these areas were under Median control by this time). We do know that the Mannaeans were still independent in 616 B.C. and that Parsua was under Median control for some time before 550 B.C.

To summarise, I suggest that the historical evidence clearly allows historians to conclude that by the late seventh century the Medes were organised into a state under the rule of one king — a situation that lasted until 550 B.C. And the evidence is not abused if we recognise the existence of a predatory ideology that led to an 'empire,' that is, to the conquest, or control of other polities beyond the Median homeland. But accepting the possibility of an empire still does not facilitate attributing artifacts excavated in Iran, east or west, and dated to the seventh century B.C., to Media or a greater Media.

Median art

Genito (1986) and Muscarella (1987) — whose articles appeared simultaneously and independently of each other — came to the very same conclusions: that, *pace* the bare assertions of a number of scholars, up to the present not a single piece of Median 'art' or a bona-fide Median artifact, either from within (the triangle) or outside its homeland, is recognisable to archaeologists. Median art is absent in the archaeological record. The difference in the emphasis accorded to this fact in the two articles, however, is of some importance in discussions of Median history. Genito seems to deny the very existence of Median art, while I solely deny archaeological knowledge of it. Genito (1986: 28f.), while avoiding the equation 'state = artistic production,' or no art signifies no state, is nevertheless moved to conclude that given the absence of art, it is "hard to claim a homogeneous social and cultural system (i.e. a state) for the Medes". And Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988: 206) employs the very same argument, "the lack of evidence for an imperial Median art," to generate the implication that the level of state formation was not developed in Media.

Genito (1986: 49ff.) is, of course, aware of the existence of Median architecture at Godin II and Nush-i Jan, but he seems to play down its importance in the discussion of art. Calmeyer (1987a: 565) on the other hand stresses that "... we should not separate 'art' from architecture ..." This is a correct position, and it follows that it must be understood that when we refer to the absence of Median art we are not including architecture in that claim (Muscarella 1987: 112). For 'absence' we are thinking specifically of *Machtkunst* and recognisable portable art, as well as mundane artifacts, material that has a specific and peculiar style and character, with "a precise independent form ... distinct from that of" other cultures recognised in the archaeological record (v. Genito 1986: 11, n. 2, 28f.).

The question to be pursued here and by others is the historical value of the equation: no Median art = no Median state; or, that the lack of Median art reinforces the perception that there was no Median state. Because of the reality, to me, of a Median state and predatory expansion, and the manifest existence of major and sophisticated architecture, I suggest that from an archaeological perspective it is more prudent to leave open the question of the reality and existence of other Median art. Perhaps the real problem is the limitations both of archaeological recovery and modern capabilities of recognising Median art, not that Median art "did not exist."[7]

Future research into this problem is obliged to take into consideration the relevant fact that no scholar is able to identify a single work of art of the kingdom of the Mannaeans, leaving aside the crystal ball-viewing and guessing of too many writers (Muscarella 1987: 111f., 119, n. 38); or a single work of art of Parsua or of Parsuash (Fars) from the pre-Achaemenian period (Briant 1984b: 79); or, indeed, that of most other polities in Western Iran.[8] In great part this absence of art exists because of the paucity of excavations in Iran, and also because we lack information that allows us to identify a site's membership in an ancient polity. And it is worth holding in mind the formally related problem of modern non-recognition of Hurrian art (Muscarella 1987: 127, n. 73).

Yet, it is difficult to avoid a pessimistic disposition concerning the behaviour of scholars when they confront the corpus of artifacts (Iranian and those 'said to be from Iran') available for examination. Both Genito and I have documented how scholars who have sought to find Median art have 'found' it

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[7] Median art may in fact presently exist in the archaeological record, but remain unrecognisable to modern eyes. I am thinking both of excavated material and the vast number of objects plundered from Iran that reveal to us no specific ethnic or political label.

[8] And new discoveries may legitimately be expected. Thus, a major recovery of a tomb at Arjan in Khuzistan (Alizadeh 1985) has revealed two major objects of a form and stylistic nature hitherto unknown. Of special interest here is that the objects are probably to be dated to the seventh century B.C., as noted by Boehmer (1989: 143). Are the objects, one is inscribed in neo-Elamite, culturally neo-Elamite, or those of a neighbouring polity?

— in Switzerland, Paris, London, New York, Teheran, and other modern sites where the plunder from the ancient, and now unknown, sites is gathered. We both have cited how in these same marketplaces modern forgeries (but of Achaemenian art!) have also been discovered to be examples of 'Median' art.[9]

But the story has no end, and it continues to be told by more storytellers, and in prestigious publications. I have already discussed (1977: 205f.; 1987: 120f.) how an unexcavated vast collection of objects that was sold on the antiquities market and assigned by scholars to a site called Ziwiye, has been perceived to be Median art deposited with a Median prince. We may now add to the list of scholars, who assert what can never be proved, Lukonin (1986: 23ff.) and Dandamaev & Lukonin (1989: 80f.). Lukonin (1986: 35) inadvertently informs (instructs?) his readers that we are obliged to go the antiquity market to find Median art, for the archaeologists have failed us; and (1986: 32) that the 'Ziwiye' collection belonged to a king of a state system — who was a Mede (1986: 33). Thus, finding unexcavated and culturally unidentified art objects in the market place permits us to refer to a Median state; art does after all signify a state. And the bazaar is an archaeological site.

Both works cited here also present to scholarship some old friends, the very same forgeries — all purchased on the 'antiquities' market, where we will remember, Median art is to be sought — that were offered by earlier publications (Muscarella 1987: 123f.). And both publications present as art historical analyses the claim that the Medes who made these objects learned their skills from the Mannaeans! In the eagerness to recover Median art no archaeological rules need be observed. Modern forgers may by fiat be transmogrified into ancient Medes: whose ancient teachers are also manifest — even though makers of Mannaean art are in fact as unknown to us as are their alleged students. How this must please the modern forgers (who know nothing of Medes and Mannaeans) and their dealer colleagues!

Genuine scholarly pursuit of the history of the Medes and the nature of their art and architecture can function only within the confines of the archaeological — the excavated — record and the historical documents, and nowhere else. If these records are not so complete as we wish, they must nevertheless suffice. In fact, they are still capable of yielding some information of value, as is readily documented by a number of the scholarly works cited in this paper.

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[9] Alas, Genito himself gets involved in this activity: although he correctly rejects the citation of certain stray objects as Median, he includes among this group some that are forgeries — but which he cites as ancient and in some cases as having derived from ancient sites, e.g. Hamadan: pp. 20, 23, n. 34, 26, 24f., 30f., figs. 5, 10.

BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THE ELAMITES AND THE PERSIANS IN SOUTHEASTERN KHUZISTAN

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The archaeological sequence of the Kur River Basin between c.900-600 B.C.

Archaeological excavations and surveys carried out in the Kur River Basin (fig. 1) and at the site of Anshan (Malyan) in the early 1970's have established that the site was an outpost of empire on the far eastern edge of the Elamite world in the period from c. 1300-1000 B.C. It was not the Elamite co-capital in the highlands, as might have been assumed from the royal titulary of the Middle Elamite kings — kings of Anshan and Susa — but a culturally isolated centre in the highlands, possibly involved in metal trading (Carter n.d.; Stolper 1984b). Sumner (1988: 318) and Jacobs (1980: 63-83) have noted that after the middle of the second millennium B.C. Anshan shrunk from a city of 20-30,000 in the Kaftari period (c. 2000-1600 B.C.) to a town of 4,000-8,000 people in the Qaleh/Middle Elamite Period (c. 1600-1000 B.C.). This decrease in the centre of settlement was mirrored in the rest of the Kur River Basin where the number and sizes of sites also dropped sharply. By the end of the first centuries of the first millennium large-scale permanent settlement in the region cannot be documented (Miroschedji 1985; Sumner 1986).

The evidence of excavation from the EDD sector at Malyan underscores the decline of the city around 1000 B.C. and possibly reflects the regional changes indicated in the results of archaeological surveys. The monumental 'Middle Elamite Building (EDD IV)' (fig. 2) excavated on the highest point of the Malyan mound was destroyed by fire about 1100 B.C. Shortly thereafter five pottery kilns were built (Level IIIB)[1] in and around the partially standing portico walls of the original structure (Level IVA), and in Level IIIA these kilns were leveled along with some of the old building Level IV walls to provide a foundation for a new construction. New walls were built and some of the still standing (IVA) walls recycled to form a much less formal building (IIIA).

Building level IIIA at Malyan was capped by an erosion surface in EE39. In the other areas excavated, natural erosion processes had left only a few isolated features just below the surface of the mound.[2] The C-14 dates are ambiguous, but nonetheless coincide with the epigraphic and archaeological evidence indicating a final date for level IIIA of c. 1140-1030, although a slightly later date around 950-850 B.C. cannot be excluded. The only contemporary excavated site in the region, Darvazeh Tepe, was also abandoned at about this time or slightly later (Sumner 1986: 4).

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[1] The late Qaleh local painted ware tradition attested in level IIIB at Malyan may be linked to the Teimuran banded wares known on the eastern side of the valley.

[2] Sherds from the fill above the erosion layer were mixed, but Sasanian pottery was the most common, only a few sherds of identifiable Achaemenid pottery, dated to the fifth century were found in the EDD surface lots.

Of the post IIIA features, the most important is burial 47 in DD 43 (figs. 2-3) which may date to the first half of the first millennium B.C. The bottom of the grave pit was situated just below the eroded top of wall 50 (level IVA); the level from which the burial was dug is not preserved. The skeleton lay on its side in a flexed position, facing north. The individual wore five simple copper/bronze bracelets and a necklace consisting of a spacer bead, six tubular faience beads, and a faience seal. The deceased probably wore a garment or shroud fastened at the neck by four dome-headed pins, two short and two long. A large pot was placed at the forehead, a small plain pot and a larger one were located between his arms and knees and a second small jar was found below his feet.

The pottery is handmade and irregularly formed. One jar had a faded painted pattern on the shoulder. These ceramics have no close parallels except for a group of pots from a disturbed burial (67) in DD41. Only scattered fragments of bone were preserved in the latter which was found just below the surface. Again, the forms are extremely simple and only a handled cup from the DD41 burial appears to have some vague resemblance to early Iron Age types. These ceramics show no relation to either Neo-Elamite I or II pottery known from Susa; or the well-made, wheel-thrown vessels, called Teimuran ware found in the southeastern part of the Kur River Basin. Likewise, they bear no relation to later Achaemenid forms.

The seal is difficult to date and is possibly an heirloom. The material (faience), the framing of the scene, and the theme of its design, a man leading a horse, appear to link it with earlier Elamite traditions. The filler of the seven stars, or Pleiades, is also known in Elamite and Mesopotamian glyptic. In his free hand the man holds forked lightning (?) or a weapon. The proportions of the figure and his sword (?) can perhaps be compared to metal figurines found at Marlik (Negahban 1979: 168). The arched neck of the horse, the treatment of the mane and the limbs are possibly crude imitations of the stylistic conventions used to portray horses on the metal vessels from Marlik (Negahban 1983: 16-17) or on seals of the early first millennium (Porada 1965: fig. 30). The jewelry and pins have parallels at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: Pl. 46: 11), but are not distinctive. The isolated burials at Malyan may offer some indirect evidence of a mostly nomadic population who used the region during the first half of the millennium. The ceramics found in the Malyan burials cannot be dated using comparative material. The seal and the stratigraphic position of the burial suggest a date in the early first millennium B.C.

The only other remains in Fars, often (e.g., Miroschedji 1985) thought to date to the first centuries of the first millennium B.C., identified in the Kur River Basin are the rock reliefs found at the site of Naqsh-i Rustam near Persepolis and at Kurāngūn in the Fahlīyān valley 90 km northwest of Anshan. Recent reevaluation (Seidl 1986b) of both sets of carvings, however, suggests that these, too, may have to be eliminated as evidence of the lowland Elamite presence in Fars in the early first millennium B.C.

The lack of permanent settlement in the Kur River Basin at the end of the first millennium can be compared to the situation that prevailed at the end of the third millennium between the Banesh (Proto Elamite) and Kaftari periods (Sumner 1989). The full agricultural exploitation of the valley may have been dependent on technologies imported from the lowlands. These techniques, heavily reliant on a large settled population base, perhaps failed to sustain themselves over the centuries in an alien region where farming and pastoralism were equally successful strategies.

Internal and external political relationships must have made the maintenance of the long-distance political and cultural alliances with the lowlands difficult. New peoples, when they moved into the area from other regions of Iran, also may have had an impact on ties to the northwestern lowlands, as the occupation of the Shogha-Teimuran sites southeast of the Kur River in the middle of the second millennium suggests.

Miroschedji (1985: 296-303) has summarised those characteristics that can be regarded as Elamite traditions incorporated into the fabric of the early Achaemenid culture: the use of the title 'King of Anshan' by Cyrus; the Elamite robe worn by Cambyses and seen on the famous winged genii at Pasargadae; some of the glyptic styles, the use of Elamite as the first official language of the empire; and the persistence of Elamite religious personnel and cults supported by the crown. Royal dress, titles, writing and scribal traditions and possibly the priestly offices were to be found in lowland Elam where city life continued uninterrupted, and probably not in the highlands of Fars where urban life was already on the decline in the last centuries of the second millennium B.C. If there was a kind of fusion of Elamite semi-nomads and Iranian tribes to form the new Achaemenid dynasty after several centuries of co-existence in Fars (Miroschedji 1985: 293-294), then where and how were these sophisticated Elamite cultural customs first transmitted to the Persians?

Southeastern Khuzistan in the late second and early first millennia B.C.

The second half of this paper presents data from survey and excavations in the Ram Hormuz plain (figs. 1 and 4) which was a centre of settled population where Iranian and urban Elamite traditions must have come into contact with each other during the first centuries of the first millennium B.C. The Ram

Hormuz valley lies about 150 km southeast of Susiana and less than 50 km east of Ahwaz in the foothills of the Bakhtiari mountains. Two major roads, one crossing the Karun at Shushtar, the other at Ahwaz, tie the area to the middle plains of central Khuzistan (fig. 1). The plain lies along the traditional natural route linking Fars and Susiana, a road known to have been used in Achaemenid times (Briant 1982: fig. 5) and likely followed in Elamite times (Carter 1984:41-42; 105, fig. 4). An important artery from the Iranian plateau goes from Isphahan and crosses the valleys of Malamir (Izeh), Qaleh Tul and Bagh-i-Malek and runs to the southwest along the upper reaches of the Ala River into Ram Hormuz. From there it was possible to join the Khuzistan-Fars road or to go south across the Behbehan and the Hindijan valleys and easily reach the Persian Gulf (Carter 1971: 254; Layard 1894 [1971 reprint]: 199-207). Although nearly half-way to Fars, the Ram Hormuz plain was not much farther from southern Mesopotamia than Susa.

The region (fig. 4) was an important Elamite population centre from the last centuries of the second millennium through the first half of the first millennium B.C.: the Late Middle Elamite (c. 1350-1000 B.C.), Neo-Elamite I (c. 1000-725/700 B.C.) and Neo-Elamite II periods (c. 725/700-520 B.C.). The settlements at Bormi and Ghazir flourished at a time when permanent settlements in the Kur River Basin and Izeh (Bayani 1979; Sajjidi & Wright 1979) are unknown and the cities of Susiana were no longer as large (Miroschedji 1981c; 1985) as they had been in the Middle Elamite period. Ram Hormuz was first investigated by Donald McCown. He surveyed this plain as well as the areas around Ahwaz, Behbehan, and Hindijan. In 1948-1949, he dug a number of trenches in the mounds that formed the site called Tall-i Ghazir on the western edge of the plain — a site he described as a 'mini-Susa' when he first saw it.

In the spring of 1969, Henry Wright and I resurveyed the area of the plain west of the Ala river. The area intensively surveyed was approximately 350 km^2 or slightly less than 80% of the plain (fig. 1; Wright 1987: table 26).[3] A total of 40 sites were collected, seven of which were dated to the second millennium. Four of the seven sites were occupied continuously from the Late Middle Elamite (c. 1350-1000 B.C.) through the Neo-Elamite (c. 1000-560 B.C.) and Achaemenid (c. 560-300 B.C.) periods (Carter 1971: 248-9, 274; table 28). Two of these sites, Tall-i Ghazir (7.5 ha), and Tepe Bormi (18 ha) were by far the largest pre-Achaemenid sites in the region and were located at either end of the valley along the route leading to the southeast and Fars from Susa. The founding and growth of the site of Tepe Bormi in the last half of the second millennium B.C. marked a turning point in regional history (Carter

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[3] Wright (1987: table 26) gives the total area of the plain as 445 sq km; 325 = dry level land. 27 = low wet land, 93 = sloping rocky land.

1971: 277-287). Surface finds from Bormi included Middle Elamite/ Neo-Elamite plain and painted pottery, an inscribed brick of Untash-Napirisha (c. 1300), and a tablet fragment (Carter 1971: 277-279 and figs. 56: 8-10). The latter is too small to be read, but is possibly of Neo-Elamite date on the basis of the sign forms (M. Stolper, personal communication). A survey in 1978 by P. de Miroschedji and H. Wright led to the discovery of another inscribed baked brick on Tepe Bormi. It preserves part of a text of Shilhak-Inshushinak I (c. 1150) that is thought to be a Neo-Elamite copy of an earlier text (Vallat 1981: 193-194).

The ceramic criteria used for dating the Middle Elamite, Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid occupations at the time of the Ram Hormuz survey were based on observations made in the Susa reserves, and on parallels with the Achaemenid Village I (Ghirshman 1954a). Since then, P. de Miroschedji's work in Susa (1981a; 1981b) has established a well-documented stratigraphic sequence in Susa that spans the period from c. 1300 to 520 B.C. My own excavations (Carter n.d.) in the EDD sector at Anshan, Tal-i Malyan, in Fars, and Sajjidi and Wright's (1979: 106-113) excavations in the Elamite layers at Izeh in northeastern Khuzistan have produced comparative materials that allow us to cross-date these sequences with those known in central Khuzistan. Finally, new evidence has been uncovered in the Oriental Institute archives that expands our previous knowledge of the Ghazir soundings of McCown.[4]

The site of Tall-i Ghazir (fig. 5) covers an area of approximately 25 ha. It consists of two groups of mounds separated by about 250 m. Each complex is adjacent to a large natural spring. These water sources are no doubt in large part responsible for the nearly unbroken occupation of the site that stretches from the final phases of the prehistoric down to the present day. The southeastern sector of the site consists of three major mounds (Mound A, Mound B, an unnamed mound, and a number of small, late period house mounds). Mound A, just under 1 ha in area, but 19 m in height, was the centre of early occupation on the site, going back to the fifth millennium B.C. McCown's trenches on this site were designed to explore the fourth and third millennium B.C. occupations but in his trenches I and II he identified "Elamite remains of the second millennium B.C. surrounded by substantial fortification walls" (Caldwell 1968: 348). Very little material from these trenches is available, but observation on the site and surface collections indicate that these fortifications were possibly to be dated to the last half of the second millennium B.C. or later. Earlier second millennium B.C. occupation was also identified in Trench I on Mound A.

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[4] I am grateful to William Sumner, the director of the Oriental Institute, for his permission to use this material and to J. Larson, the archivist, for his 'excavation work.' This study is still in the preliminary stages since I have not been able to travel to Chicago to personally search for more of the missing documents or to look at the material stored there. My thanks to Timothy Seymour for his assistance in preparing the pottery illustrations. The other maps and plans are the work of W. Patrick Finnerty. The original Ghazir drawings were made by McCown and, possibly, his wife or other members of his staff.

McCown worked for three days on Mound B where he excavated a trench (13 m × 5 m) divided into Upper and Lower plots. He identified three building levels, numbered from the top down, and found, but did not excavate, a constructed tomb in the southwestern corner of his trench. Three pots, B-9, 11, and 12, (fig. 6: 5-7) were found beneath the level of the walls in level III. In level II six pots (B-2-6 and 10, fig. 6: 1-4) were registered. Only one pot came from level I and two pots, from a burial dug into level II (B-7 and B-8), are missing from the files. The plain pottery from levels BII and BIII has close parallels with Susa, Ville Royale II, levels 8-11 and Malyan EDD levels IV-III. Sherds from these excavations were also drawn but their findspots could not be reconstructed. They are illustrated in fig. 7 and include typical late Middle Elamite plain wares (vats, band-rim jars) and Qaleh painted wares. The discovery of several fragments of humpbacked bull figurines (cf. Carter 1984: fig. 11) also confirms the dating of Mound B to c. 1100-900 B.C.

The local variety of Qaleh ware was relatively common on this site as it was on contemporary sites in the valley (Carter 1971: 289-291). Only a few sherds of this pottery have been found in survey or excavations in central Khuzistan, but a number were discovered in the Izeh area to the north (Sajjidi & Wright 1979: 106-113). These painted ceramics, decorated in precisely painted geometric patterns, can be linked to the earlier Kaftari painted tradition of Fars to the southeast (Carter n.d.). That this ceramic style occurs in the Ram Hormuz area perhaps points to the highland orientation of the valley in the late second millennium B.C.

The northwest complex of Tal-i Ghazir consists of three major mounds: the fort mound (1 ha), the east mound (3.2 ha.) and the west mound (1 ha). The small 'house mounds' appear to date primarily to the Islamic period. McCown's sounding in the fort mound lasted only a week. He opened a trench 28 m × 5 m in the west side of the mound and divided it into three plots, Top, Centre, and Bottom. He discovered a large Islamic wall built on what he called an Elamite dump. His section shows that he left the Islamic wall in place and dug on either side of it. He also marked the rough position of the graves out on the west wall of the trench. McCown's notes do not indicate any architecture associated with these burials and this possibly was a cemetery area.

He later identified the pottery from the dump as Islamic, Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid, and Elamite.[5] Dug into the trash layer were a number of burials, five of which were recorded in enough detail to be reproduced here. The oldest burial according to the material and its stratigraphic position is K (fig. 8);

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[5] It may be possible to further understand the way the pottery lots are marked and to interpret the second once I have seen the original documents. McCown had first-hand knowledge of comparative material from Nippur and Fars.

it may belong to the Neo-Elamite I period. Burials E and F were found in the top plot, more or less on top of one another. These appear to belong to either the Neo Elamite I or II periods. Burials L and M were also found one on top of the other, but in the lowest plot. These burials can be compared to those found in the Ville Royale II and VR-Ap trench 5244 excavations at Susa (Miroschedji 1981a; 1981b). Burials of this type are dated, on the basis of associated seals, sealings, and small finds, to the Neo-Elamite II phase (725/700-520 B.C.). Some of the pottery in the Ghazir burials also has parallels with Susa, Achaemenid Village I types.[6]

The Ghazir burials illustrated in figs. 8-12 have been arranged in stratigraphic order based on McCown's sketch section with the oldest first. All the bodies are oriented with their heads facing south. Only one burial (fig. 10, burial L) was constructed. It was covered with a lid made of a mud slab. One side, partially built of bricks (9.5 × 39-40 × 39-40 cm), and the walls of the burial were covered with green-gray plaster. The bricks are comparable to those used in the construction of burials 763, and 639 in Ville Royale II, level 7B (Miroschedji 1981a: 41). Near the right foot were fragments of an infant skull and animal bones were placed beyond the pots at the feet.

Only one burial (fig. 12, burial M) included personal ornaments — iron bracelets on the wrists and faience beads on the neck. It also contained two glazed vessels. Animal bones were included in the funerary offerings. This was the richest grave excavated. The sizes and shapes of the other burials were not recorded and they contained only pots. These relatively poor interments were apparently contemporary with each other, and the pottery found in them links them to burials from Susa Ville Royale 7B and Ville Royale Apadana Tranché 5244.

Although McCown drew a number of pots and sherds from the Fort Mound and assigned them lot numbers, I have not yet been able to identify the exact location of the findspots. Unfortunately, the sherds themselves have disappeared. Fig. 13 illustrates the Neo-Elamite I-II materials found in the Fort Mound trench. The glazed pot with vertically pierced lugs (fig. 13:9) and the spouted pots (fig. 13: 5,8) may belong to the Neo-Elamite I period. The amphora base (fig. 13:6), the bottle (fig. 13:3) and the corrugated cup base (fig. 13:4) have parallels with Neo-Elamite II types from Susa. Fig. 14 illustrates sherds that have Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid parallels. Of particular interest are the close parallels with the relatively well-dated and common Nippur, Neo-Babylonian types.

Until further progress is made deciphering the notes of McCown, little can be said of the stratigraphic relationships among the various sherd lots. Nevertheless, the presence of a more or less continuous sequence spanning the last half of the second and the first half of the first millennium B.C., somewhere on Tall-i Ghazir, is highly likely. The Neo-Elamite I materials are not well-represented, and difficult to distinguish from the late Middle Elamite pottery. The Neo-Elamite II materials are better known and have some parallels with Luristan and Babylonian ceramics, but no close relationship to contemporary material from the rest of the plateau (Levine 1987: 242). The date range of Neo-Elamite II ceramics at Susa, however, is still not certain.

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[6] Exact references will be found on the pages facing the burial and pottery drawings.

Eastern Khuzistan during the late second and early first millennia B.C.

The Ram Hormuz region seems to have maintained itself and in fact may have grown during the last part of the second and the first half of the first millennium B.C. The Ram Hormuz ceramic assemblage of the late Middle Elamite period has parallels with Izeh in the mountains to the north and to Fars to the southeast. Surveys in the Izeh region, 80 km (two days journey) north of Ram Hormuz, have failed to discover any materials dated to either the Neo-Elamite I (c. 1000-725/700 B.C.) or II periods (c. 725/700-520 B.C.; cf. Bayani 1979). The inscriptions carved on rock reliefs at Shikaft-i Salman, 3 km south of Izeh, and Kul-i Farah, 7 km northeast, appear to demonstrate that the region was part of a state called Aapir, ruled by Hanni, a contemporary of Shutur-Nahhunte (c. 716-699 B.C.) But, as Stolper (1984: 45, 93, n. 366) points out, these inscriptions and their dates need to be restudied.

To the survey data from Izeh, a chance discovery of an extraordinarily rich tomb made near Arjān, 10 km north of Behbehan, and 100 km southeast of Ghazir (two days journey south) along the road to Fars, should be added (Alizadeh 1985). The presence of the burial and the nature of the funerary gifts found in the tomb support the suggestion that cities of southeastern Khuzistan were of consequence in the transmission of lowland Elamite cultural traditions to the Iranians. Nissen's survey of the region (1976: 276 and personal communication) in the area south of the Marun River failed to produce any materials of late second through early first millennia B.C. date. The pottery from the site of Arjān (1200 × 800m), known as an important Sasanian settlement, and the other sites in the valley should be examined in light of our increased knowledge of the ceramic sequence.

The Arjān tomb, unlike those at Susa or Ram Hormuz, was a stone-built underground chamber, situated outside the settlement and constructed in the style of the Iranian highlands, but with walls plastered like an Elamite burial (Alizadeh 1985: 67). It contained a U-shaped bronze-coffin of a type used in Mesopotamia (e.g., Ur) and Iran (e.g., Ziwiye); metal objects and vessels were found inside and outside the coffin. The objects inside the coffin included an inscribed gold ring, 98 round gold discs that were originally sewn on a garment, a dagger, some fragments of textiles, and a silver rod. Outside the coffin on the floor of the tomb chamber were an elaborate bronze stand, lamp, silver jar, bronze jar, bronze cup with curved lower body and ten cylindrical vases. An elaborate Phoenician bowl is also reported to be from the same tomb.[7]

The bronze vases from the Arjān tomb have close parallels in Luristan and in the Susa tomb 693, Ville Royale 7B (cf. Alizadeh 1985: fig. 5, C and Miroschedji 1981a: fig. 40, 13). In the latter, a communal tomb, possibly used over a relatively long time period, pottery of Neo-Elamite II (c. 725/700-525 B.C.) type was found. A study (Alizadeh 1985) of the stylistic affinities (Babylonian, Assyrian, Iranian, Elamite and Syrian) of the rest of the objects points to a late eighth century date. Vallat (1984) suggests a date between 640-c. 525 B.C. based on the analysis of the inscription. The style and position of the affronted lions on the inscribed gold ring is related to those found on sealings of the Neo-Elamite (MDP IX) tablets (cf. Amiet 1973, nos. 11-12) and further supports a seventh rather than eighth century date for this object.

Given the circumstances of the discovery, the wide range of parallels and the very limited inscriptional evidence, only a rough approximation of the date is possible. In view of the mixture of Iranian, Assyro-Babylonian, Syrian and Elamite styles identifiable in the artworks placed in this burial, the production and deposition of the major items in this tomb probably occurred during the period of intense contacts among these peoples that took place, according to the written sources, in the seventh century.[8]

Surveys in central Khuzistan show that a significant decline in the number and sizes of sites occurs at the end of the Middle Elamite period. Over half the Neo-Elamite I sites identified in survey were new foundations mostly adjacent to or just east of the Diz (Miroschedji 1981c: 171-172). During the Neo-Elamite II period only four of the six known Neo-Elamite I sites continued to be occupied in Neo-Elamite II.

At Susa, despite Miroschedji's arguments for continuity between the Neo-Elamite I and II periods (Miroschedji 1981a: 36-40), there are changes in the ceramics,[9] disjunctions in the stratigraphy of the Ville Royale, and the foundation of an important residential quarter in Susa off the main mound in the Achaemenid Village of the Ville des Artisans (Ghirshman 1954a) that suggest a less smooth transition than that reconstructed by Miroschedji.

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[7] Alizadeh, personal communication.

[8] Finds from archaeological survey and a tomb in the valley of Gandomkar in the high Zagros mountains, but on the route between Khuzistan and the central plateau, have their closest parallels in Luristan. Thus, this small upland valley appears culturally tied to the Median cultures to the northwest, not the Elamites to the southeast (Zagarell 1982a: 49). One vessel from Fort Mound (fig.14:12) has a close parallel with this material.

[9] The long-lived 'Elamite goblet' disappears, as does the vat and band-rim jar.

In central Khuzistan all the Neo-Elamite II sites, with the exception of KS-369, which covered about 12 ha, were small. This town appears to have been a single period fortified site that dominated the eastern sector of the middle plains of central Khuzistan and possibly the road to Ram Hormuz. Susa and the middle plains of central Khuzistan were no longer the important population centres that they had been in the second millennium B.C. This pattern is unlike that described for the Ram Hormuz plain. The ceramics found in Mound B and on the Fort Mound at Ghazir suggest that settlement continued on the site from the Middle Elamite through Achaemenid periods, although its centre may have shifted from the southeast to the northwest sector of the site. Bormi appears, on the basis of surface finds, to have a similar history of occupation, but to have been a larger, more compact and probably a more important town.

Settlement patterns and the historical record

The Ram Hormuz plain and, probably, the Behbehan region to the south, were centres of population in the early first millennium B.C.[10] Both valleys lie between the inner and outer hill chains that parallel the main mountain fronts and divide the Khuzistan plains (Carter 1984: fig. 1). They appear to the traveller to be surrounded by mountains, although they lie at relatively low elevations. Both valleys, moreover, have easy access to the mountains and are traditional trading towns and administrative centres for the tribal groups of semi-nomads who live in the Bakhtiari mountains to the north (Zagarell 1982b: 97-125; Layard 1894 [reprinted 1971]: 92-213). Mesopotamia and Fars can be reached from them both by sea and by land routes and they both have enough agricultural land to support settlements of considerable size.

The Assyrian sources for the seventh century suggest that:

> in Elam, as in Babylonia, the bases of resistance to Assyria were no longer the old central cities, but strongholds on the geographical fringes. Susa, like Babylon, remained a ceremonial and cultural capital, too exposed to serve as a political or military base. (Stolper 1984a: 47).

The Assyrian records also portray these marginal strongholds as places of refuge and interaction among the warring leaders of cities and tribes. Of particular importance for the interpretation of the archaeological record from eastern Khuzistan is identification of ancient Hidalu (Hinz 1960: 250-251) with Behbehan. Duchene (1986) identifies Huhnur with Arjān, 10 km north of Behbehan, and notes that it is associated in the textual records with Hidalu and

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[10] The lack of settlements of this period in Behbehan remains a problem, but one that might well be solved by future research in the region. A period of growth and prosperity takes place in Luristan c.1000-750 BC, marked archaeologically by the growth of the rich bronze working craft.

Bashime. The latter he places in the area of Hindijan on the Persian Gulf. He cites Hansman (1972: 118) on the location of Hidalu in the area of Kuhgiluya east and north of the Behbehan plain. Both authors regard it as possible that Hidalu also included at least part of the Behbehan plain as well. The exact location of these places is not as important for this study as their approximate positions in eastern Khuzistan. The geographic fact that between Behbehan and Fars there are only narrow upland valleys unlikely to have supported major urban centres or to have been in close communication with Susa, Anshan, and the Persian Gulf also is significant.

The Assyrian texts first mention Hidalu, described as *qereb šadê rūqūti* (in the middle of the distant mountains) in the time of Sennacherib when Kudur-Nahhunte used it as a fall-back position during the 692 B.C. campaign against Elam. More apposite to this discussion are the meetings among Elamites, Assyrians and Persians that are recorded in the Assyrian sources. Huban-nikash II and his son, once loyal to Assyria, eventually turn to Hidalu for support after their defeat near Der by Assurbanipal (Cameron 1936: 190-193). They met at Hidalu in c. 651 with the people of the land of Parsumash; with representatives of the land of Puqudu and Rashi and an ambassador of Šamaš-šum-ukin, who was also seeking support. A few years later when Humban-haltash III gives up his position on the Idide River at Dur Untash (Chogha Zanbil), he flees to Hidalu. After the defeat of the Elamite, it was near Hidalu that the intimidated ruler of Parsumash, a son of Teispes, Kurash or Cyrus,[11] met the Assyrians and offered his oldest son, Arukku, as hostage. The king of another near-by city-state, Pizlume of Hudimiri, likewise sent his gifts to the ruler of Assyria (Cameron 1936: 204).

The Neo-Elamite administrative texts from Susa, dated to the end of the seventh and the first half of the sixth centuries also mention Hidalu several times and portray it as the seat of a subordinate ruler. In one of the Susa texts a Persian named Ishpukrta of the Zampenir tribe received a garment there (Hinz 1960: 250; Susa Tablet no. 238); in another (*ibid*; Susa Tablet, no. 65) 80 shekels of purple was sent to Hidalu at the request of the court administrator. The first text suggests that Iranians were there in the early sixth or late seventh century and the second may indicate the presence of a state workshop in the same period.

Using the travel days recorded in the Persepolis Fortification texts, Hinz (1960: 251) points out that the distance from Susa to Ahwaz (Achaemenid, Dasher) is 121 km and that Ahwaz to Behbehan is 243 km which he reckons at seven days travel, primarily in the lowlands of eastern Khuzistan. Hallock (1985: 596-597) also notes that Hidalu lay at least seven day's journey southeast of Susa on the road to Persepolis. The Fortification texts portray the place as an important centre that was associated with travellers between Susa and Persepolis, Kerman, and India. Seals of several supply officers, who were also active in Susa, appear as officials active in Hidalu.[12]

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[11] The exact identity of both the toponym and personal name are disputed, cf. Miroschedji (1985: 272-276).

Regardless of the exact location of Hidalu, the Ram Hormuz plain must be seen as a major nucleus of population from the last centuries of the second through the first half of the first millennium. If we assume, with Stronach (1974a), that the Persians moved from Fars into Khuzistan through the Bakhtiari mountains, then the large Middle through Neo-Elamite town at Bormi, and the contemporary settlement at Ghazir, may have provided appropriate settings for the first encounters of the Iranians with the urban traditions of the lowland Elamites and their Mesopotamian contemporaries. The Behbehan region, one day's journey to the southeast (Layard 1894: 200), may have had a major town of this period as well. The Arjān tomb, with its eclectic mixture of stylistic traditions (Babylonian, Assyrian, Iranian, Elamite and Syrian) probably reflects the complex nature of the cultural interactions that took place in the first centuries of the first millennium B.C. on the fringes of southeastern Khuzistan in the Zagros foothills.

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[12] Elsewhere Hallock (1978: 109) places Hidalu much farther east in the highlands of the Bakhtiari mountains. He includes it in his area III (Fahlīyān) and identifies Dašer as the last or ninth stop in that region. He considers Dašer to have been about half-way between Susa and Persepolis. In this context, the seventh stop, Bessitme, is identified with modern Basht, and Hidali he identifies as the third stop in the Fahlīyān area which, according to his map, should end approximately at Behbehan.

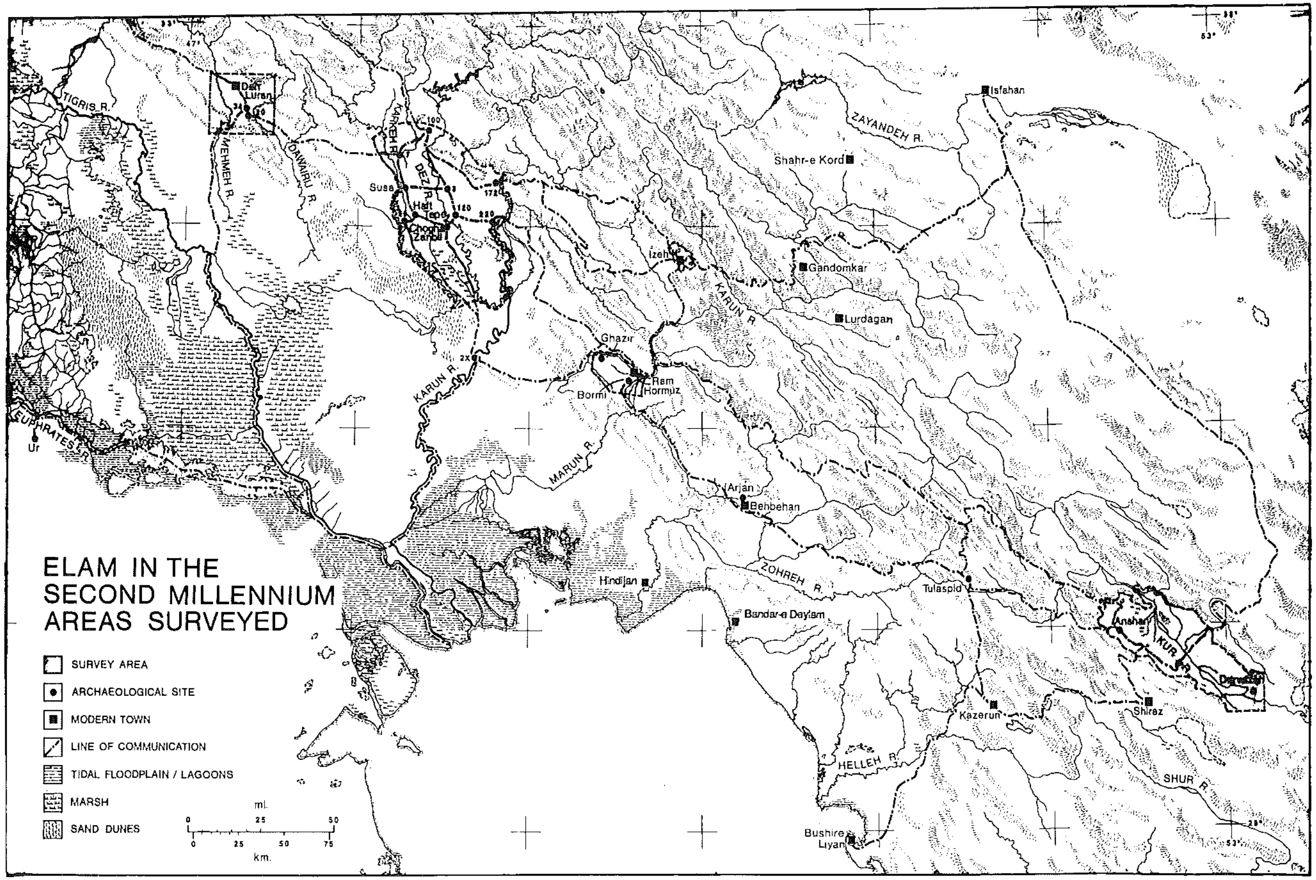
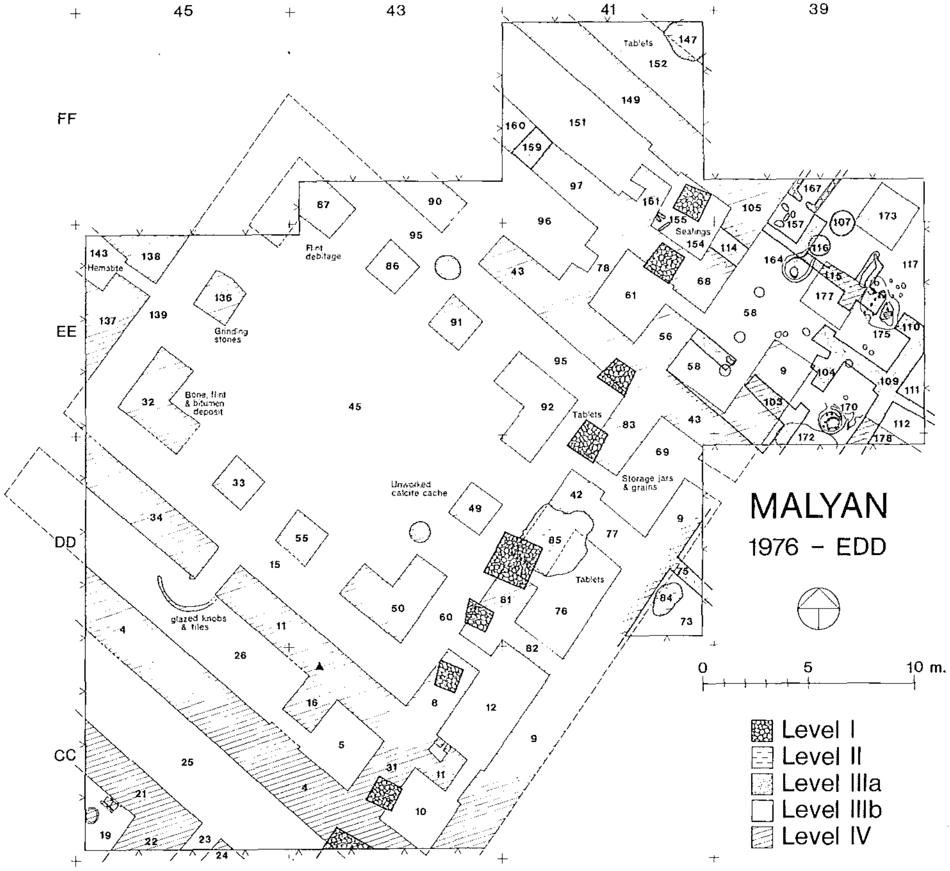

ELAM IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM AREAS SURVEYED
SURVEY AREA
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE
MODERN TOWN
LINE OF COMMUNICATION
TIDAL FLOODPLAIN / LAGOONS
MARSH
SAND DUNES
ml.
0 25 50
0 25 50 75
km.
33°
47°
53°
29°
Deh Luran
TIGRIS R.
MEHMEH R.
DAWAIRIJ R.
KARKHEH R.
DEZ R.
Susa
Haft Tepe
Choga Zanbil
100
172
120
220
2X
KARUN R.
Izeh
Ghazir
Ram Hormuz
Bormi
MARUN R.
EUPHRATES R.
Ur
Isfahan
ZAYANDEH R.
Shahr-e Kord
Gandomkar
Lurdagan
Arjan
Behbehan
Hindijan
ZOHREH R.
Bandar-e Daylam
Tulaspid
Anshan
KUR R.
Kazerun
Shiraz
HELLEH R.
SHUR R.
Bushire
Liyan

Fig. 1. Regional map showing sites mentioned in the text.


45
43
41
39
FF
EE
DD
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Tablets
147
152
149
151
160
159
97
161
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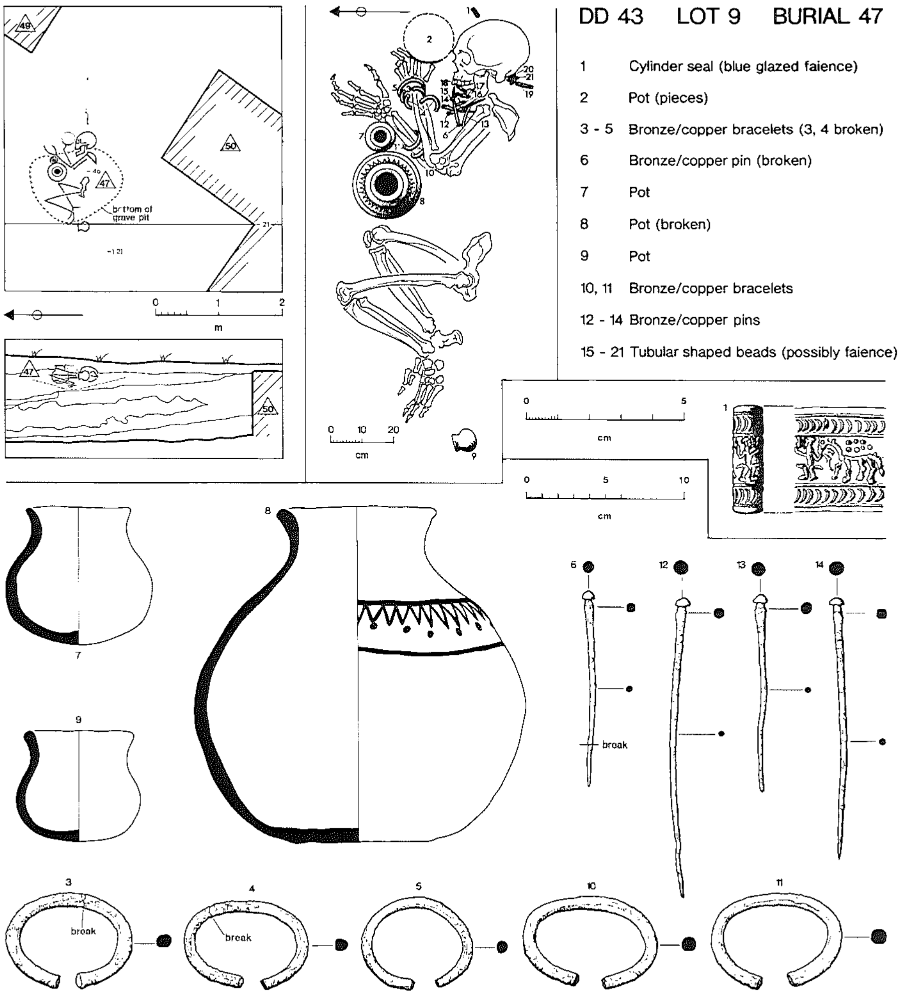
Sealings
154
114
105
167
157
107
173
116
117
164
115
177
110
175
96
90
87
95
86
Flint debitage
143
Hematite
138
136
139
137
Grinding stones
91
43
78
61
68
58
56
58
9
104
109
111
103
170
112
172
178
95
92
Tablets
83
43
69
32
Bone, flint & bitumen deposit
45
33
Unworked calcite cache
49
42
Storage jars & grains
9
77
85
34
55
15
Tablets
75
84
73
50
60
81
76
glazed knobs & tiles
11
4
26
82
16
8
12
9
5
25
31
11
21
4
10
19
22
23
24
MALYAN
1976 - EDD
0
5
10 m.
Level I
Level II
Level IIIa
Level IIIb
Level IV

Fig. 2. Malyan – EDD General plan.


48
50
47
bottom of grave pit
0 1 2
m
0 10 20
cm
0 5
cm
0 5 10
cm
break
break
break

DD 43 LOT 9 BURIAL 47

1	Cylinder seal (blue glazed faience)
2	Pot (pieces)
3 - 5	Bronze/copper bracelets (3, 4 broken)
6	Bronze/copper pin (broken)
7	Pot
8	Pot (broken)
9	Pot
10, 11	Bronze/copper bracelets
12 - 14	Bronze/copper pins
15 - 21	Tubular shaped beads (possibly faience)

Fig. 3. Post Middle Elamite burial from EDD, Malyan.

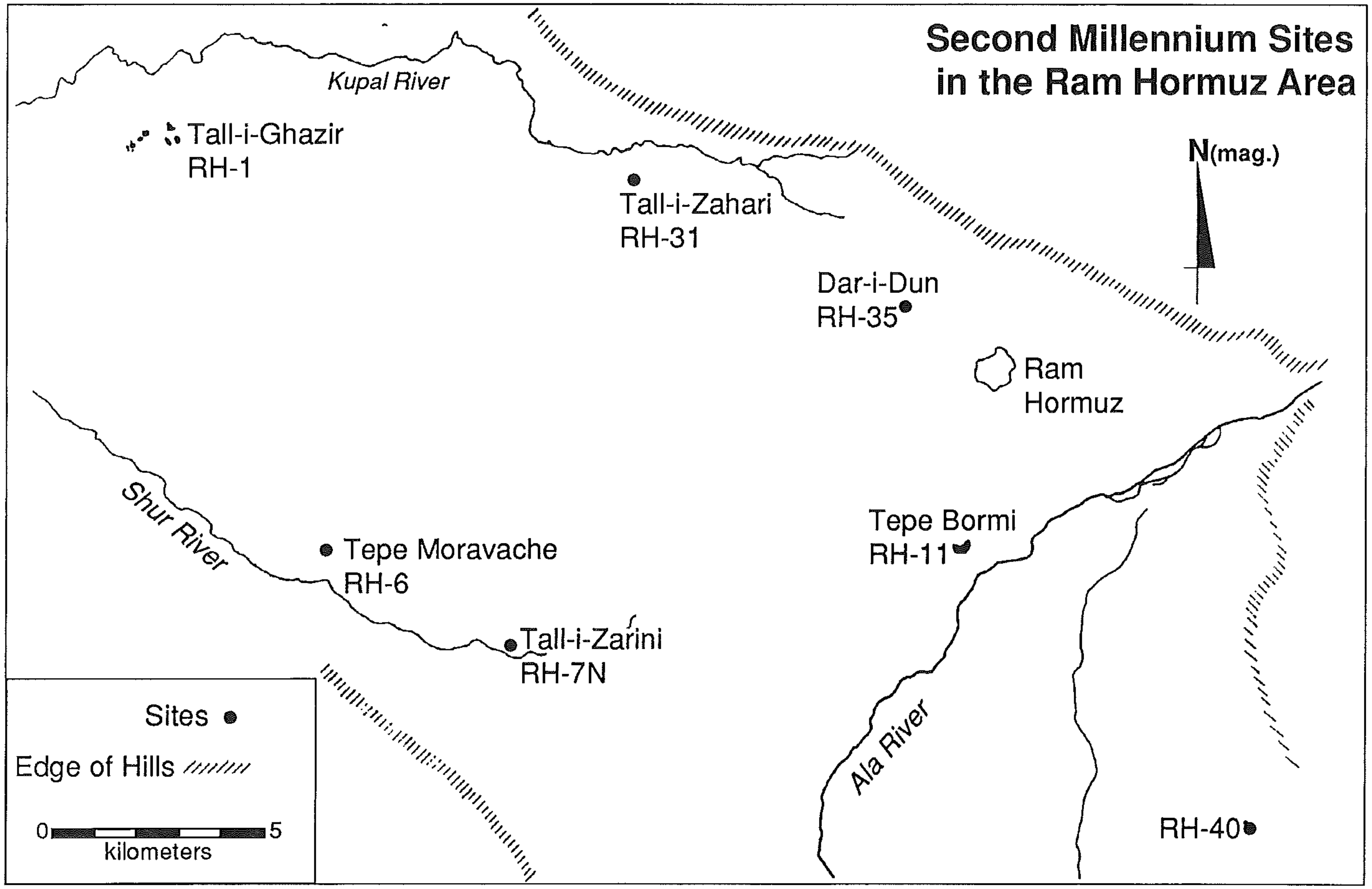

Second Millennium Sites in the Ram Hormuz Area
N(mag.)
Kupal River
Tall-i-Ghazir
RH-1
Tall-i-Zahari
RH-31
Dar-i-Dun
RH-35
Ram
Hormuz
Shur River
Tepe Moravache
RH-6
Tall-i-Zarini
RH-7N
Tepe Bormi
RH-11
Ala River
RH-40
Sites ●
Edge of Hills
0
5
kilometers

Fig. 4. Map of second millennium B.C. sites in the Ram Hormuz plain (after Carter 1971).

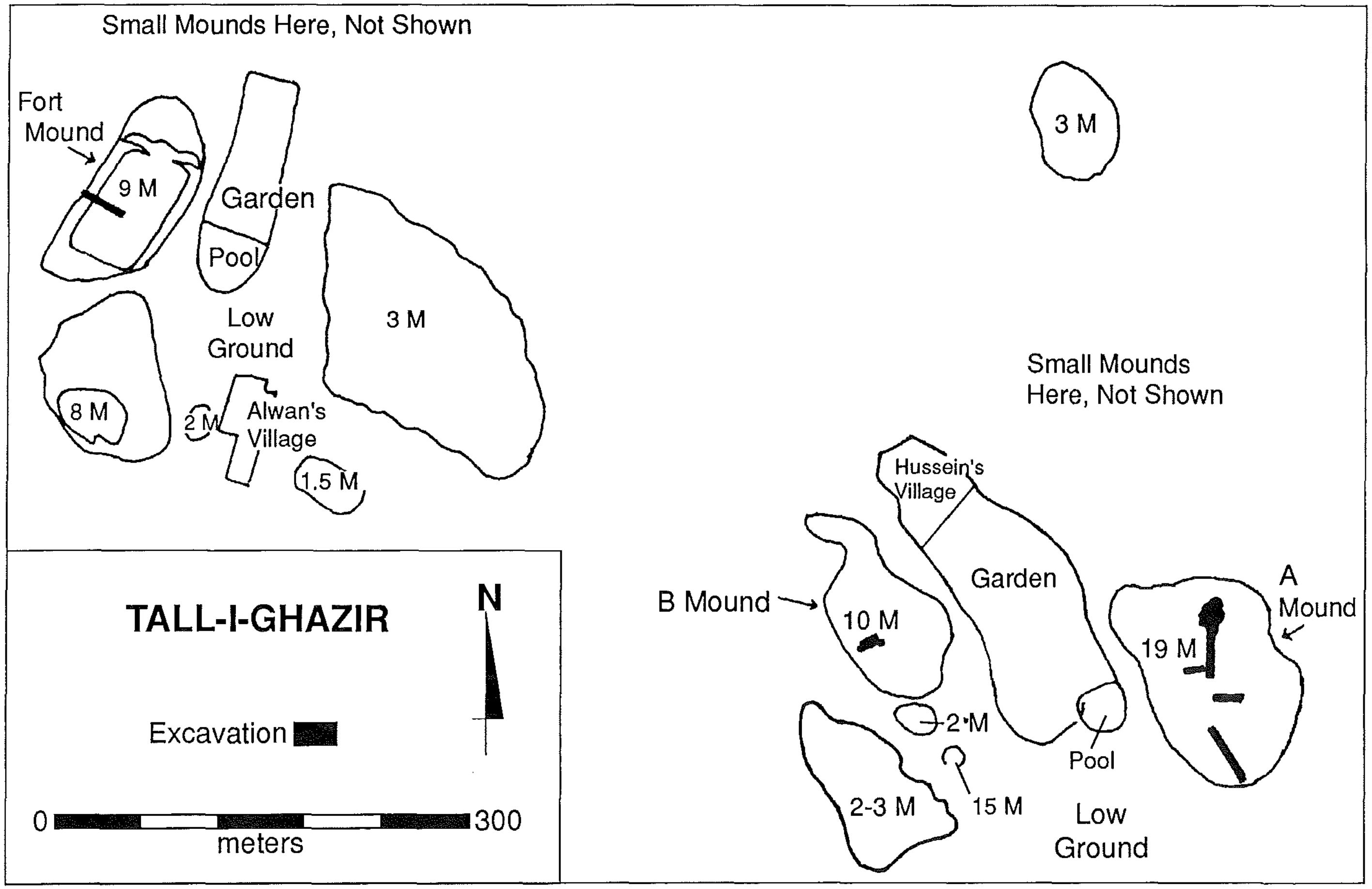

Small Mounds Here, Not Shown
Fort Mound
9 M
Garden
Pool
Low Ground
3 M
8 M
2 M
Alwan's Village
1.5 M
TALL-I-GHAZIR
N
Excavation
0
300
meters
3 M
Small Mounds Here, Not Shown
Hussein's Village
Garden
B Mound
10 M
A Mound
19 M
2 M
Pool
15 M
2-3 M
Low Ground

Fig. 5. Map of Tall-i-Ghazir (after McCown's field notes).

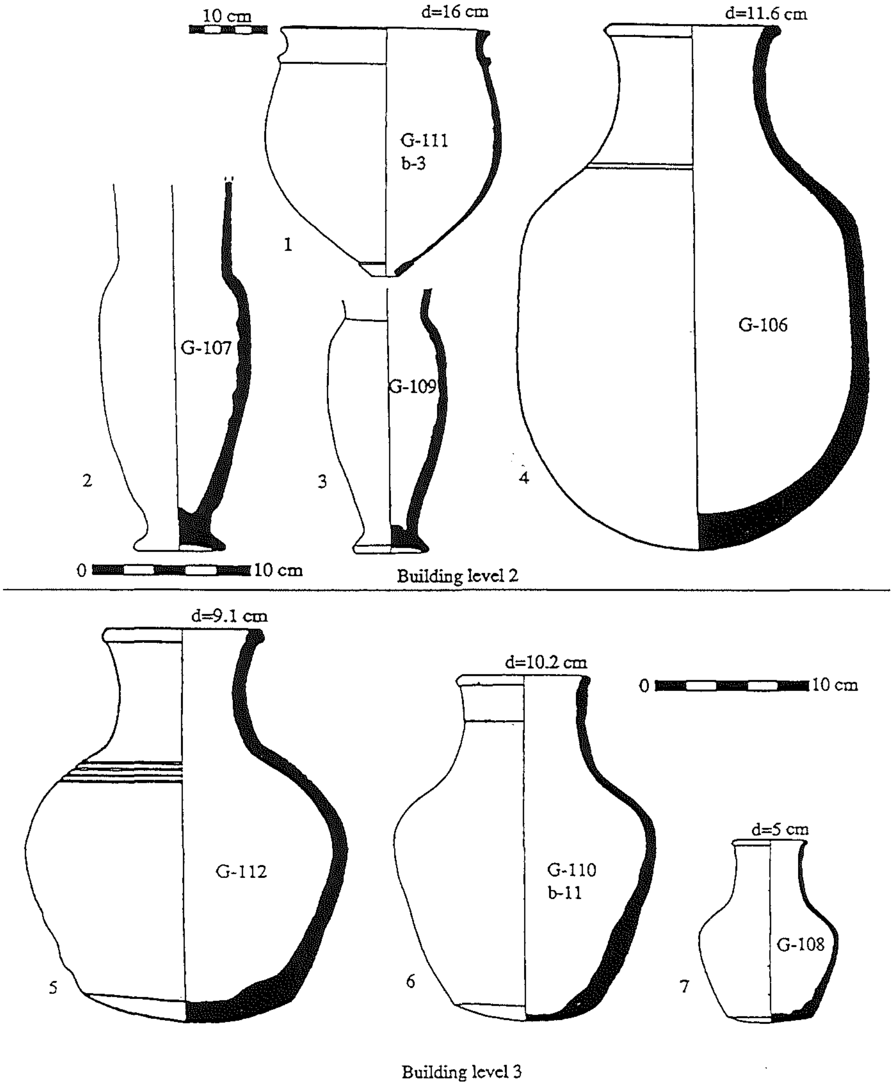

10 cm
d=16 cm
G-111
b-3
1
d=11.6 cm
G-107
2
G-109
3
G-106
4
0
10 cm
Building level 2
d=9.1 cm
G-112
5
d=10.2 cm
G-110
b-11
6
0
10 cm
d=5 cm
G-108
7
Building level 3

Fig. 6. Middle Elamite II, Neo-Elamite I pots from Mound B.

	Find Number	**Plot and Level**	**Description**	**References**
1	G-111 (B-3)	?-3.10	Funnel vat, fine light-tan ware, considerable plant temper, wet-smoothed	Carter, 1971, fig. 55: 13; Malyan, Carter n.d., fig. 40:10, EDD IIIB
2	G-107 (B-6)	?-3.10	Elamite goblet, fine light yellow-brown ware, medium vegetable temper, wet-smoothed	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 12: 9, VR II 10-11
3	G-109 (B-10)	?-2.90	Elamite goblet, fine light yellow-brown ware, considerable vegetable temper, buff slip exterior	
4	G-106 (B-4)	?-2.65	Jar, fine light yellow-brown ware, moderate plant temper, wet-smoothed	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 25: 17, VR II 9
5	G-112	?3.65	Pot, fine tan ware, considerable plant temper, wet-smoothed	Malyan, Carter n.d., fig. 23:2, base and body, rim form differs, IVA
6	G-110 (B-11)	?-3.65	Pot, fine light yellow-brown ware, considerable plant temper, wet-smoothed	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981b, fig. 49: 8, Ap-VR, P26-28
7	G-108 (B-9)	?-3.65	Pot, fine light yellow-brown ware, considerable plant temper, wet-smoothed	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 23: 6, VR II 9, fig. 29: 10, VR II 7B, burial 734 with similar rim

Fig. 6. — Mound B pots.

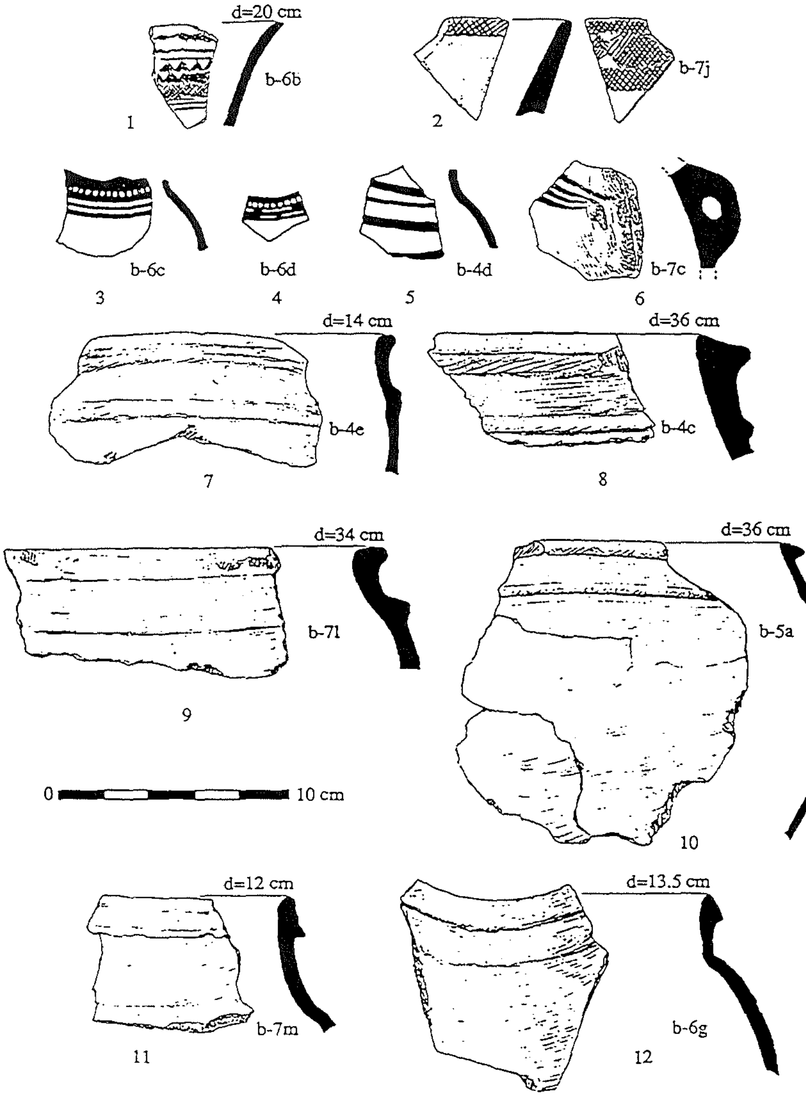

d=20 cm
b-6b
1
2
b-7j
b-6c
b-6d
b-4d
b-7c
3
4
5
6
d=14 cm
d=36 cm
b-4e
b-4c
7
8
d=34 cm
d=36 cm
b-71
b-5a
9
0
10 cm
10
d=12 cm
d=13.5 cm
b-7m
b-6g
11
12

Fig. 7. Mound B sherds Middle Elamite II Period.

	Find Number	Plot and Level	Description	References
1	B6b		Bowl rim, buff ware, brown slightly etched paint	
2	B7j	B3-3.7	Bowl rim, light yellow-brown ware, dark paint	
3	B6c		Jar shoulder, tan ware, medium vegetable temper, buff slip exterior, light red paint	Malyan, Carter, n.d., fig. 27: 9, Pl. 8: 15; IVB
4	B6d		Jar shoulder, light tan ware, buff slip exterior, red paint	Malyan, Carter, n.d., fig. 27: 9; Pl. 8: 15; IVB
5	B4d	B/W, 5-2.0	Jar shoulder, beige ware, buff slip, pale, yellow-brown paint	Malyan, Carter, n.d., fig.27:10; IVB
6	B7c		Jar lug, tan ware, buff slip exterior, brown paint	
7	B4e		Vat, tan ware, medium vegetable temper, buff slip exterior	
8	B4c		Vat, light yellow-brown ware, medium vegetable temper	Malyan, Carter, n.d., fig. 24: 3; IVA; Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 37: 6, VR II 7B
9	B71		Vat rim, light yellow-brown ware, heavy vegetable temper, wet smoothed	Malyan, Carter, n.d., fig. 40: 10; IIIB
10	B5e	B/L 2-3.10	Vat rim and body pale beige ware, incompletely oxidised, medium/fine vegetable temper, wet	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 15: 17, VR II 11
11	B6g		Band-rim jar, light yellow-brown ware, heavy vegetable temper, buff slip	Malyan, Carter, n.d., fig. 23: 9; IV A; Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 13: 12, VR II 10
12	B7m		Band rim jar, tan ware, buff slip exterior, heavy vegetable temper	Malyan, Carter, n.d., fig. 23: 9; IVA; Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 13: 12, VR II 10

Fig. 7. — Mound B sherds.

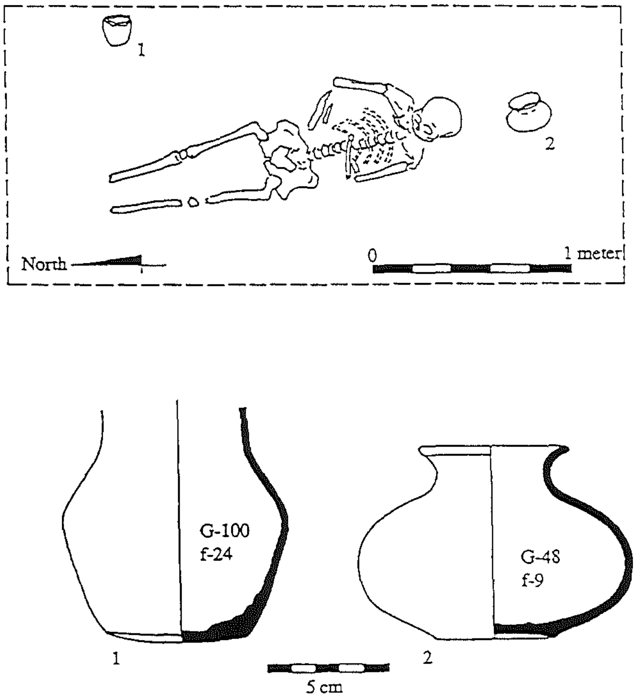
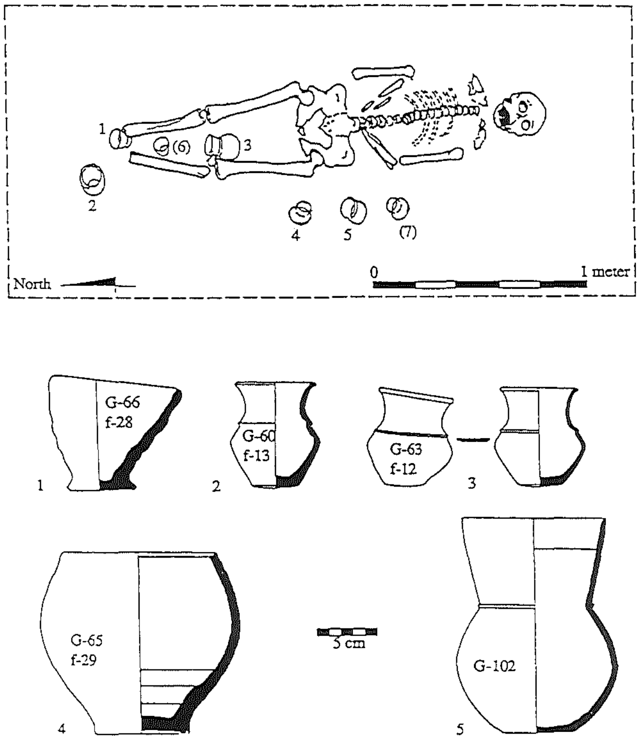

1
2
North
0
1 meter
G-100
f-24
G-48
f-9
1
2
5 cm

Fig. 8. — Fort Mound, burial K.

	Find Number	Plot and Level	Description	References
1	G-100 (F-24)	C, -.60	Pot, fine light-tan ware, considerable vegetable temper, wet-smoothed	Susa, Miroschedji 1981a, fig. 23:6, VR II, 9; fig. 29:8, VR II, tomb 734, 7B; 1981b, fig. 49:8, sondage P26-28
2	G-48 (F-9)	C, -.90	Pot, fine orange-red ware, wet-smoothed	

Fig. 8. — Fort Mound, burial K.

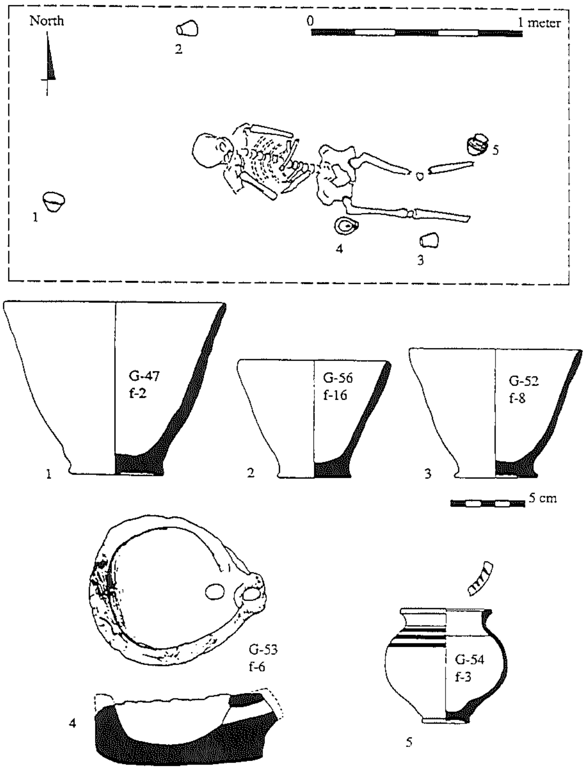


(Burial at 120)

Fig. 9. — Fort Mound, burial E.

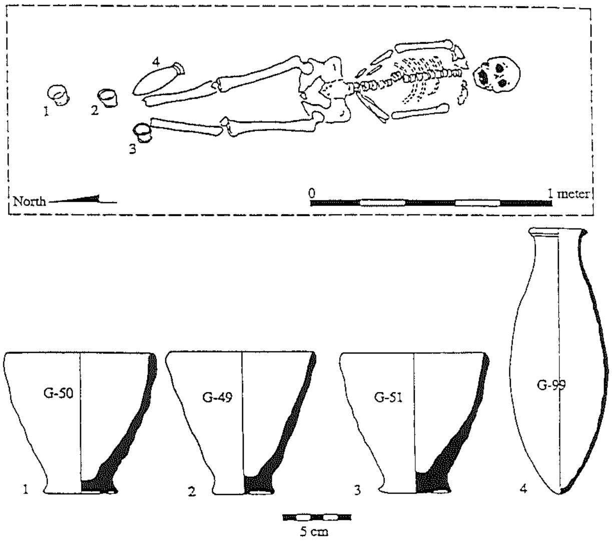
	Find Number	Plot and Level	Description	References
1	G-66 (F-28)	Top; -1.70	Conical cup, corrugated, light tan ware, vegetable temper	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981b, fig. 51:2 VR-Ap tr. 5224, 7B
2	G-60 (F-13)	Top; -2.60	Pot with rib at neck, light tan ware, considerable vegetable temper	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 22:11, VR II8
3	G-63 (F-12)	Top; -2.60	Wide-necked pot, light tan ware, rare vegetable temper	Malyan, Sumner 1974, fig. 13:E; EE41, lot 23, surface
4	G-65 (F-29)	Top; -1.70	Hole-mouth deep bowl, light yellow-brown ware, considerable plant temper	
5	G102 (F-27)	Top; -1.70	Necked pot, rib at shoulder; light yellow-brown ware, considerable plant temper	Malyan, unpublished, much cruder example, DD-41, Lot 14, mf. 1188, IIIA

Fig. 9. — Fort Mound burial E.


North
0
1 meter
1
2
3
4
5
G-47
f-2
G-56
f-16
G-52
f-8
5 cm
G-53
f-6
G-54
f-3

(Burial at 240)

Fig. 10. — Fort Mound burial F.


North
0
1 meter
1
2
3
4
G-50
G-49
G-51
G-99
5 cm

(Base upper burial)

Fig. 11. — Fort Mound burial L.

	Find Number	Plot and Level	Description	References
1	G-47 (F-2)	Top, -2.50	Conical bowl, light yellow-brown ware, medium vegetable temper	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981b, fig. 51: 3, VR-AP trench 5244, 7B
2	G-55 (F-16)	Top, -2.50	Concial bowl, light brown-red ware, vegetable temper, wet smoothed	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 33: 2, VR II, burial 693, 7B; VR-AP, 7B 1981b, fig. 49: 1
3	G-52 (F-8)	Top, -2.40	Conical bowl, light yellow-brown ware, heavy vegetable temper	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981b, fig. 51: 2, VR-AP trench 5244, 7B
4	G-53 (F-6)	Top, -2.40	Lamp, light brown ware, heavy vegetable temper, traces of burning	
5	G-54 (F-3)	Top, -2.40	Pot, light orange-tan ware, wet smoothed, possibly light yellow-brown slip, light red paint	Carter, 1971, fig. 56: 2

Fig. 10. — Fort Mound burial F.

	Find Number	Plot and Level	Description	References
1	G-50 (F-10)	Base, -.30	Conical cup, light yellow-brown ware, rare vegetable temper, wet-smoothed	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981b, fig. 51: 4, VR-AP trench 5244, 7B
2 3	G-49 (F-5) G-5 (F-4)	Base, -.30	Conical cup, light yellow-brown ware, medium vegetable temper, wet-smoothed	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981b, fig. 51: 5, VR-AP trench 5244, 7B
4	G-99 (F-1)	Base, -0.5	Pointed-based jar, light tan ware, medium vegetable temper	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 35: 3, 15, VR II, tomb 693, 7B; 1981b, fig. 53: 1, VR-AP trench 5244, 7B

Fig. 11. — Fort Mound burial L.

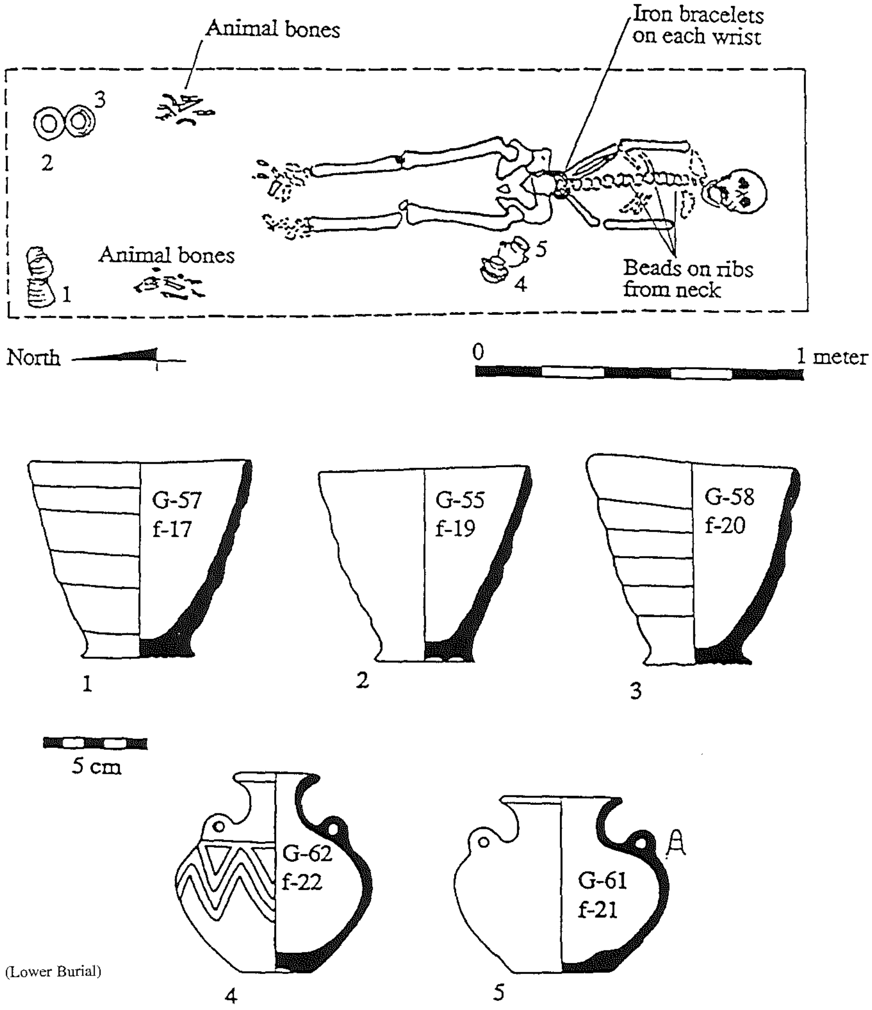

Animal bones
Iron bracelets on each wrist
3
2
Animal bones
1
5
4
Beads on ribs from neck
North
0
1 meter
G-57
f-17
1
G-55
f-19
2
G-58
f-20
3
5 cm
G-62
f-22
4
G-61
f-21
5
(Lower Burial)

Fig. 12. Fort Mound burial M.

	Find Number	Plot and Level	Description	References
1	G-57 (F-17)	Base, -.70	Corrugated conical cup, string-cut disc base; vegetable temper, fine, light yellow-brown ware	Miroschedji, 1981a, VR II, fig. 33: 12, 7B, burial 693
2	G-55 (F-19)	Base, -.70	Corrugated conical cup, string-cut disc base; vegetable temper, fine, light yellow-brown ware	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981b, fig. 51: 5; VR-AP trench 5244, 7B
3	G-58 (F-20)	Base, -.70	Corrugated conical cup, string-cut disc base; vegetable temper, fine, light tan ware	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981b, fig. 51: 8; VR-AP trench 5244, 7B
4	G-61 (F-21)	Base, -.70	Lugged pot, light yellow ware, interior and exterior traces of pale green glaze	Nippur, McCown and Haines, 1967, Pl. 104: 10; Bard-i-Bal, Vanden Berghe, 1973, fig. 10: 10, tomb 17, unglazed
5	G-62 (F-22)	Base, -.70	Lugged pot, light yellow ware, white on white glaze, many air bubbles, flaked	

Fig. 12. — Fort Mound burial M.

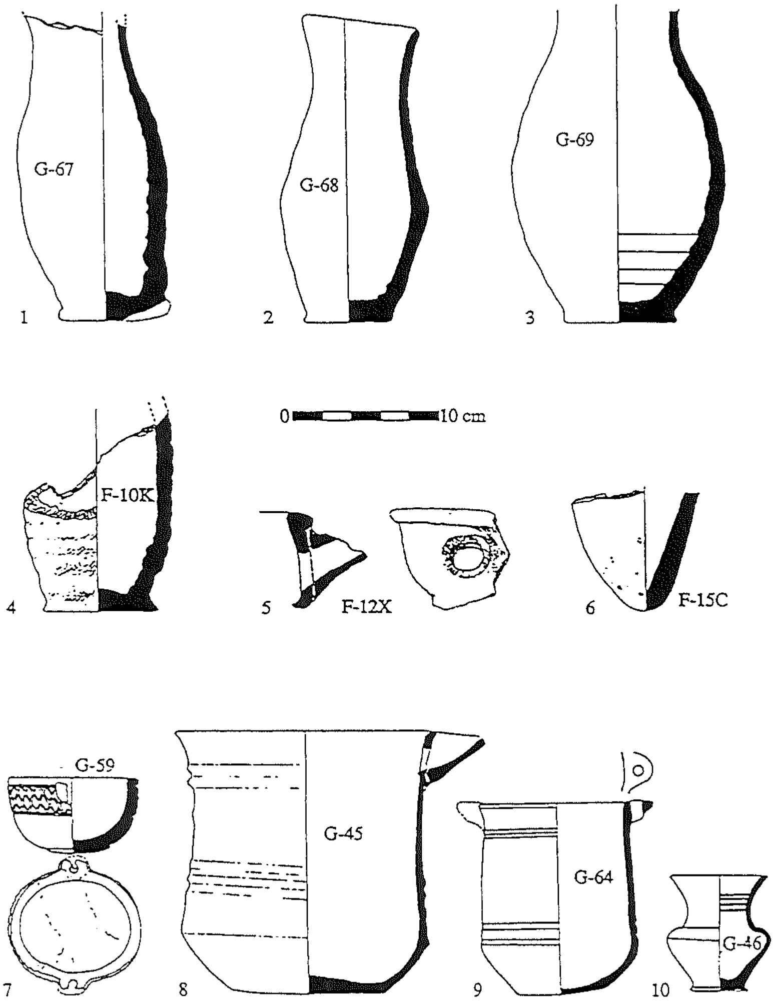

1
G-67
2
G-68
3
G-69
4
F-10K
0 10 cm
5
F-12X
6
F-15C
7
G-59
8
G-45
9
G-64
10
G-46

Fig. 13. Neo-Elamite I and II pottery from the Fort Mound.

	Find Number	Plot and Level	Description	References
1	G67 (F-30)	C, -.90	Cylindrical jar, fine tan ware, considerable vegetable temper, poorly made, wet smoothed	
2	G68 (F-26)	Top, -.65	Bottle, fine yellow-brown ware, much vegetable temper, fairly well made, wet smoothed	
3	G68 (F-25)	Top, -1.10	Bottle, fine buff ware, moderate vegetable temper, poorly made, wet smoothed	
4	F-10k		Tan ware, considerable vegetable temper, corrugated interior and exterior	Susa, Miroschedji 1981a, fig. 33: 12, 17B, tomb 639
5		Top, -1-1.5		Miroschedji, 1981c, fig. 58: 5
6	F-15e	C, -1.45	Amphora base, light yellow-brown ware, moderate vegetable temper	Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 35: 9, 11, 7B, tomb 639
7	G-59			
8	G-45 (F base)	Low		Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, fig. 36: 7 (spout type); fig. 21: 11, body shape
9	G-64 (F-15)	Top, -1.60	Fine yellow-brown ware, pale green glaze, vertically pierced horizontal lug(s)	
10	G-46	Top, -2.60	Fine, light-tan ware, buff slip, smeared in rim	

Fig. 13. — Neo-Elamite I and II pottery from the Fort Mound.

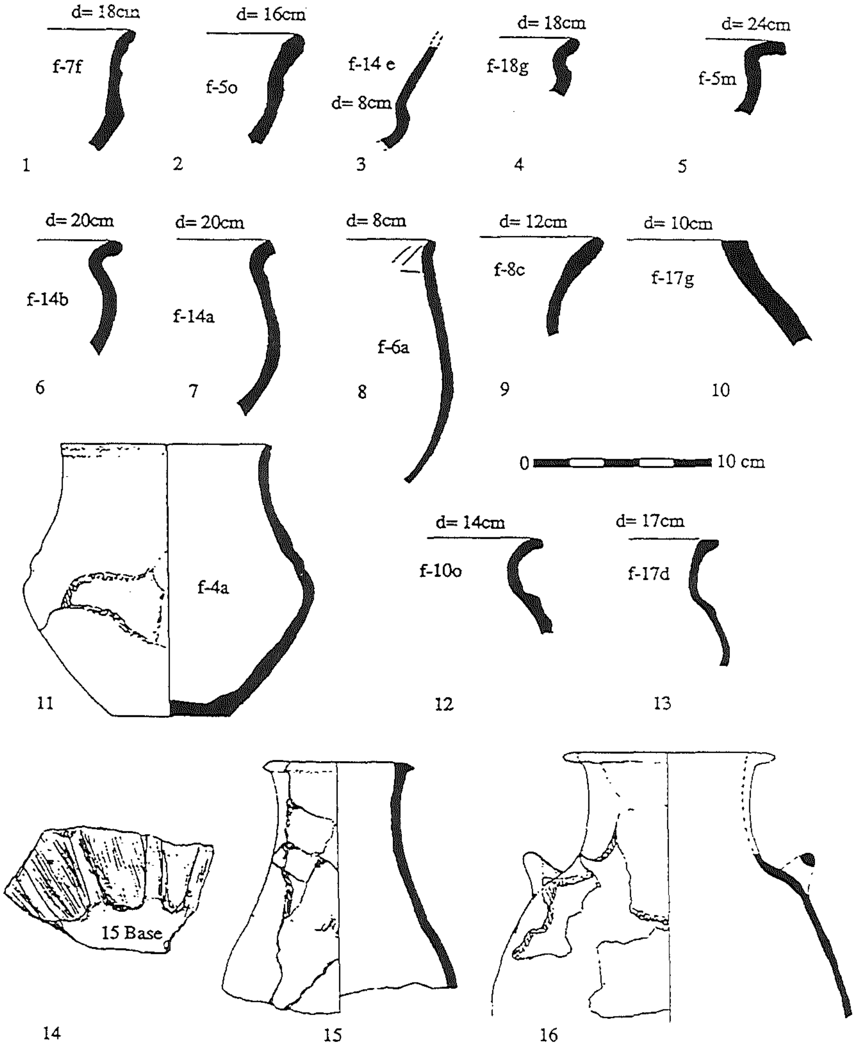

d= 18cm
f-7f
1
d= 16cm
f-5o
2
f-14 e
d= 8cm
3
d= 18cm
f-18g
4
d= 24cm
f-5m
5
d= 20cm
f-14b
6
d= 20cm
f-14a
7
d= 8cm
f-6a
8
d= 12cm
f-8c
9
d= 10cm
f-17g
10
f-4a
11
0
10 cm
d= 14cm
f-10o
12
d= 17cm
f-17d
13
15 Base
14
15
16

Fig. 14. Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid pottery from the Fort Mound.

	Find Number	Description	References
1	F-7f	Black, much vegetable temper; light grey surface; burnished inside and outside	Nippur, Armstrong, 1989, fig. 72: 2, type 22
2	F-75q	Tan, rare vegetable temper, buff slip	Nippur, Armstrong, 1989, fig. 72: 6, type 22; Susa, Miroschedji, 1987, VR II 5
3	F-14f	Fine tan ware, buff slip	Nippur, Armstrong, 1989, fig. 73: 9, type 26; Susa, Miroschedji, 1987, VR II 5
4	F-18g	Tan ware, black core; red slip interior and exterior, burnished; buff slip below carination	Susa, Miroschedji, 1987, VR II 5, fig. 9: 11 for shape
5	F-5a	Tan ware, buff slip	Nippur, Armstrong, 1989, fig. 73: 14, type 28; Susa, Miroschedji, 1987, VR II 5
6	F-14b	Buff ware, moderate vegetable temper, wet smoothed	
7	F-14b	Tane ware, rare vegetable temper; brown interior, buff slip exterior	
8	F-6a	Beige ware, fine vegetable temper, exterior red-brown slip to just below rim interior; traces vertical burnishing	Nippur, Armstrong, 1989, fig. 70: 12, type 18; Susa, Miroschedji, 1987, VR II 5
9	F-8c	Tan ware, black core, fine vegetable temper red-brown burnished slip interior and exterior	
10	F-17g	Tan ware, considerable vegetable temper, wet-smoothed	
11	F-4a	Light yellow-brown ware, vegetable temper, red-brown slip on neck, exterior, vertical burnishing above ridges	
12	F-10q	Soft black ware, black brown surface traces of burnishing exterior and inside neck	Gandomkar, Zagarell, 1982a, fig. 5: 3
13	F-17d	Light yellow, pale green glaze, inside and out	
14	F-6i	Brown ware, black core, considerable vegetable temper, light brown to red slip, traces of burnishing, vertical ribs	Susa, Stève et al., 1983, Ville Royale IX, fosse 100, fig. 1: 4, glazed
15	F-21?	Tan ware, much vegetable temper, wet smoothed	Nippur, Armstrong, 1989, fig. 77: 4, type 37; Susa, Miroschedji, 1981a, VR II 7B fig. 35:3
16	F-14	Light yellow ware, vegetable temper, pale green exterior	

Fig. 14. — Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid pottery from the Fort Mound.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MEASURES OF CULTURAL CONTINUITY AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE PERSIANS IN FARS

William M. Sumner — Chicago

The historical evidence concerning the arrival of the Persians in Fars has recently been summarised in a detailed and carefully argued paper by Miroschedji (1985; see also Young 1988). Our concern here is with the first two stages proposed by de Miroschedji as a model for the transition from Elamite to Achaemenid rule. The first stage is characterised as a period of Elamite rule over an Elamite population, but, with the addition of a Persian population, who began to appear in the valley as early as 1000 B.C. The second stage, beginning sometime after 646 B.C., is depicted as a period when an independent Persian polity was established in Fars. At this time the multi-ethnic Elamite and Persian population was involved in a process of ethnic amalgamation. The third and fourth stages, those of Cyrus II and Darius I, respectively, are not considered here.

The last Elamite king who claimed to rule Anshan was Adda-hamiti-Inšušinak (c. 650 B.C.), but historical evidence suggests that the house of Achaemenes advanced a similar claim no more than a generation later (Miroschedji 1985: 281-88). These conflicting claims seem to imply that central Fars was disputed territory in the early first millennium B.C., and perhaps even earlier. The purpose of this paper is to explore the local archaeological evidence for cultural continuity or discontinuity in the Marv Dasht between the end of the Kaftari period (c. 1600 B.C.) and the first unequivocal archaeological evidence of Persians. Three interrelated lines of evidence are available: stylistically defined ceramic groups, radiocarbon and other dating criteria for the ceramic groups, and the pattern of distribution of the ceramic groups on habitation and other sites.

The local historical trajectory is firmly anchored in the Kaftari phase (c. 2000-1600 B.C.) when Malyan, Anshan, was the urban centre of a territory that extended beyond the Kur River Basin (hereafter KRB) and included a settlement system composed of small towns, large villages, and small villages (Sumner 1989). The local population reached a maximum in the nineteenth century B.C. when the Malyan population is estimated at more than 20,000 and the total KRB population was at least 45,000. After 1900 B.C., population began to decline and the cultural unity of the region, as evidenced by the uniformity of Kaftari ceramics on all occupied sites, was gradually modified with the appearance of Qale-Middle Elamite ceramics in the west and Shogha-Teimuran ceramics in the east end of the valley.

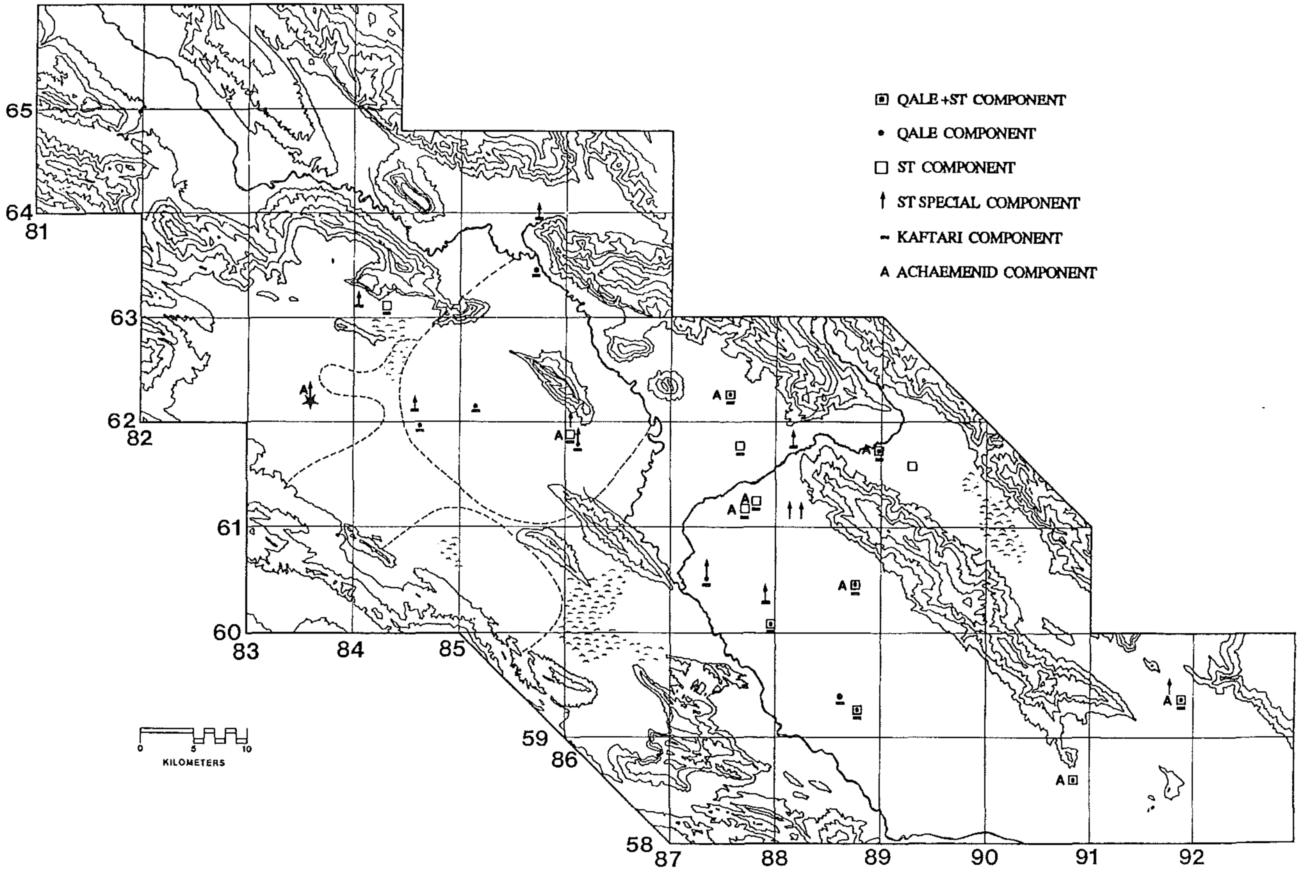

⊡ QALE+ST COMPONENT
• QALE COMPONENT
☐ ST COMPONENT
† ST SPECIAL COMPONENT
– KAFTARI COMPONENT
A ACHAEMENID COMPONENT
65
64
81
63
62
82
61
60
83
84
85
59
86
58
87
88
89
90
91
92
0
5
10
KILOMETERS

Figure 1.

This complex cultural geography, defined by the spatial distribution of five quite distinctive ceramic styles, indicates first a constriction and then a withdrawal of Elamite influence as new people filtered into the region. When did these newcomers arrive? Are they merely transient precursors of the people later known to history as the Achaemenid Persians, or are they in fact the same? Although it is not possible to answer these questions on the basis of archaeological evidence alone, the archaeological pattern in the KRB is suggestive. The following tentative archaeological model, comparable at many points with the mainly historical model outlined by Miroschedji, rests on a single fundamental cultural assumption and a set of methodological arguments concerning the nature of archaeological surface assemblages. The cultural assumption is that contemporaneous stylistic diversity within a restricted geographical region is a reliable proxy for ethnic diversity. The methodological argument concerns the expected frequency of later components on immediately preceding or earlier sites under conditions of continuity or discontinuity of occupation across stylistically defined chronological boundaries.

Ceramic wares and chronology

The five ceramic groups include Qale Ware, Middle Elamite Ware, Shogha Ware, Teimuran Ware, and the local Achaemenid Ware. Qale Ware is a distinctive painted ware, first described by Vanden Berghe (1954: 403, 404). Middle Elamite pottery from Malyan is a rather coarse plain buff ware with a limited number of forms which find precise parallels at contemporary sites in Khuzistan (Carter 1984: 164, 174, Fig. 11). This ware is not known from surface collections in the KRB. Shogha Ware is hand made ware that occurs in both plain and painted varieties (Vanden Berghe 1959: 42-44; Jacobs 1980: 63-71). Teimuran Ware, designated Teimuran A by Vanden Berghe (1959: 44), occurs in both painted and plain varities that are easily distinguished from Shogha ware (Jacobs 1980: 79-83). The local Achaemenid style is only represented in surface collections by a plain ware with distinctive forms that can be distinguished from the other wares discussed here (Sumner 1986).

The end of the Kaftari period, at about 1600 B.C., is well established by stratigraphy, radiocarbon dates, and stylistic analysis. At that time Qale Ware was already a recognisable part of the local ceramic assemblage and it must be presumed that later levels, not yet excavated, would reveal a period, between 1600 and 1300 B.C., when Qale Ware was the dominant ceramic at Malyan. It is not clear when Middle Elamite Ware first appeared at the site but it occurs together with Qale Ware in excellent context in several levels of the large Middle Elamite building (Operation EDD) which covers the period 1300-1000 B.C. (Carter 1984: 172-73). Evidence for a later Elamite presence in the valley is rare: a possible Neo-Elamite burial at Malyan and the undated rock relief at Naqsh-i Rustam (Carter, this volume).

Shogha Ware and Teimuran Ware have not been found in stratigraphic context at Malyan and only a few sherds are known from the surface collection. Vanden Berghe (1959: 43) reports Shogha stratified above Qale in three sites, and stratified below Teimuran at Tal-e Teimuran. Qale, Shogha, and Teimuran were all found in stratigraphic context at Darvazeh Tepe (5861-9082), excavated by Nicol (1969, 1970a, 1971), and analysed by Jacobs (1980). The stratigraphy was originally divided into eight phases that are combined by Jacobs (1980: 22-26, 94-124) to form three phases. Thirteen diagnostic Qale sherds from the excavations are scattered in five of the original eight, and two of the three combined phases; in both systems it is the earliest levels that do not produce Qale. In view of the very limited area excavated to virgin soil, the possibility that these sherds originated from an undiscovered early Qale component cannot be excluded. Likewise, Jacobs' (1980: 124) notion that Darvazeh may have been founded before the Qale style originated cannot be unequivocally dismissed, but her (1980: 62) conclusion that these sherds were brought to the site from a contemporaneous Qale settlement seems the most likely explanation.

Jacobs does not publish data indicating whether or not the relative frequency of Shogha to Teimuran remains constant through the three phases at Darvazeh. However, the reported proportion of Shogha to Teimuran from all excavated units at Darvazeh is about 13 to 1. The relative proportion of Shogha to Teimuran at sites surveyed by Jacobs is as follows: Kamin — 13/1, Qale — 7/1, Shogha — 5/1, Rubai — 4/1, Teimuran — 2/1 (Jacobs 1980: 214-216). These data are subject to at least two interpretations: either a functional differentiation of Shogha relative to Teimuran is unequally distributed among these five sites, or the sites were occupied at slightly different times during the Shogha-Teimuran Phase and Teimuran ware was more popular late in the phase.

It is likely that the utilitarian functions of the two wares were similar since they share much the same range of functional forms, with spouted pots and scoops adding some extra functional diversity to Shogha ware. Non-utilitarian differences, such as prestige, funeral, or ritual functions offer more attractive possibilities. Vanden Berghe (1952, 1954) found Qale, Shogha, and Teimuran pots as grave gifts in various soundings. At Tal-e Shogha (6044-8874) he found burials with Teimuran A ware in at least two soundings.

Three Shogha vessels were found 20 cm below the surface at Tal-e Bakun A (Langsdorff & McCown 1942: 5, 32, Pl. 19). Langsdorff speculated that they came from a later occupation but the absence of Shogha sherds from the surface collection, where, if present, they would represent the final occupation, makes it more probable that the excavated pots came from a burial. One or two diagnostic Shogha sherds found in the surface collections from twelve other sites, on six of which Shogha would have been the terminal occupation, may also be interpreted as derived from graves, campsites, or other low intensity use of these sites. Thus, neither Shogha nor Teimuran seems to be a special ware reserved for funeral use since both wares were frequently deposited in graves and both appear in occupation debris at Darvazeh. On balance it is most likely that Teimuran and Shogha were generally contemporaneous but that Teimuran was more popular at the end of the period.

There are 32 radiocarbon dates from Darvazeh Tepe, all processed by Geochron (Jacobs 1980: 48-52, 115-119). If we eliminate four anomalous fourth millennium and earlier dates, the remaining 28 dates fall between 2140 and 640-500 B.C. The interpretation of these dates advanced by Jacobs indicates an occupation at Darvazeh from about 1800 through 900 B.C.; 25 of the dates fall within one standard deviation of these limits. In general the dates also accord well with the three phase chronology proposed by Jacobs (1980: 115-119) although there are some anomalies and some dates cannot be firmly assigned to their proper phase on the basis of excavation records available. These dates suggest the possibility that the Shogha-Teimuran Phase could have lasted from as early as 1800 until as late as 800 B.C. Other evidence, however, implies a shorter interval. Major Kaftari components in surface collections from Shogha-Teimuran town sites are more likely to represent earlier than contemporaneous occupations, with the implication that Shogha begins after c. 1600 B.C. Further, the presence of small terminal Shogha-Teimuran components on 7 Kaftari habitation sites, best interpreted as representing Shogha-Teimuran graves or campsites, also implies that Shogha-Teimuran is later than Kaftari. The most reasonable conclusion is that Shogha begins sometime after 1600 but before 1300 B.C and endures until at least 900 B.C. or later.

Only scattered and enigmatic bits of chronological evidence for the late second or early first millennium remain to be considered: the bec aplati, assigned to the Jalabad culture by Vanden Berghe (1959: 44 and Pl. 61a); the Teimuran B bridge spouted vessel from a grave at Tal-e Teimuran (Vanden Berghe 1959: 44 and Pl. 60F); a double handled goblet from a late context at Malyan, and a bridge spout found on the surface at Malyan. The simplest interpretation of these finds is that they are foreign to the region, indicating no more than a predictable degree of travel and trade during the late second or early first millennium B.C.

In summary, without putting too fine an interpretation on exact dates, it is probable that the Qale-Middle Elamite, Shogha-Teimuran, and Achaemenid phases represent three distinctive, but related settlement systems. The combination of two distinct ceramic styles in Qale-Middle Elamite levels at Malyan and the consistent co-occurence of Shogha and Teimuran style ceramics in habitation site surface assemblages suggests the possibility of complex ethnic variation in both the eastern and western regions of the valley.

Settlement patterns and continuity

There are 28 sites in the present KRB inventory with positively identified Shogha-Teimuran (hereafter ST) or Qale components. The number of sites with Achaemenid, ST, Qale, and Kaftari components is listed in Table 1. Neither ST nor Qale components have been found on the other 51 Kaftari or 29 Achaemenid sites, which are presumed not to have been occupied during the period under consideration. The question of continuity between pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid settlements can be explored by considering the implications of the following hypothetical description of the arrival of the first Persians in the KRB:

> ...when the Persians arrived in the valley it was completely depopulated; there were no settlements. They founded 21 settlements on abandoned mounds and 21 on the level plain.

If we identify these 'Persians' with the ceramics known from Persepolis/Pasargadae, the most straightforward implication of this statement is that we would expect to find Achaemenid components on mounds abandoned in different periods more or less in proportion to the number of each type of site available. What we find, however, as shown in Table 1, is that a disproportionate number of Achaemenid sites are on sites with Qale, or ST components, or both.

Table 1. Location of Achaemenid Components on Sites with earlier Components

	OBS-N	OBS-%	EXP-N	EXP-%	POS-N	POS-%
ACH/QAL+ST	5	23.8	0.5	2.4	7	2.4
ACH/ST	3	14.3	0.4	2.0	6	2.0
ACH/QAL	1	4.8	0.4	2.0	6	2.0
ACH/KAF	3	14.3	4.3	20.3	60	20.3
ACH/EARLY	9	42.9	15.4	73.3	217	73.3
SUB-TOT	21	100.1	21.0	100.0	296	100.0
ACH ON PLAIN	21					
TOTAL SITES	42					

Note: OBS = observed cases; EXP = expected cases if Achaemenid new foundations are randomly placed on earlier mounds; POS = possible cases, that is, the number of sites with various earlier components on which Achaemenid sites could have been founded.

Although this pattern is open to several interpretations, the most likely explanation is that some form of cultural continuity characterised the transition from Qale-ST styles to the later ceramic style that forms the criteria for identifying Achaemenid components on these sites. The nature of this transitional process is problematic. It is no doubt entirely unnecessary for me to say that the following discussion of various possibilities is highly speculative.

One possibility is that the Qale/ST settlements, established sometime in the second millennium, were still inhabited by local people, probably Elamites, when the Persians arrived. Some of the newly arrived Persians, using Persepolis/Pasargadae style ceramics, chose to settle at these villages, perhaps to serve as contacts between the villagers and the main body of Persians, who continued to wander as pastoral nomads. This explanation does not account for the stylistic difference between the Qale and ST ceramic styles.

A second possibility is that Qale settlements represent the final manifestation of the old Anshanite Elamite population, left behind in the late second millennium as effective Elamite control retreated, first to an enclave at Malyan (the Middle Elamite style) and then to Susa in the lowlands. In this scenario the cause of the Elamite retreat would have been the arrival of new peoples in the southern Zagros, including mobile pastoralists (Teimuran?) and related pastoralists with a more settled way of life (Shogha?). If this interpretation has merit, it implies that Persians were already in the valley before the Achaemenid ceramic style was in use and that they are to be identified with the ST ceramic styles. Such a possibility was tentatively proposed by Nicol (1970a, 1971) in a preliminary report of excavations at Darvazeh Tepe.

The Achaemenid ceramic style, known from excavations at Persepolis and Pasargadae, forms the basis for identifying surface assemblages as Achaemenid. The serious problem always encountered by this usage is that the excavated ceramic assemblage from both sites has been classified as 'Late' or 'Post-Achaemenid' by Schmidt (1939: 85; 1957: 96) and Stronach (1978: 183-4). I have previously argued that the date of the Achaemenid ceramic assemblage should be pushed back into the late sixth century B.C., but this proposal is only supported by circumstantial evidence. It rests on architectural evidence for Achaemenid buildings in the Marv Dasht as early as 530 B.C. and the circumstantial and historical argument that the Achaemenid arrival must have been considerably earlier than these buildings (Sumner 1986: 4). However, this chronological difficulty, although not entirely resolved, is made less daunting if one accepts the notion that the ceramic style known from excavations at Persepolis and Parsargadae is in fact a late development and that the first Persians in the Marv Dasht should be identified with the ST ceramic styles. But even this tentative solution requires an acceptance of relatively late dates for the end of ST, as late as 800-700 B.C., and early dates for the Persepolis Achaemenid ceramic style. The present evidence does not allow a resolution of this remaining difficulty. In the rest of this paper I will examine the Shogha-Teimuran (ST) settlement pattern and its relationship to Achaemenid settlements in the light, perhaps more realistically in the dusk, of this idea.

The settlements shown on Figure 1 are assumed to represent the several stages in the evolution of settlement from the end of the Kaftari Phase, c. 1600 B.C., until the period when Persepolis/Pasargadae style ceramics were introduced and the Achaemenid settlement pattern centred on Persepolis was established.

All of the 13 Qale components, Darvazeh excluded, are located on previously established Kaftari settlements and no doubt represent continuous occupation of those sites after Qale ware replaced Kaftari ware. The low density of sites and their wide dispersal indicates that the highly developed Kaftari river irrigation system (Sumner 1989) was no longer in use and that these settlements relied on extensive dry farming, with some spring flow irrigation, and pastoral production. This would have been the pattern during the period of Elamite retrenchment, lasting perhaps until the end of the second millennium.

At some time in the mid-second millennium the ST people, our hypothetical early Persians, began to arrive in the valley and settle down in Qale villages, at first in the south-eastern end of the valley. At this point the dynamic becomes even more problematic, but it is likely that ethnic conflict caused the Qale people to retreat gradually to the north-west, seeking protection in the vicinity of Malyan where the remnant of Elamite power was still present. The appearance of ST components on sites that do not have known Qale components, in the central valley, and even to the north-west, suggests an expansion of ST settlement at the expense of the Qale population. However, because Qale sherds are relatively rare in surface assemblages, it is also possible that Qale was present on some of these sites, which have both Kaftari and ST components, but no known Qale component.

The location of the main ST settlements in the south-eastern end of the valley, which has significantly lower annual precipitation than the north-western end, implies a minimal access to viable farmland. This observation reinforces the notion that ST people were pastoralists. The ST sites marked with a vertical arrow on Figure 1 are sites on which the ST component is only a few sherds or, in the case of Bakun A & B, excavated whole pots, almost certainly from burials. ST is the latest or next to latest component on these sites, and should produce large sherd collections if ST settlements were present. The very small sherd collections from these sites, many of them subjected to intensive collecting, indicates either briefly occupied camp sites or burial sites, not settlements, in ST times.

The large number of such ST components, and their concentration in the central and north-western end of the valley, in some cases at considerable distance from ST settlements, is a further indication that the ST population included a considerable pastoral nomadic wing, probably outnumbering the sedentary population. The presence of pottery kilns at Darvazeh, along with indications that both Shogha ware and figurines were manufactured, offers a hint that the sedentary population was engaged in craft production for pastoral nomad consumers. The far higher frequency of Shogha relative to Teimuran ware in the context of sedentary village sites may signify that the Teimuran people were the more nomadic wing, the last to settle.

In summary, the evidence for settlement continuity from the end of the Kaftari period up to the establishment of the Achaemenid settlement system is quite strong. It is generally consistent with the known radiocarbon chronology, but implies an earlier arrival of the Persian population than previously contemplated. It suggests ethnic diversity among the earliest Persians and it suggests that they arrived from the north and east, not from Khuzistan. This model is also generally consistent with the transitional phases proposed by Miroschedji.

ACHAIMENIDISCHE ENTLEHNUNGEN AUS DER URARTÄISCHEN KULTUR

Ursula Seidl — Berlin

Im 9. Jh. v. Chr. konstituierte sich im Gebiet nördlich und östlich des Van-Sees das Königreich Urartu. Zur Zeit seiner größten Ausdehnungen im 8. und 7. Jh. reichte es vom oberen Euphratbogen im Westen bis Sarab/Iran im Osten und von Leninakan/Armenien im Norden bis Rovanduz/Iraq im Süden. Der Zeitpunkt des Untergangs oder Verfalls ungefähr am Ende des 7. oder im 6. Jh. ist umstritten.

Wiederentdeckt wurde Urartu (bis dahin nur aus assyrischen Inschriften, der Behistun-Inschrift und in der Form 'Ararat' aus der Bibel bekannt) erst am Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts durch Ausgrabungen in Toprakkale/Van (ältere Grabungen durch H. Rassam waren unpubliziert geblieben) und Erkundungsreisen im Gebiet um den Van-See. Seitdem sind zahlreiche Orte durch Ausgrabungen und Surveys in der Türkei, der armenischen SSR und Iran bekannt geworden. Außerdem liefern Bronzen, die illegal ausgegraben wurden und in den Kunstmarkt strömten, wertvolle Informationen.

Schrift[1] und Bildkunst[2] sind ursprünglich Assyrischem verpflichtet, die Architektur ist kleinasiatisch/nordsyrischer Steinarchitektur verbunden (van Loon 1966: 171; Kleiss 1988). Das im 9. Jh. geschaffene Repertoire an Bauformen, Bildmotiven und Inschriftformeln wird fast unverändert während der ungefähr 200-jährigen Herrschaft reproduziert und über das sich während dieser Zeit durch Eroberung und Kultivierung stetig vergrößernde Reich verbreitet. Es scheint die erste bewußte königliche Staatskunst zu sein.

Seit Bekanntwerden der urartäischen Kultur ist immer wieder deren Einfluß auf die achaimenidische angesprochen worden. Zuerst wohl von E. Herzfeld, der ihn damals ganz allgemein folgendermaßen umschreibt (Herzfeld 1921: 156): »Das Mederreich tritt das Kunsterbe des Reiches von Urartu an, und in ihm ist die achaemenidische Kunst vorgebildet. So erhält die Kunst von Urartu ihren Platz in der großen Entwicklung, die von der khattischen Kleinasiens nach Iran und dem fernen Osten führt.« Später konkretisiert er, die

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[1] G. Wilhelm 1986 zeigt, daß die älteste Keilinschrift eines urartäischen Königs (noch in assyrischer Sprache) von einem assyrischen Briefe-Schreiber verfaßt wurde, der im Stil Assurnasirpals II. (883-859) arbeitete.

[2] M.N. van Loon 1966: 172 und passim; P. Calmeyer & U. Seidl 1983: 103ff.: Auf ein und derselben Bronzescheibe sind eine Schlacht zwischen Urartäern und ihren Gegnern ganz im assyrischen Stil des 9. Jhs. und eine Gottheit im Zentrum schon im Urartäischen, vom Assyrischen stark geprägten, Stil dargestellt.

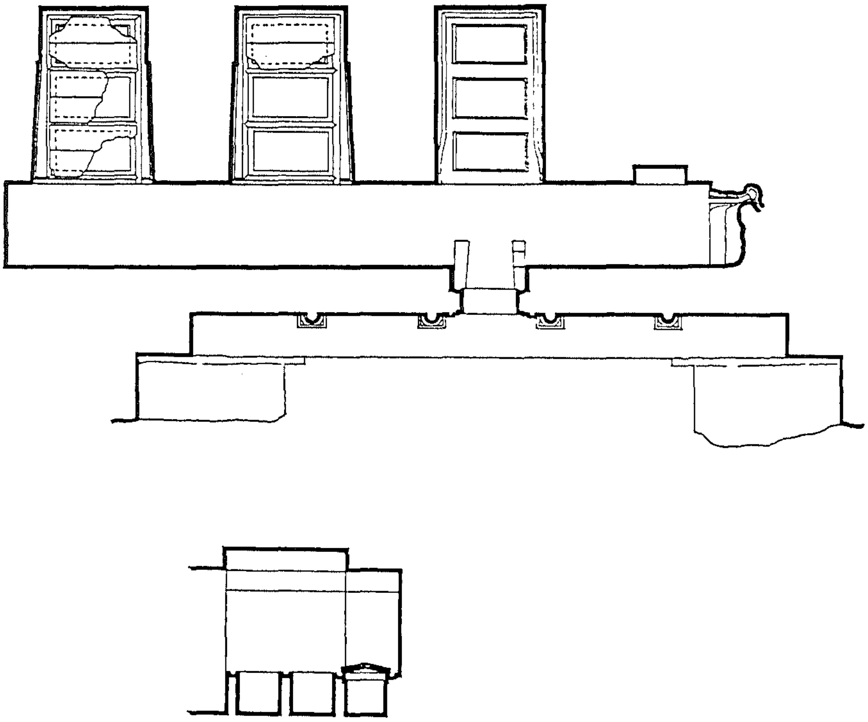


Abb. 1. Grab Dareios I. (Nach: Schmidt 1970: Fig. 31).

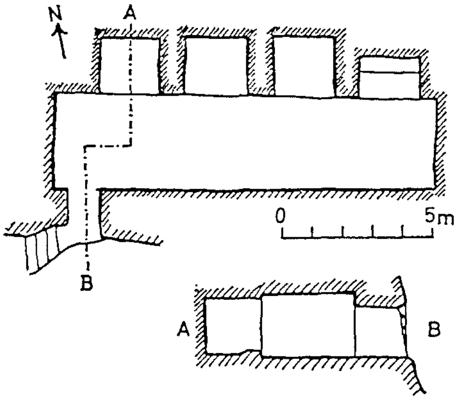


Abb. 2. Kleinere Horhor-Grotte in Van.
(Nach: B.B. Piotrovskii, Il regno di Van, Rom 1966, Fig. 59).

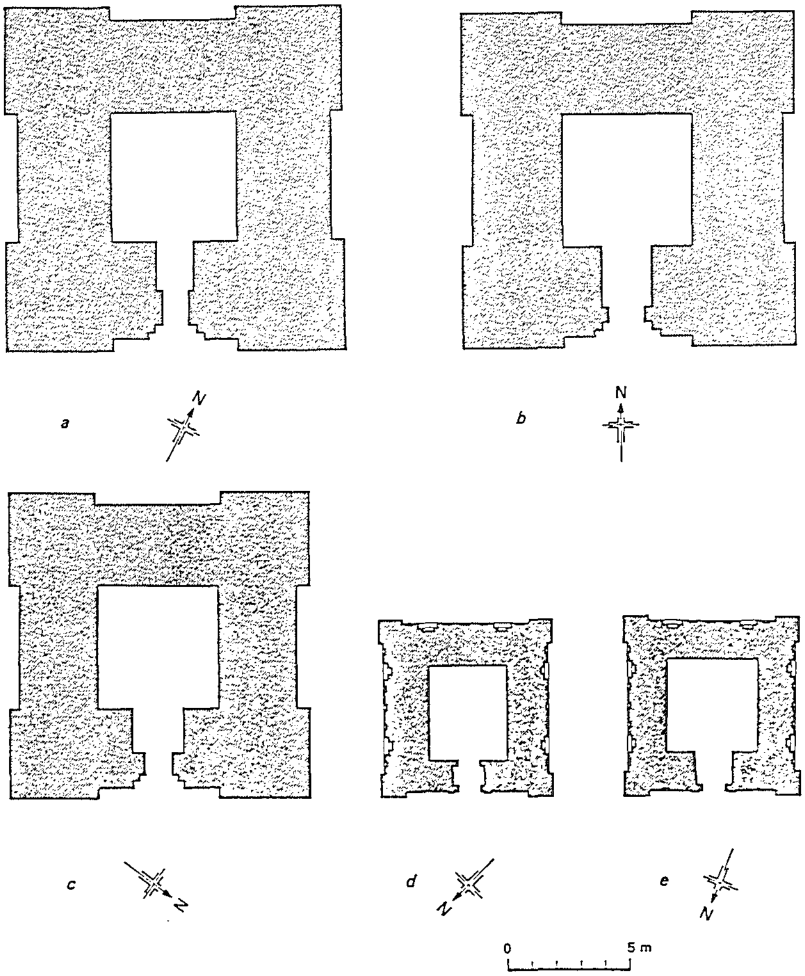


Abb. 3. Ergänzte Pläne von urartäischen Tempeln (a: Altıntepe, b: Toprakkale, c: Kayalıdere) und achaimenidischen Türmen (d: Pasargadae, e: Naqš-i Rustam). (Nach: Stronach 1978: 113 Fig. 68).

Inschriftformeln ‘spricht A. der könig’ und ‘durch die gnade des gottes’ (Herzfeld 1930: 120), die Stierdarstellungen (in Lehmann-Haupt 1931: 743ff.) und die Mischwesen der Doppelprotomen an den Säulenkapitellen in Persepolis und die Mehrfarbigkeit der Architektur in Pasargadae (Herzfeld 1941: 248ff. 238) könnten sich von Urartäischem herleiten. R. Ghirshman (1962) stellt eine Liste von Übernahmen zusammen; in der Architektur seien es, außer dem auch von Herzfeld angeführten Farbwechsel, die Steinterrassen aus z.T. bossierten Quadern, mehrgeschossige Bauten als Vorbild für die Kabah-i Zardušt

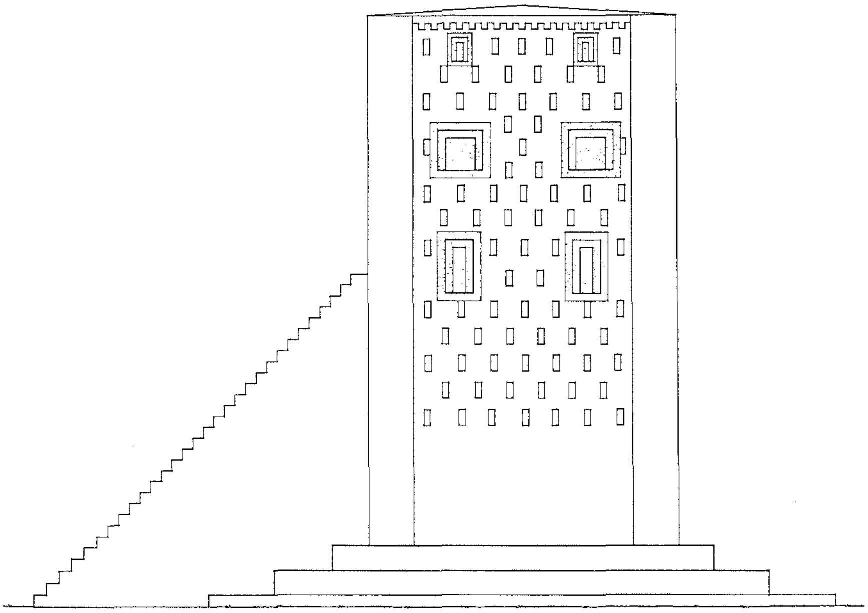
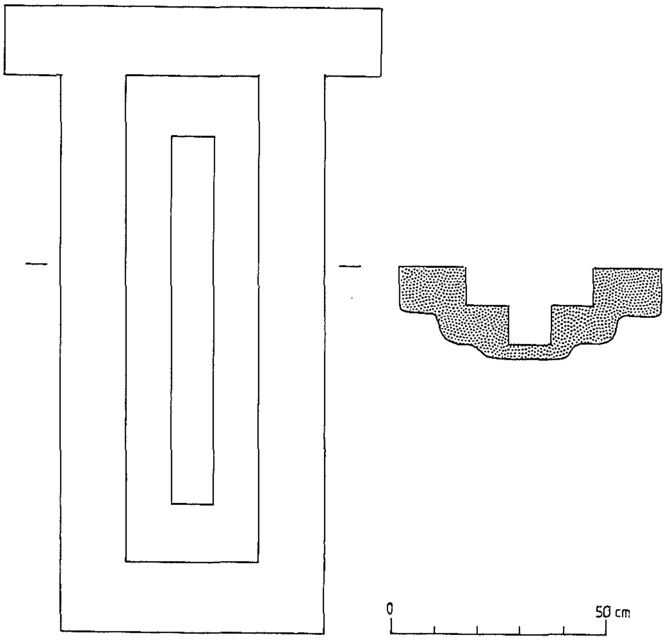


Abb. 4. Kabah-i Zardušt in Naqš-i Rustam. (Nach: Schmidt 1970: 33 Fig. 20 B).

(er kannte noch nicht den später von D. Stronach als Vergleich herangezogenen urartäischen Tempeltyp) und die Felsgräber; in der Epigraphik seien es die Zweisprachigkeit königlicher Steininschriften, die Einleitungsformel 'spricht der König KN' und die Tradition, daß ein König sein Königreich mit Hilfe seines Stallknechtes und seines Pferdes erlangt habe. R.N. Frye (1964: 37) macht auf das urartäische Vorbild für den Titel 'König der Könige' aufmerksam, D. Stronach (1967) auf die formale Abhängigkeit des Zendan-i Suleiman und der Kabah-i Zardušt vom typischen urartäischen Tempel und W. Kleiss (1971) auf treppenförmige Felsabarbeitungen am Kuh-i Rahmat, die urartäischen Felsabtreppungen für Mauer- und Terrassengründungen entsprechen. C. Hovhannissian (1973: 62) zeigt die Verwandtschaft zwischen kleiner Horhorhöhle im Felsen von Van und Felsgräbern von Naqš-i Rustam auf. P. Calmeyer (1975a) führt diese Idee unabhängig von C. Hovhannissian weiter aus. Er weist außerdem hin auf den gemeinsamen Gebrauch von Barsombündeln (Calmeyer 1975b) und eines leeren Wagens für die oberste und Reichsgottheit (Calmeyer 1974), auf urartäische Spezifica bei der Flügelsonne mit Genius auf dem Felsrelief von Behistun (Calmeyer 1979a: 362ff.) und auf die übereinstimmende Abschlußformel in den Tatenberichten (Calmeyer 1975a: 105). O. Szemerényi (1975) schlägt vor, die Wendung *vašna Auramazdāha* analog zu urartäisch ^{d}*Haldi alsuišini* / *ušmašini* / *ušgini* ('durch die Größe/Macht GN's') zu verstehen. R. Schmitt (1977a) sieht die Sitte,



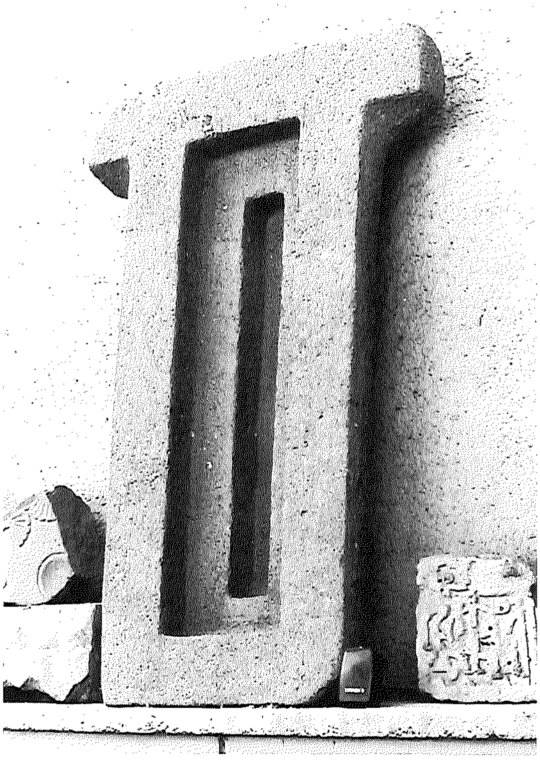


Abb. 5. Scheinfenster aus Çavuştepe im Museum Van. (a. Phot. Calmeyer; b. Zng. Verf.).

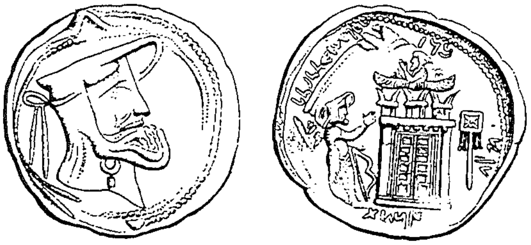


Abb. 6. Münze eines Frataraka. (Nach M.A. Levy, ZDMG 21, 1867, 421 ff. Taf. I 6).

»Proklamationen an Felswände einmeißeln zu lassen,« als von Urartu übernommen. W. Kleiss (1988: 185ff.) stellt die urartäischen Pfeilerhallen in eine Entwicklungsreihe von Hethitischem über Urartu und Medien zu Achaimenidischem.

Der Weg der Beeinflussung wird unterschiedlich gesehen:

1. Vermittlung durch Medien (Herzfeld 1921; Frye 1964; 1972; Kleiss 1988 [Pfeilerhalle]);
2. Übernahme durch die vorachaimenidischen Perser auf ihrer Wanderschaft während ihres angenommenen Aufenthalts in Paršua im Nord-Zagros (Ghirshman 1962; Root 1979:32 ff.),
3. Übernahme zur Zeit von Kyros (Stronach 1967 [Zendan-i Suleiman]) bzw. Dareios (Kleiss 1971 [Felsabtreppungen]; Calmeyer 1975a [Felsgrab]; 1979 [Flügelsonne]);
4. Irano-urartäische Gemeinsamkeiten (Calmeyer 1974 [leerer Wagen]; 1975b [Barsombündel]).

Im Folgenden sollen die Vorschläge kurz diskutiert werden und ein weiterer (Standarte) gemacht werden.

A. *Inschriften*

Eingeleitet werden die meisten urartäischen Königsinschriften mit der Formel ^{d}*Haldinini alsušini / ušmašini / ušgini* was üblicher Weise übersetzt wird ‘durch die Größe/Macht des Haldi.’ Hierin sieht O. Szemerényi (1975: 325 ff.) eine Parallele zu *vašnā Ahuramazdāha* in den achaimenidischen Königsinschriften. Das Hauptanliegen des Aufsatzes ist die Deutung des Wortes *vašna*, das der Autor analog zu Urartäischem (aber natürlich mit philologischen Argumenten) als ‘Größe/Macht’ statt des üblichen ‘Wille/Gnade’ bestimmt. Während das urartäische *alsui-* durch gelegentliche ideographische Schreibung als ‘groß’ gesichert ist, ist ‘Macht’ für *ušmaše-* eine rein konventionelle Übersetzung, worauf zuletzt M. Salvini hinwies (1984: 74f. n. 5). Er zitiert A. Goetzes Hinweis auf assyrisches *ina tukulti*... = ‘unter dem Schutz von....’ als Analogie; außerdem weist Salvini seinerseits auf die babylonische Entsprechung zu

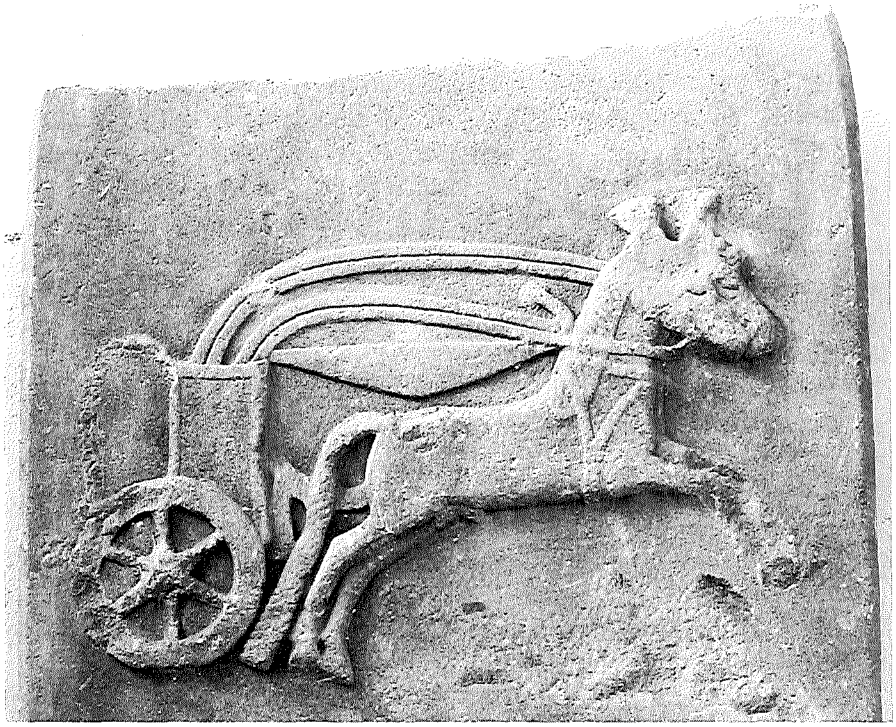


Abb. 7. Stele im Museum Van. (Phot. Calmeyer).

vašna Ahuramazdāha in der Behistun-Inschrift hin: *ina ṣilli* (GIŠ.MI) = 'Schatten/Schutz.' F.W. König (1955: 208) übersetzt *ušgini* mit 'durch die Gnade,' das entsprechende assyrische Wort in der Bilingue von Kelišin ist leider zu stark zerstört, um zu helfen. *ušmaši-* und *ušgi-* scheinen mir die Blinden zu sein, die den Lahmen *vašna* führen sollen. Was aber immer das sein mag, das der höchste Gott dem König gewährt, die einleitende Formel ist jedenfalls urartäischen und achaimenidischen Königsinschriften gemeinsam; so sieht es auch R. Schmitt (1977a: 389), der dem Übersetzungsvorschlag O. Szemerényi's nicht folgt.

Das auf die einleitende Formel folgende KN-*še ale* = 'KN spricht', das Tatenbericht und Fluchformel voran gestellt ist, ist schon früh als Vorbild der entsprechenden achaimenidischen Wendung erkannt worden (Herzfeld 1930). G. Wilhelm (1986) hat überzeugend dargelegt, daß diese Wendung dadurch Eingang in die offiziellen Verlautbarungen Urartus gefunden hat, daß die erste, noch assyrisch geschriebene Steininschrift eines urartäischen Königs nicht einer assyrischen Königsinschrift nachgebildet ist, sondern Elemente des assyrischen Briefformulars enthält. Von hier gelangte das einführende 'KN spricht:' dann in die rein urartäisch abgefaßten Königsinschriften. Das für achaimenidische und urartäische Königsinschriften typische Stilmerkmal wäre dann eventuell das Vermächtnis eines assyrischen Briefe-Schreibers, den Sardur I. mit der Abfassung offizieller Inschriften betraute.

Auch die Zusammenfassung der Taten am Ende eines Jahres ».... habe ich dort diese Taten in einem Jahr vollbracht« (Friedrich 1936: 78f.) könnte dem Verfasser der Behistun-Inschrift als Vorbild gedient haben (Calmeyer 1975a): »... dies tat ich in einem und demselben Jahr.« Die Analyse der urartäischen Inschriften befindet sich erst in ihren Anfängen; weitere Parallelen dürfen wohl noch zu erwarten sein.

G. Wilhelm (1986: 106ff.) hat die urartäischen Königstitel im Vergleich zu den neuassyrischen behandelt und sie mit altpersischen in einer kommentierten Tabelle zusammengestellt. Er zeigt, daß — neben den allen drei Kulturen gemeinsamen Titeln, wie 'großer König' und 'König des Landes GN' — die beiden Titel 'König der Könige' und 'König der Länder' seit der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts nur in urartäischen und altpersischen offiziellen Königsinschriften vorkommen: 'König der Könige' nennt sich in Assyrien zum letzten Mal Assurnasirpal II. (883-859) und 'König der Länder' wird seit Sargon II. (721-705) — eine Generation später als das erste Auftauchen des Titels in Urartu — nur in Briefen verwendet. Außer dem seit langem vermuteten urartäischen Ursprung des Titels 'König der Könige' (zuletzt: Szemerényi 1975: 313 ff.; Schmitt 1977a: 387) kann seit G. Wilhelm getrost für 'König der Länder' dieselbe Quelle angenommen werden. Beide Titel tauchen zum ersten Mal bei Dareios auf; bei beiden stellt R. Schmitt (1977a: 387f.) eine Lehnübersetzung mit einer dem Altpersischen fremden Wortstellung fest. Die meisten Iranisten nehmen an, daß der Titel 'König der Könige,' obwohl in Medien selbst wohl nie benutzt (Szemerényi 1975: 321), über Medien zu den Achaimeniden gelangte (z.B. Frye 1964; Schmitt 1977a: 389). In der Zusammenfassung will ich auf diese Frage nochmal zurückkommen.

B. *Architektur*

Die referierten Beispiele der Architektur sind verschieden gewichtig: auf der einen Seite stehen fest umrissen charakteristische Bauformen, die nur innerhalb der urartäischen und der achaimenidischen Kultur bekannt sind (1. Felsgrab des Dareios — kleine Horhor-Höhle; 2. Zendan-i Suleiman — urartäischer Tempel), auf der anderen Seite weniger spezifische Bautypen und -techniken, die weiter verbreitet sind. Zu dieser zweiten Gruppe gehören:

- die variantenreiche Pfeilerhalle (Kleiss 1988), die in Kleinasien, Nord-Syrien und Nordwest-Iran zur Bautradition gehört (Naumann 1971: 131ff.);
- die Steinterasse aus bossierten Quadern (Ghirshman 1962), die in Kleinasien seit der hethitischen Großreichszeit gebaut wird (Naumann 1971: 73ff. Abb. 57 [Eflatun Pinar]);

— die stufenförmige Felsabarbeitung (Kleiss 1971), die seit derselben Zeit in Kleinasien gebräuchlich ist (Naumann 1971: 55ff.).

Bei diesen drei Architekturelementen ist der Nachweis und der eventuelle Weg einer Beeinflussung beim heutigen Wissensstand nicht zu führen, weswegen ich sie hier außer Betracht lasse und mich auf die beiden eindeutigen Formen beschränke.

1. Felsgräber

Dareios I. führte den Typ des achaimenidischen Felsgrabes ein (Abb.1), der für die folgenden Herrscher verbindlich blieb. C. Hovhannissian (1973: 62) hat wohl als erster die frappierende Ähnlichkeit im Plan zwischen diesem und der kleinen Horhor-Höhle im Van-Felsen (Abb. 2) gesehen; er schloß daraus auf ein achaimenidisches Werk im Van-Felsen.

P. Calmeyer (1975a) stellte die Horhor-Höhle mit eindeutig urartäischen Felskammern am selben Felsen und in anderen Gegenden Urartus zusammen, die durch eine Reihe von Gemeinsamkeiten untereinander einen Typ bilden, und sieht in der Sonderform der kleinen Horhor-Höhle ein Vorbild für Dareios' Grab. Die urartäische Herkunft des achaimenidischen Felsgrabs untermauert er noch mit griechischen Schriftzeugnissen.

Die Horhor-Höhle liegt bescheiden unterhalb der großen, von Argišti stammenden; deshalb ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß Dareios sie hätte anlegen lassen. Selbst dann wäre diese von einheimischen Handwerkern erstellte Anlage ein typologisches Vorbild für Naqš-i Rustam.

Die architektonische Ausgestaltung der achaimenidischen Grabfassade geht zwar auf einen Dareios-zeitlichen Entwurf zurück, doch zeigen auch urartäische Höhlen manchmal außen Architektur-Schmuck. An der Felskammer von Kale Köyü bei Mazgirt z.B. ist außen und im ersten Raum in Höhe des Türsturzes ein Gesims in Form von Balkenköpfen herausreliefiert (Öğün 1978: 641ff. Taf. 151,1.2).

2. Turmtempel

D. Stronach (1967) hat gezeigt, daß der Querschnitt durch Zendan-i Suleiman und Kabah-i Zardušt in Höhe des Raumes große Ähnlichkeit mit dem Grundriß des urartäischen Standardtempels hat (Abb.3): frei stehendes Quadrat mit verstärkten Eckrisaliten, sehr dicken Mauern und einem Eingang in der Mitte einer Seite. Er hat außerdem auf die gemeinsame Verwendung genischter Scheinfenster aus dunklem Stein in hellem Mauerwerk aufmerksam gemacht (Abb. 4). Abb. 5 zeigt einen genischten dunklen Monolithen mit angearbeitem Sturz im Museum Van, aus Çavuştepe kommend, wo zahlreiche gleichartige Exemplare am Fuß der Außenmauer aus hellem Stein liegen (Erzen 1988: 10, Pl. IX c).

Derselbe Typ von Scheinfenstern wurde außerdem in Toprakkale (Barnett 1954: 3ff. Fig. 1) und in Argištiḫinili (Tirazjan 1978) gefunden. Obwohl die urartäischen Tempel — sie bestanden aus einem Steinsockel und Mauern aus ungebrannten Ziegeln — noch nicht einmal bis zur Raumhöhe erhalten gefunden wurden, werden sie von mehreren Archäologen mit guten Gründen zu turmartigen Gebäuden ergänzt (letzte Zusammenstellung: Kleiss 1988: 187ff.). M. Salvini (1979) hat auch von philologischer Seite her einen Turmtempel wahrscheinlich gemacht. Es spricht also sehr viel dafür, daß das äußere Erscheinungsbild des urartäischen Tempels und der beiden achaimenidischen Türme fast identisch war, nicht jedoch die innere Gliederung und die Nutzung.

Der über wenige Stufen (meist drei) betretbare Innenraum des urartäischen Tempels, der inzwischen in 11 ausgegrabenen oder rekonstruierten Exemplaren bekannt ist, war verschiedenen Gottheiten geweiht (bekannt: Haldi, Iuarša und Irmušini). Für die Nutzung der beiden achaimenidischen Türme mit ihrem hoch gelegenen Raum sind verschiedene Vorschläge gemacht worden: Feuertempel, Grab und Kammer für Regalien und Kultobjekte (ausführliche Diskussion mit Lit.: Schmidt 1970: 41ff.). Gegen einen Feuertempel spricht allein schon der fehlende Abzug (Krefter 1968: 113); ein dritter Grabtyp neben dem Kyrosgrab und den Felsgräbern wäre schwer verständlich. So nimmt denn D. Stronach (1978: 132ff.) Kartirs Inschrift am Fuß der Kabah-i Zardušt ernst, die von einem *bun-xānak* ('foundation house') spricht und nimmt den von E. Schmidt gemachten, aber wieder verworfenen Vorschlag von einem »depository for royal or ritualistic paraphernalia — the King's standard, divine symbols, and the like« auf und meint, daß die Sasaniden sicherlich weder einen Feuertempel noch ein Grab umfunktioniert hätten (s. auch Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1982).

Das Gebäude auf den Münzen der älteren Persis-Dynasten, der Frataraka (Beginn: Anfang des 3. Jhs. v.Chr. nach Newell 1938: 159f.; Stronach 1978: 155f., 198; Houghton 1980: 14; Koch 1988: 94; J. Zahle in der Diskussion; bzw. Anfang des 2. Jhs. v.Chr. nach Alram 1986: 162ff. mit Lit.) ist häufig als Abbild der Kabah-i Zardušt gesehen worden (z.B. Erdmann 1941: 32; Schmidt 1970: 46; dagegen Stronach 1978: 134) und als solches haben beide Typen einander als Argument für ein Feuerheiligtum gedient: das reale Gebäude ohne Rauchabzug und das dargestellte ohne Flamme.

Auf dem Revers der älteren Münzen von Baydad bis Vahbarz (Alram 1986: Nr. 515-532) steht in der Mitte ein hohes Gebäude auf 2 Stufen mit einer einmal senkrecht und mehrfach waagerecht unterteilten Front zwischen 2 Seitenrisaliten, abgeschlossen mit einer dicken Bedeckung mit Zahnschnitt und drei gezackten Aufsätzen; flankiert wird es von dem Herrscher mit Bogen und erhobener Rechter und einer Standarte. Zur Zeit von Vadfradad I. (Alram 1986: Nr. 533-543) kommt noch die Flügelsonne mit menschlicher Gestalt dazu (Abb.6). Einige Prägungen dieses Herrschers zeigen statt des großen

Gebäudes eine Konstruktion, die aussieht wie einer der drei Dachaufsätze (Alram 1986: Nr. 544 mit einer den Herrscher bekränzenden Nike; 545); dies bleibt die übliche Form bis Vadfradad III. (Alram 1986: Nr. 546-563); auf der Standarte dieser Exemplare sitzt meistens ein Vogel. Die nächstfolgende Gruppe mit starkem arsakidischem Einfluß von Dārēv II. bis Vahšīr (Alram 1986: 163 Nr. 564-586) trägt auf dem Revers, wie Alram (1986: 163) bemerkt, »ein neues Münzbild (Prototyp der sasanidischen Münzreverse)«; dargestellt sind ein eindeutiger Altar (stufenförmige Plinthe — Pfeiler — umgekehrt stufenförmige Platte — Feuer) und ein Priester mit Stab (weder ein Herrscher mit Bogen, noch Standarte, noch Flügelsonne). Es ist unzulässig, diesen Feueraltar mit dem hohen, rechteckigen, feuerlosen Gebilde gleichzusetzen, wie P. Naster es tut (1970).

Durch das Bekanntwerden der achaimenidischen Königsstandarte auf den Einführungsreliefs von Persepolis (s.u.) wird man ihr auf diesen Münzen auch ein größeres Gewicht beilegen. Da das Gebäude auf den Münzen also umgeben ist von dem Herrscher, dessen Standarte und dessen Genius (s.u.) könnte es sehr wohl den Ort darstellen, an dem die Regalien aufbewahrt wurden. Wenn es sich andererseits um die Wiedergabe der Kabah-i Zardušt handeln sollte — und diese genoß ja noch in sasanidischer Zeit hohes Ansehen — so müßten sich auf deren Dach solche zweizipfeligen, früher gewöhnlich Feueraltar genannten Gebilde befunden haben.

Nun sieht der obere Abschluß der Kabah-i Zardušt in der Tat etwas unfertig aus: über der mittleren Wand liegt Zahnschnitt an einer dünnen Leiste und über den Pilastern überhaupt nichts. Ich weiß zwar nicht, wie es technisch bewerkstelligt gewesen sein könnte; ich könnte mir auf dem Dach aber sehr gut Zinnen vorstellen, wie sie G. Tilia an der Südwest-Ecke der Terrasse von Persepolis gefunden und wieder aufgerichtet hat (Tilia 1972: Taf. LIX). Auch der urartäische Turmtempel dürfte von Zinnen bekrönt gewesen sein.

Wir können wohl D. Stronach folgen: ein achaimenidischer König übernahm das Erscheinungsbild eines einprägsamen urartäischen Gebäudetyps, um den Schrein der Regalien daraus zu gestalten. Und wir können wohl weiter gehen: die hellenistischen Herrscher der Persis (3./2. Jh. v. Chr.) hielten dies Gebäude in ähnlicher Funktion in Ehren, und noch Šapur I. und Kartir (3. Jh. n. Chr.) hielten es für den rechten Ort für ihre Proklamationen.

C. *Bilder und Sachen*

1. Barsombündel.

Auf urartäischen Bronzen sind häufig Prozessionen dargestellt, die aus Kriegswagen und entweder Reitern (meistens) oder Schreitenden bestehen. P. Calmeyer (1975b) vergleicht das Stabbündel in den Händen der Schreitenden mit dem iranischen Barsombündel.

2. Leerer Wagen

In einem längeren Aufsatz weist P. Calmeyer (1974) älteres vorachaimenidisches Vorkommen des in griechischen Texten für die Achaimeniden bezeugten leeren Wagens für die höchste Gottheit nach. Darunter befindet sich als eindrucksvollstes Beispiel ein urartäisches Relief auf einer Stele: ein leerer Wagen wird von zwei Pferden über getötete Feinde hinweggezogen (die Toten sind nachträglich abgearbeitet worden). Diese Darstellung sieht aus wie eine Illustration zu F. Königs (1955: *passim*) umstrittener Übersetzung der Einleitung urartäischer Kriegsberichte: »Es fuhr aus des Haldi eigener Wagen (GIŠ *šuri*)« (Abb.7).

Für die beiden Kultobjekte ist es schwer, die Art oder den Weg der Beeinflussung zu fassen. P. Calmeyer neigt zu der Annahme einer iranisch-ostanatolischen Gemeinsamkeit religiös-kultischen Bereichs während der vorachaimenidischen Zeit.

3. Flügelsonne

Eine Flügelsonne, bestehend aus zentraler (Sonnen-)Scheibe mit Uräen und zwei Falkenflügeln wurde am Ende des 3. Jahrtausends in Ägypten geschaffen als »eine zum Symbol verdichtete Erscheinungsform gottbegnadeten Königtums« (D. Wildung in: *LdÄ* s.v. Flügelsonne). Am Anfang des 2. Jahrtausends taucht sie in Syrien auf und verbreitet sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends über Nordmesopotamien und Anatolien. Im hethitischen Großreich ist sie sowohl Attribut des Sonnengottes als auch Hieroglyphe für 'meine Sonne' im Titel des Königs. In Assyrien ist sie das Symbol des Sonnengottes; ihr Verhältnis zum Königtum ist mangels Denkmälern der mittelassyrischen Periode unbekannt. In Babylonien wird die Flügelsonne nie dargestellt; dort bleibt die seit dem 3. Jahrtausend bekannte flammende Scheibe allein das Symbol für den Sonnengott.

In der assyrischen Bildkunst des 9. Jahrhunderts taucht zur Zeit von Tukulti-Ninurta II. (890-884) eine neue Schöpfung auf (Andrae 1923: Taf. 8): mit der flammenden Sonnenscheibe kombiniert wird ein männlicher Oberkörper mit einem Rock aus Falbelstoff, aber ohne Füße; seitlich von ihm breitet sich waagerecht wieder Falbelstoff aus (ein Material traditioneller, im 1. Jahrtausend altmodischer, Göttergewänder; auf den Palastreliefs von Assurnasirpal II. von einer Geniengattung getragen; Layard 1849: Taf. 7f.). Zur Zeit des Nachfolgers Assurnasirpal II. (883-859; Abb. 8) werden die seitlichen Elemente außen an der Scheibe angebracht. Dieses Emblem des 9. Jahrhunderts schwebt meist in enger Verbindung zum König. In der Folgezeit wird die Darstellung formal der bekannten Flügelsonne angepaßt: die seitlichen Elemente werden zu Vogelschwingen und der Falbelrock zum Vogelschwanz (die Flügelsonnen des 2. Jahrtausends waren schwanzlos).

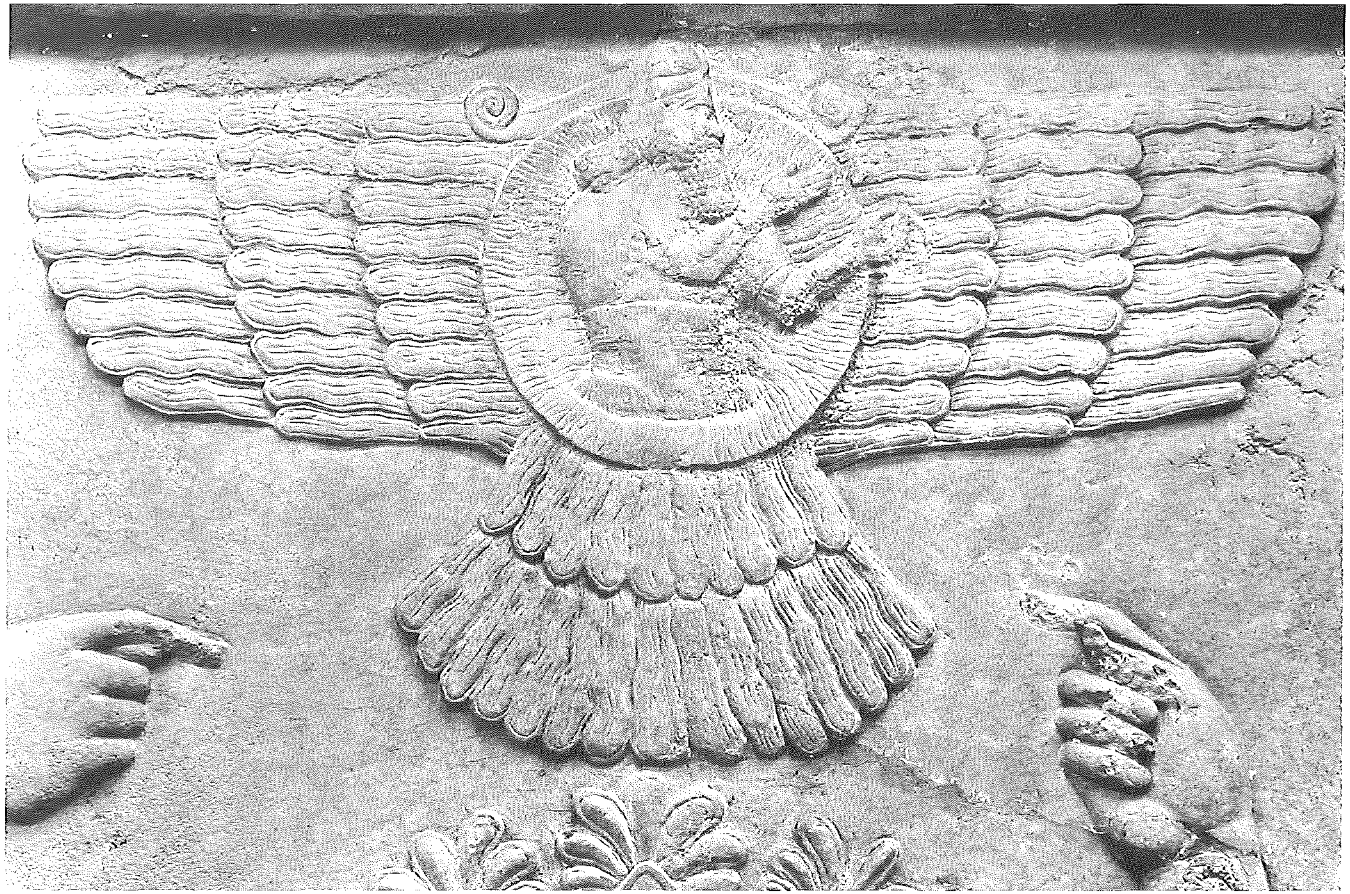


Abb. 8. Gott in Geflügelter Scheibe auf einem Orthostaten des NW-Palastes in Nimrud.
(Phot. British Museum; mit freundlicher Erlaubnis der Trustees).

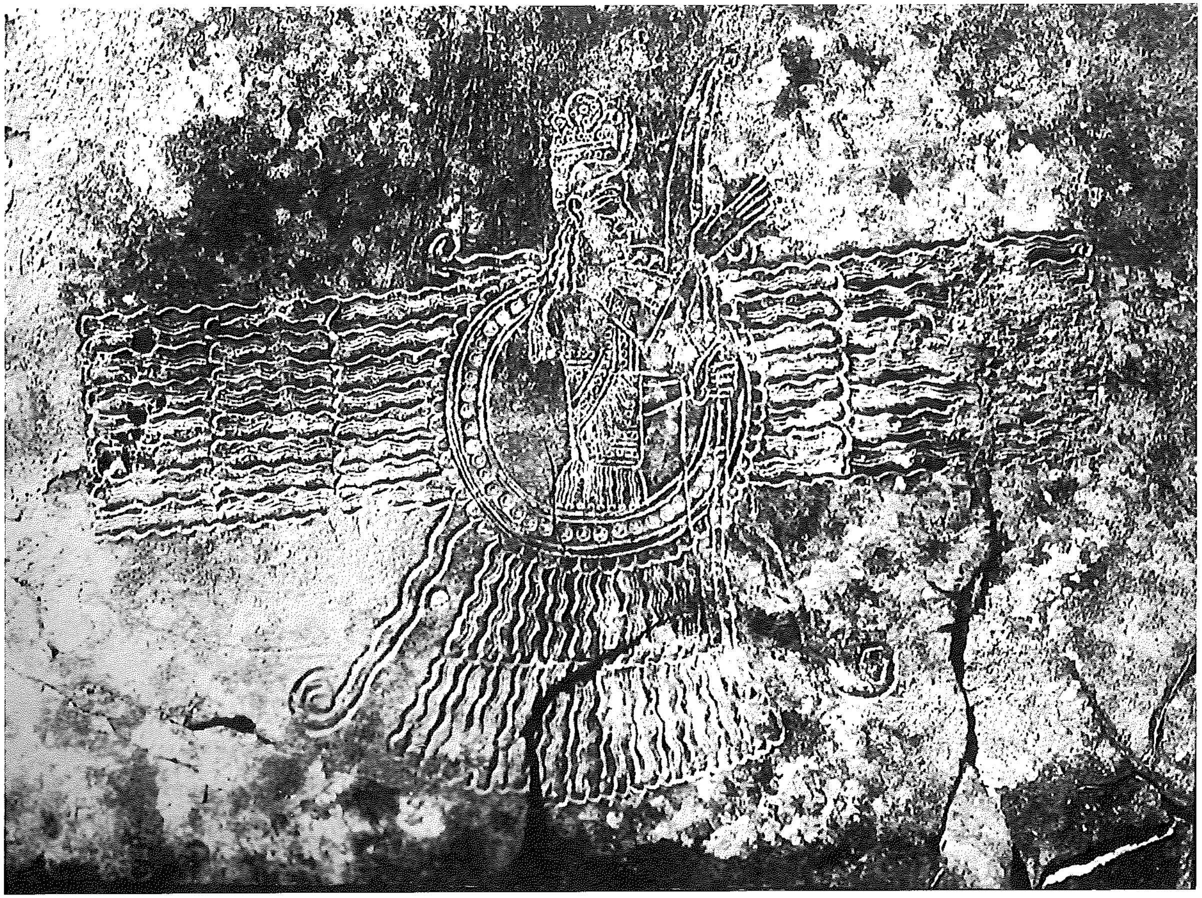


Abb. 9. Gott in geflügeltem Ring auf einer urartäischen Bronze.
(Phot. Prähist. Staatssammlung München).

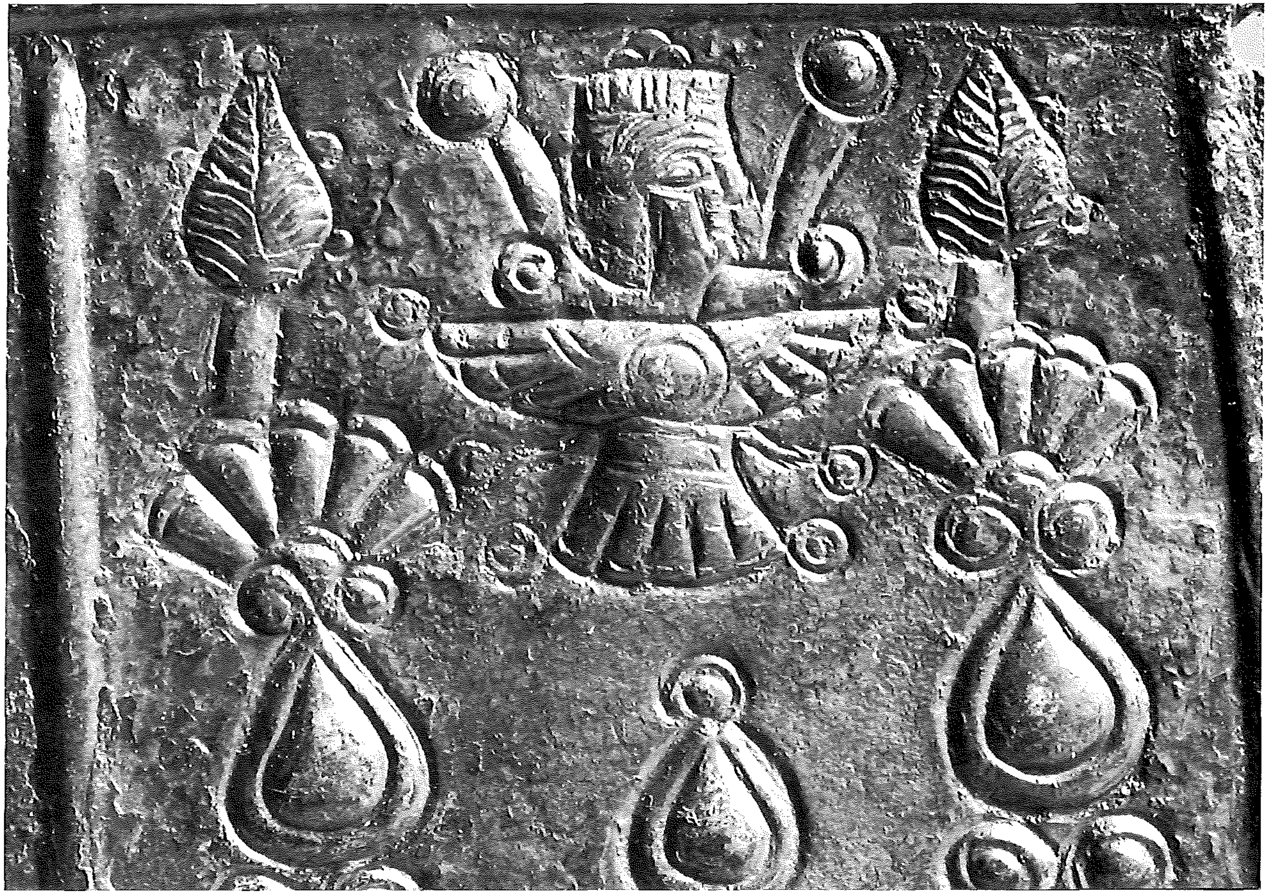


Abb. 10. Gott in geflügelter Scheibe auf einem urartäischen Gürtel in Karlsruhe.
(Phot. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe).

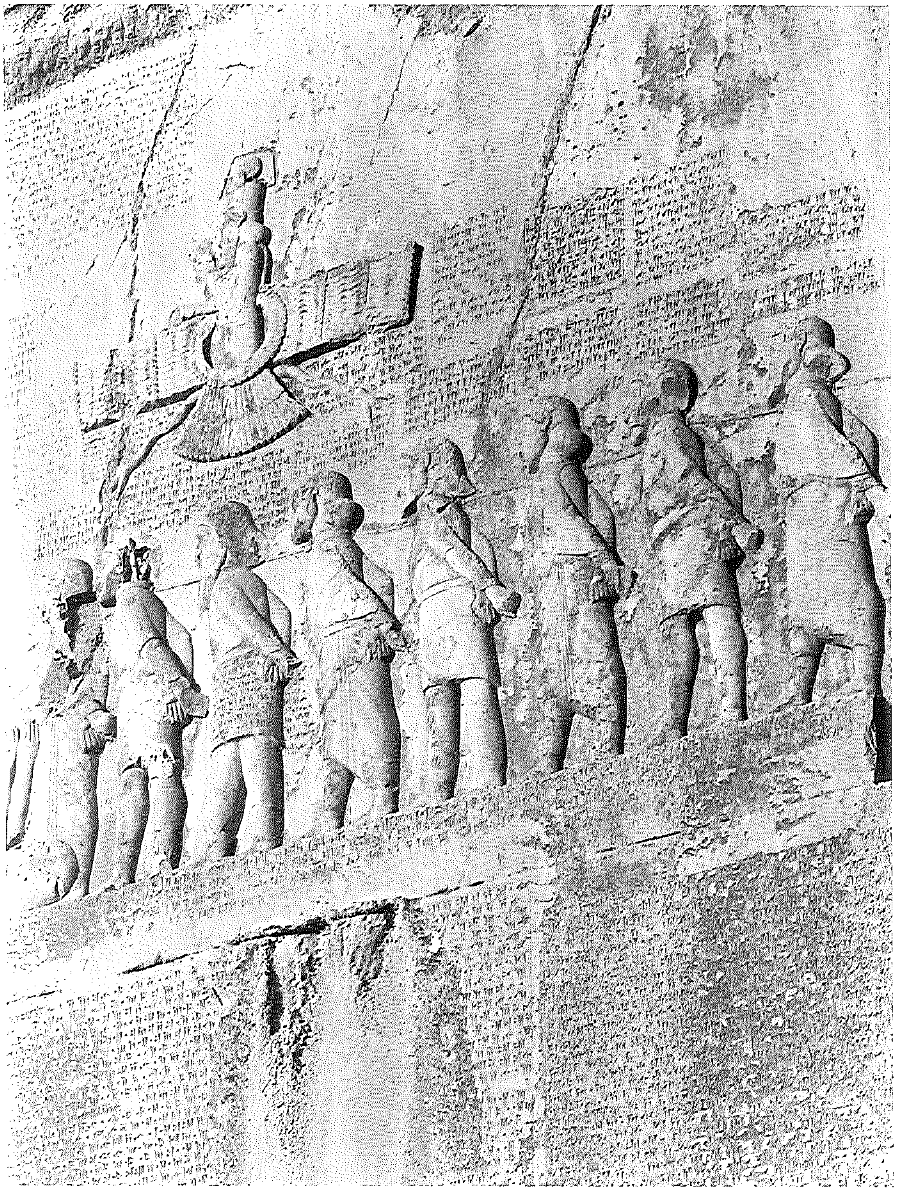


Abb. 11. Relief von Behistun, Ausschnitt. (Phot. H. Luschey).

Die Urartäer hatten im 9. Jahrhundert das assyrische Emblem übernommen und etwas umgewandelt; das Zentrum bildet nicht mehr eine Scheibe, sondern ein Ring, an dem der Schwanz sitzt, unabhängig davon, ob eine ganze oder eine halbe (Abb. 9) menschliche Figur damit kombiniert ist. Wie in Assyrien entwickeln sich auch in Urartu im 8./7. Jahrhundert die äußeren Elemente zu Vogelschwingen und -schwanz (Abb.10).

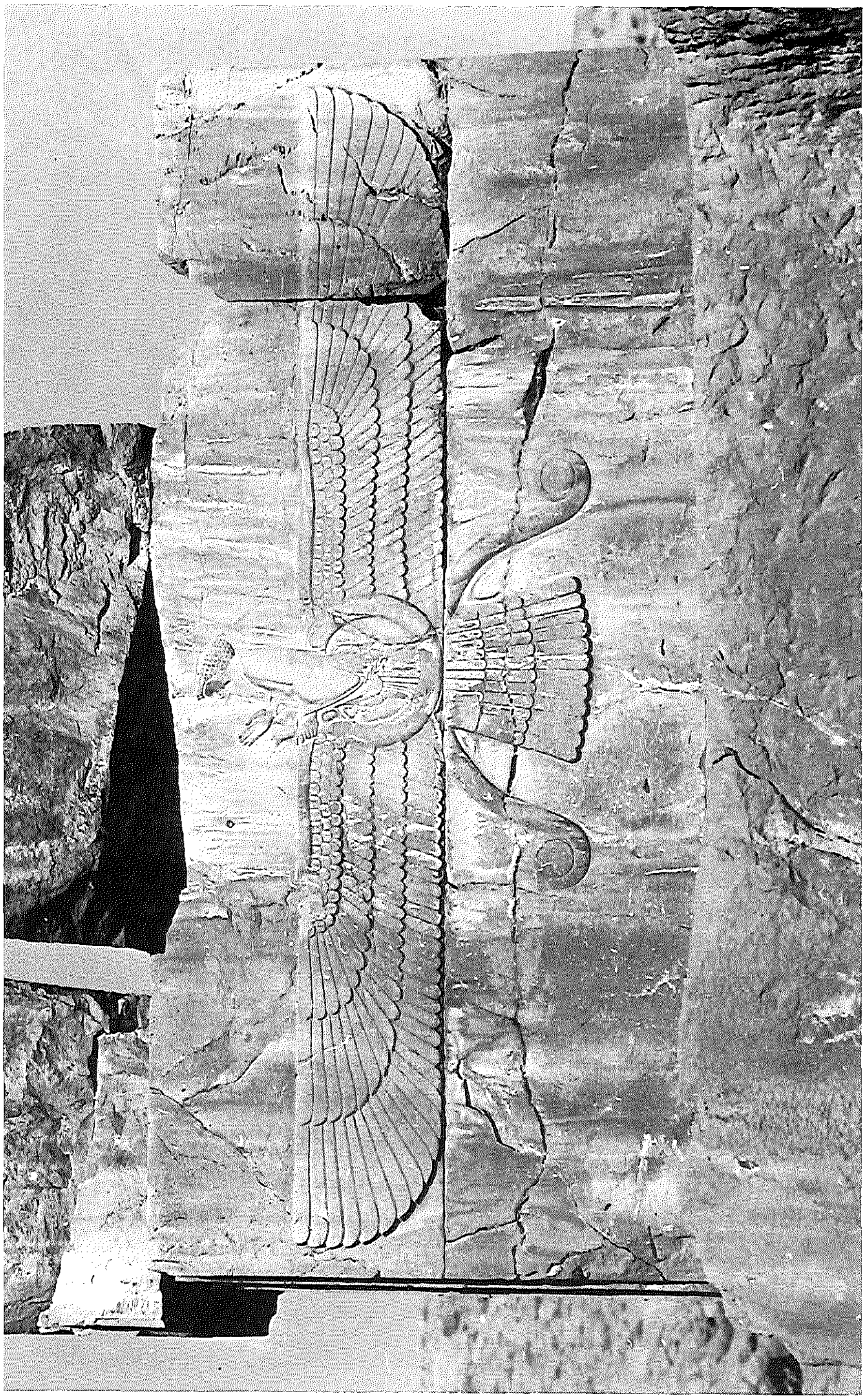


Abb. 12. Persepolis, Hundertsäulensaal, östliches Tor in der Südwand. (Phot. B. Grunewald).

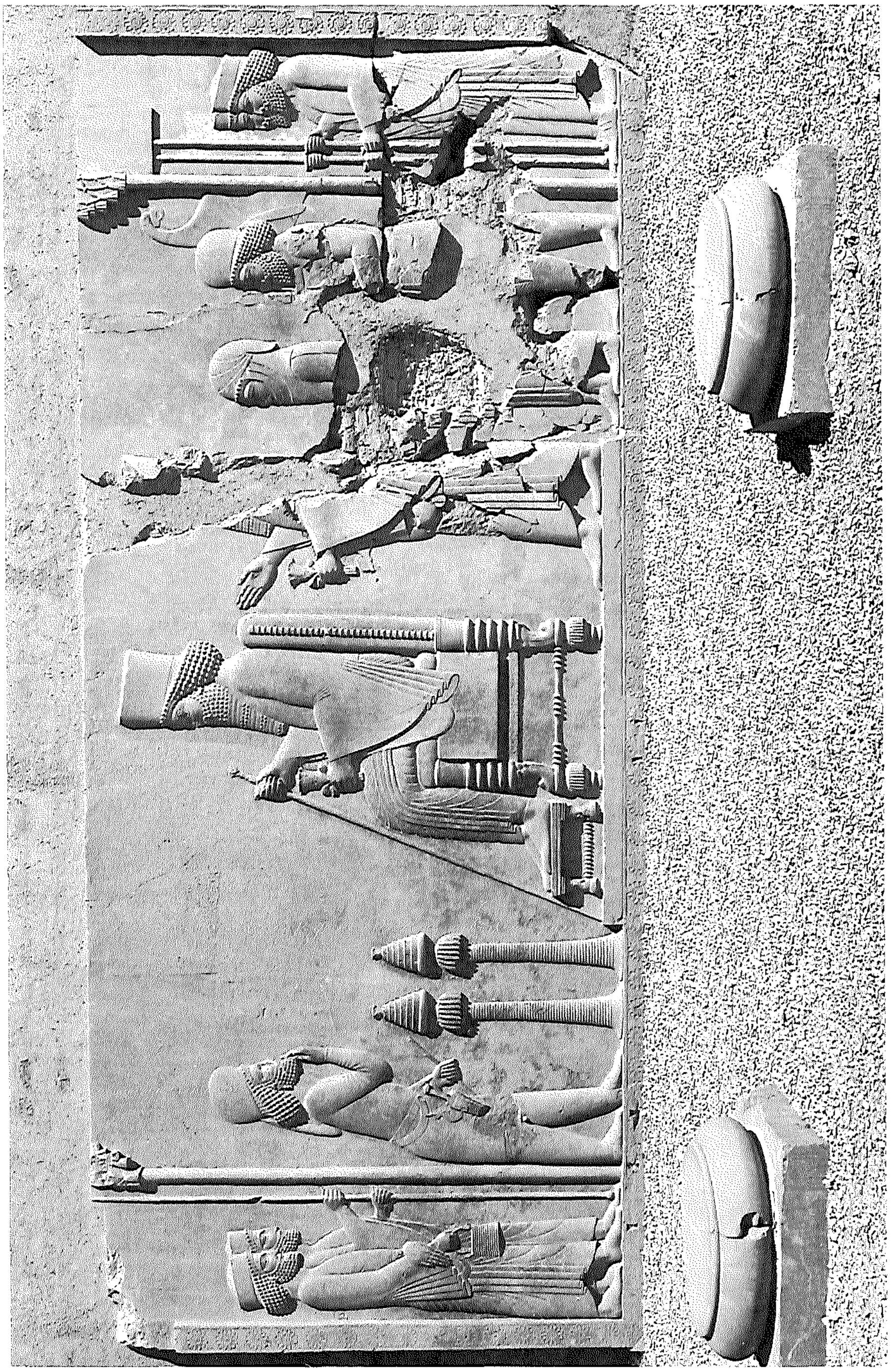


Abb. 13. Audienzrelief von der Apadana-Osttreppe in Persepolis. (Phot. B. Grunewald).

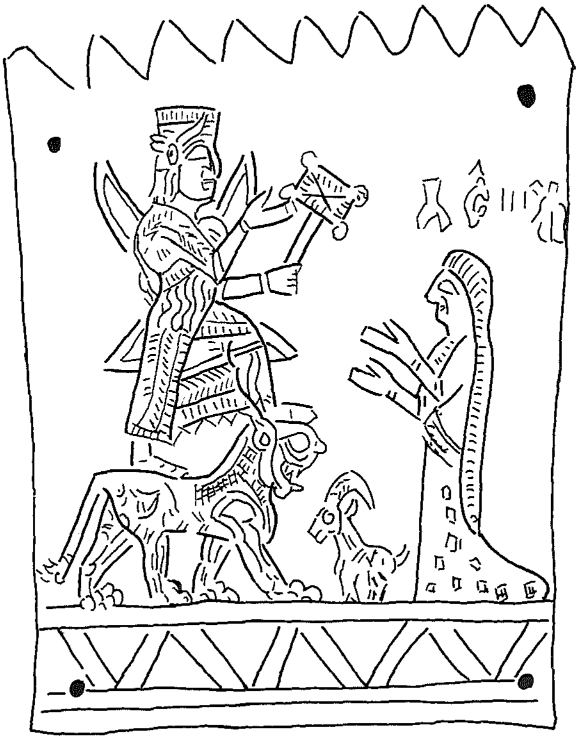


Abb. 14. Urartäische Bronzeplatte im Museum Van.
Nach: Taşyürek, *Iraq* 37, 1975, Taf. 36a.

Das Erstaunliche ist nun, daß das älteste achaimenidische Bild des Genius in der Flügelsonne, dasjenige von Behistun, die urartäische Form des 9. Jahrhunderts hat (vgl. Abb. 11 mit Abb. 9): ein verzierter Ring, an dem waagerecht die rechteckigen, dreifachen und nach unten die trapezförmigen zweifachen Wellenbündel sitzen. Den Zwickeln entspringen Strahlen; die Halbfigur trägt den bestirnten Polos; sie erhebt die rechte Hand grüßend und hält mit der linken einen Ring. Vieles an dem Flügelwesen in Behistun könnte auf ein direktes assyrisches Vorbild zurückgehen; Einzelheiten wie der verzierte zentrale Ring und der bestirnte Polos sprechen aber für ein urartäisches Vorbild.

Die von Dareios für Behistun eingeführte Form wird dann, mit Variationen nur in der Kopfbedeckung (Calmeyer 1979a), auf den Grabfassaden wiederholt. Auf der Terrasse von Persepolis macht die Flügelsonne — ob mit oder ohne menschlicher Halbfigur — dieselbe Veränderung durch wie schon in frühen Jahrhunderten in Assyrien und Urartu: die äußeren Elemente werden wieder einem Vogel angeglichen (Abb. 12).

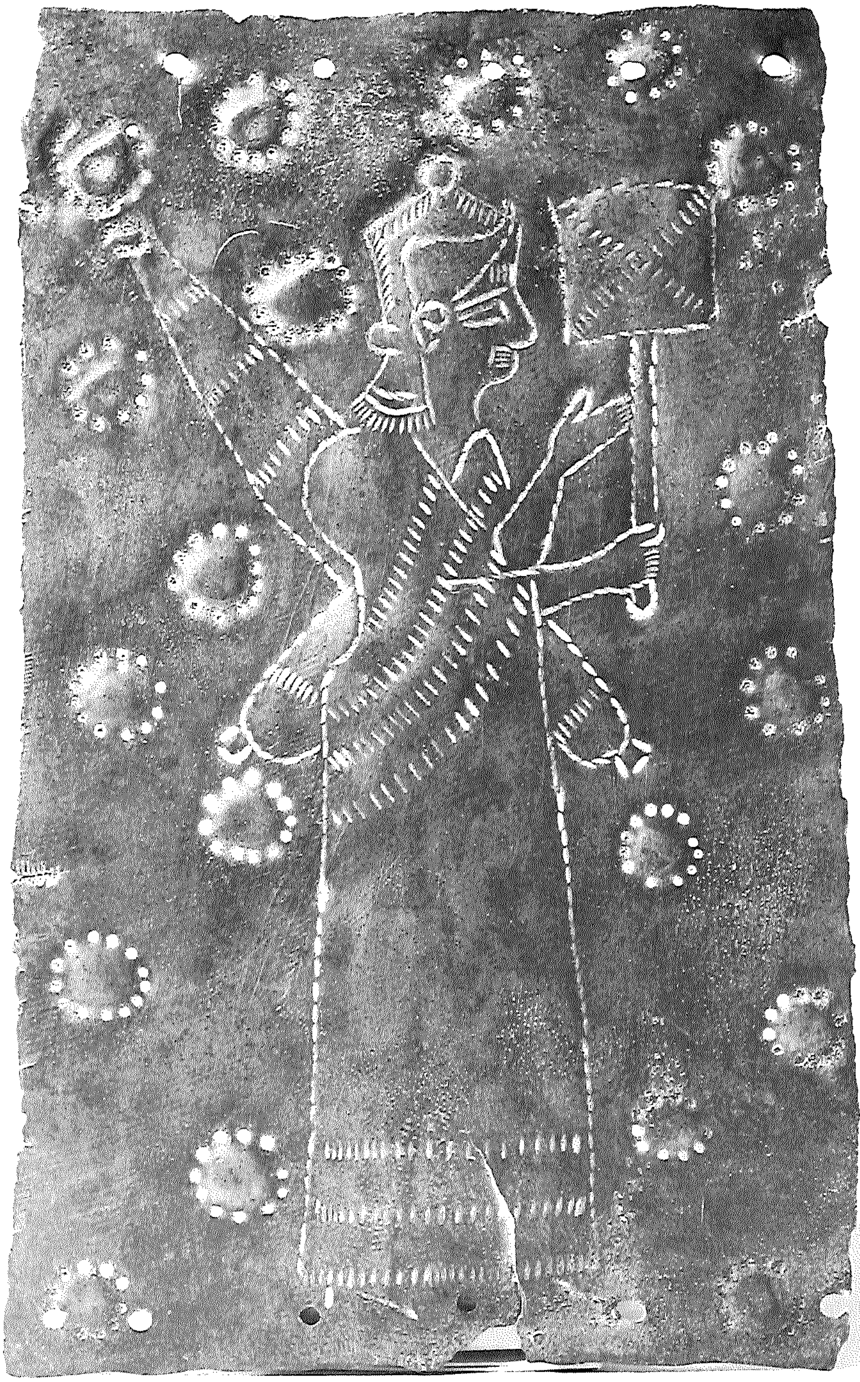


Abb. 15. Urartäische Bronzeplatten im Kunsthandel. (Phot. B. Grunewald).

Dareios hat nicht ein bis in seine Zeit hinein gebräuchliches Bild übernommen, sondern ein uraltes — dreihundert Jahre altes — von fern her — aus dem Gebiet des Van-Sees — eingeführt.

4. Standarte

K. Erdmann (1956: 62f.) hat wohl als erster die Königsstandarten auf den Audienzreliefs von Persepolis erkannt (Abb.13). Unabhängig von ihm stellte Y. Zoka (1964) sie zusammen und wies für die eventuelle Innenzeichnung auf eine quadratische Fritteplatte mit Falkendarstellung aus Persepolis. Die ausführlichste Studie zur achaimenidischen Standarte legte C. Nylander (1983) ausgehend vom Alexandermosaik vor.

Alle drei Autoren verweisen auf das Nachleben bei den hellenistischen Herrschern der Persis (Abb. 6). Während die Oberfläche der persepolitanischen Standarten leider keinerlei Innenzeichnung mehr erkennen läßt, ist die Standarte auf den Frataraka-Münzen mit kreuzenden Diagonalen, Punkten und herabhängenden Troddeln verziert. Sie sieht fast aus wie eine Darstellung von Firdousi's *drafš-e kāviān*.[3]

Zu dieser späten Form der Standarte scheint es Vorbilder aus Urartu zu geben (Abb. 14.15). In Giyimli, Osttürkei, sind zahlreiche kleine Bronzebleche durch Zufall gefunden worden. Das Hauptthema dieser sog. Votivbleche ist die Adoration einer bartlosen Gottheit mit zwei gekreuzten Köchern, die auf einem Löwen steht (zahlreiche Darstellungen sind grob und defektiv). Nach assyrischen Kriterien wäre diese Gottheit Ištar. Aber, obwohl immer wieder einzelne Göttertypen von Urartologen benannt werden, ist bis jetzt noch keine fundierte Identifizierung gelungen. Da urartäische Männer, sogar Könige, rasiert dargestellt werden, kann bei der Gottheit der 'Votivplatten' noch nicht einmal das Geschlecht festgestellt werden. Die Adoranten sind immer weiblich. Sowohl die Gottheit wie die Frauen halten häufig Standarten in Händen. Diese bestehen aus einer Stange, an der ein quadratisches Schild befestigt ist, das meistens oben und an den Seiten durchgebogen ist, dessen Material also wohl Stoff oder Leder ist (Abb. 16). An den vier Ecken sitzen Quasten oder

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[3] A. Firdousi [1967]: 85f. XLVII. XLVIII:

> Und von dem Lederschurz, das die Schmiede umbinden, wenn sie mit dem Hammer (auf das Eisen) schlagen, steckte Kawä (einen Fetzen) an die Spitze seiner Lanze — …
> Als König (Feridun) das Schurzfell an der Lanze sah, entwickelte er eine schöne Standarte daraus:
>
> Er schmückte sie mit byzantinischem Seidenbrokat, und die Figur darauf war aus Juwelen (und) dem Gold des Landes. Er schwang sie über seinem Kopf, wie der Mond (die Erde) umkreist, und so richtete der König ein Glückszeichen auf.
>
> Er ließ rote, gelbe und violette (Bänder) daran herunterflattern und nannte es »königliches Banner.«

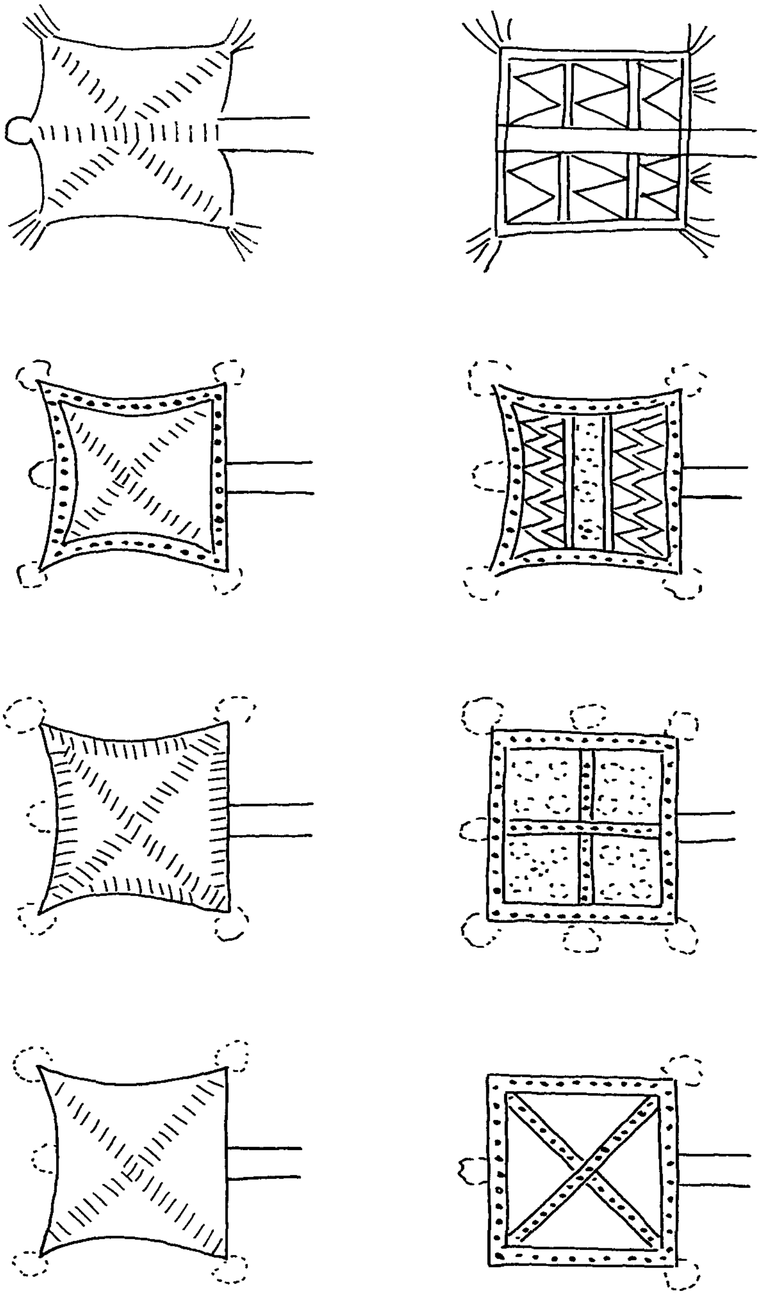

Abb. 16. Standarten auf urartäischen Bronzeplatten. (Zng. Verf.).

Fransen; die Oberfläche ist mit Diagonalen, Streifen, Zickzack und Punkten verziert. Wegen unserer geringen Kenntnis urartäischer Kulte können wir nicht entscheiden, ob die Standarte nur hier oder auch in anderen Zusammenhängen benutzt wurde. Die Ähnlichkeit zu den Standarten der Frataraka-Münzen und das Fehlen solcher Standarten im übrigen, besser erforschten, alten Orient, läßt vermuten, daß die urartäische Standarte der achaimenidischen Königsstandarte, deren Ornament wir nicht kennen, zum Vorbild gedient hat.

Zusammenfassung

Die achaimenidischen Anleihen von Urartu beziehen sich alle auf die Ausstattung des Königtums: die königlichen Titel (A), das königliche Khvärnäh (C 3, zur Deutung: Calmeyer 1979a), die königliche Standarte (C 4), das königliche Grab (B 1), das Gebäude für die königlichen Insignien (B 2), die Form der königlichen Inschriften (A). Der Stil des Übernommenen ist so sehr urartäisch geprägt, daß eine langwierige Vermittlung durch Meder oder vorachaimenidische Perser ausgeschlossen ist. Durch eine Inschrift des Xerxes am Vanfelsen wissen wir, daß auch Dareios dort, im Zentrum Urartus, gewesen war. Das Königreich Urartu war damals schon untergegangen, aber seine Hinterlassenschaft muß so eindrucksvoll gewesen sein, daß sie den Achaimeniden zur königlichen Selbstdarstellung geeignet schien. Gerade eine neue Dynastie ist geneigt, auf die ruhmreiche entfernte Vergangenheit zurückzugreifen. Erinnert sei z.B. an Napoleons Krönungsornat mit Tunika und Lorbeerkranz der Römer und den Bienen des 'Childerich.'

BABYLONISCHE UND ASSYRISCHE ELEMENTE IN DER ACHAIMENIDISCHEN KUNST

Peter Calmeyer — Berlin

1. Der synkretistische Charakter der achaimenidischen Kunst ist oft betont worden — immer dann, wenn aus der Kenntnis der voraufgehenden altorientalischen Perioden heraus geurteilt wurde; gleichzeitig wird fast immer ihre Rolle als Abschluß der altorientalischen Entwicklung hervor gehoben (Porada 1979: 94; Amiet 1974b: 163), am schärfsten von E. Herzfeld: »Too much is simply the continuation of the art of older nations ... The burning of Persepolis by Alexander was only the symbolic expression of the fact that the Ancient East had died« (1941: 274). Wohl zu Recht positiver formulierte H. Luschey (1967: 295): »... daß hier ein eigentümlicher Verschmelzungsprozeß der den einzelnen Völkern eigenen Formensprache zu einer neuen Einheit des Stiles geführt hat, wodurch jedes achaimenidische Werk, sei es ein Relief, ein Silbergefäß oder ein Bronzegerät, unverkennbar wird. Mit dem Begriff der Unverkennbarkeit gewinnt man ein Element des Stilwillens und widerlegt die Stimmen, welche in der Kunst der Achaimeniden nur Eklektizismus sehen.«[1]

Doch wir haben es nicht mit der gesamten Erbschaft zu tun, die unter den Achaimeniden verarbeitet wurde, sondern nur mit der mesopotamischen; dabei liegt uns, wenn irgend möglich, an der Scheidung babylonischer von assyrischen Einflüssen. Deshalb bleiben nicht nur Ägypten, Syrien, Anatolien und Urartu ausgeblendet, sondern auch die meisten der uralten allgemeinvorderasiatischen Züge: so das Bauen mit Lehmziegeln, getreppte Zinnen, die Errungenschaft der Rundskulptur,[2] die Motive vom Kampf zwischen Löwe und Stier, Heros und Monster, die verschieden gemischten Monstren selbst und die meisten Ornamente.

2.1. Die Quellen zu unserer Kenntnis der mesopotamischen Kunst sind extrem ungleich verteilt. Die neubabylonischen Paläste und Tempel von Kish, Borsippa und Uruk lagen lange unter freiem Himmel, zuoberst in ihren Ruinen, und wurden gründlich ausgeplündert; nur Babylon selbst — fast

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[1] Selbst Ghirshman (1977: 77), der lange die national-iranischen Traditionen auch in der Achaimenidenkunst betont hatte, sah diese zuletzt als westlich beeinflußte Ausnahme.

[2] Kawami 1986: 259ff. betont, gewiß mit Recht, den griechischen Charakter der Hunde-Plastiken. Das wird bestätigt durch näheres Studium des unvollendeten Hundes im Museum von Persepolis (*ibid.* Fig. 3): die Bosse zeigt deutlich, daß der Bildhauer ringsherum arbeitete. Stier und Ziege dagegen kann ich nach den Photographien nicht anders als die Tierreliefs beurteilen: wesentlich mesopotamisch.

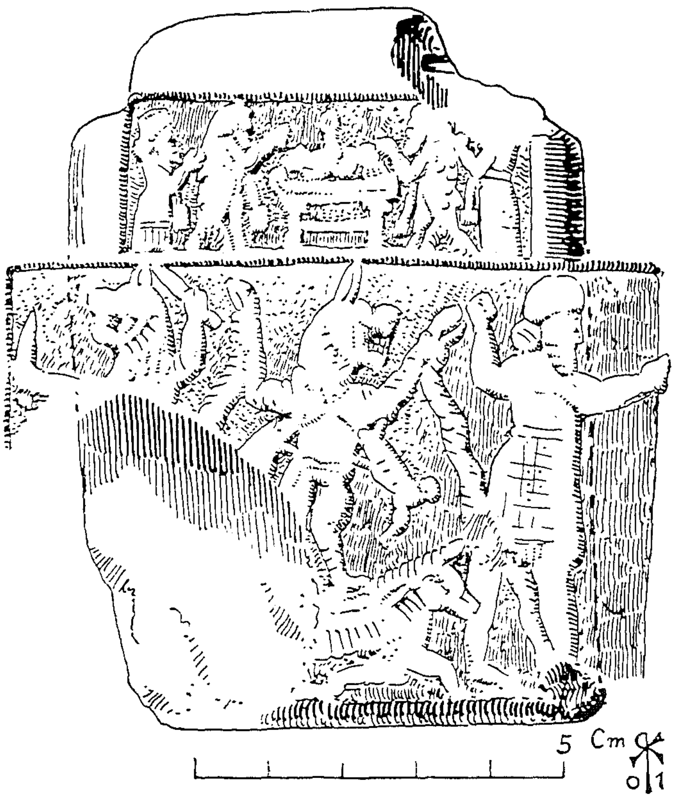

Fig. 1. Steintafel mit Relief und Beschwörung gegen Lamaštu, aus dem Hügel Qaṣr. Nach F.H. Weissbach, Babylonische Miszellen (Leipzig 1903), 42 Nr. XIV.

ununterbrochen Hauptstadt — hatte das Glück, unter den Schuttmassen seiner allerletzten Bauten Vieles aus der vorletzten Schicht zu bewahren, vor allem die bekannten Ziegelreliefs, etwas Malerei und Kleinfunde. Dazu kommen einige Stelen und Felsreliefs vom Rande des Reiches: aus Syrien und Teima.

Die Assyrerkönige dagegen hatten eine Vorliebe dafür, neue Hauptstädte zu gründen und dafür die ihrer Vorgänger liegen zu lassen. Noch erfreulicher für uns ist ihre Vorliebe für reliefierte Orthostaten, mit denen sie viele Räume ihrer Residenz ausstatteten, so daß wir eine nur selten unterbrochene Reihe von Denkmälern von der Mitte des 9. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts besitzen, äußerst erzählfreudig und voller realistischer Details. Hierzu kommen ebenfalls noch Felsreliefs und Stelen, naturgemäß mehr, als sie die Babylonier hinterlassen konnten. Noch ausgeprägter ist das Mißverhältnis der erhaltenen Bronzen (Braun-Holzinger 1988).

Nur Rollsiegel sind gerechter verteilt: in Nimrud, Niniveh und Assur einerseits, Babylon, Nippur und Uruk andererseits, haben wissenschaftlich kontrollierte Grabungen Siegel und Abrollungen erbracht, die auch z.T. veröffentlicht sind (Moortgat 1942, 1944; Parker 1962 u.A.). Doch hier stoßen wir auf eine zweite Schwierigkeit: ebenso wie bei den Bronzen (Braun-Holzinger 1988; Curtis 1988) sind babylonischer und assyrischer Stil auf den Siegelbildern fast gar nicht, in deren Ikonographie selten, zu unterscheiden (Porada 1947).

2.2. Eng mit den Quellen verknüpft ist die Frage, wieviel von assyrischer und babylonischer Kunst den Achaimeniden, mit oder ohne Vermittler, bekannt gewesen sein konnte. Spätestens im Jahre 612 v.Chr. wurden die assyrischen Städte erobert und die Residenzen gründlich zerstört: das Zerhacken gerader der Königsgesichter in den vielfigurigen Reliefs von Khorsabad und Niniveh und das Zerbrechen ausgerechnet der medischen 'Vassal Treaties' im Thronraum des Nabutempels von Nimrud sprechen für systematische Auslöschung.[3]

Zwei Jahrhunderte später werden dem Xenophon (*Anab.* III 4,7-12) am Tigris die verlassenen (*erēmē*) Festungen Larissa und Mespila, wohl Nimrud und Niniveh, als einst von Medern bewohnt, ihnen auf wunderbarer Art von den Persern abgerungene Städte bezeichnet. Der Name Ninus dagegen haftet, spätestens seit Lucan,[4] an Bambyke/Hierapolis in Syrien. Wenn also, etwa zur Zeit Artaxerxes' II., die Achaimeniden irgendwelchen assyrischen Vorbildern folgten, so müssen ihnen diese als 'medisch' gegolten haben — und vielleicht gerade deshalb als nachahmenswert (cf. unten Fig. 9).

Fragt man sich, was die Perser konkret vor Augen gehabt haben mögen, so sind es wohl kaum die verlassenen, verschütteten Paläste der Assyrer gewesen. Eher waren es Felsreliefs, z.T. in Iran selbst, wie Shikaft-e Gulgul, oder Stelen, wie die von Nadjafabad oder diejenige, die Sargon II. an der Mauer einer iranischen Festung darstellen läßt; gewiß waren es Siegelzylinder (cf. Fig. 8), die ja als Ketten-Anhänger auch bei nicht schreibenden Völkern allezeit im Umlauf waren, und Amulett-Täfelchen (Fig. 1), deren Zauberkraft durch ihr Alter eher verstärkt als vermindert waren. Weniger in Frage kommen Metalle, die wohl nach jeder Plünderung sehr bald eingeschmolzen wurden (wie später durch Alexander), und Elfenbein, das noch heute in großen Mengen in assyrischen Ruinen gestapelt ist — also der Mitnahme nicht als wert erachtet wurde.

Ganz sicher dagegen haben die Achaimeniden die Stadt Babylon gekannt: sie haben dort residiert, Archive geführt, Inschrift und Relief von Behistun aufgestellt (Seidl 1976) und, sowohl unter einem Dareios der Südburg,[5] als

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[3] Nylander 1980: 331f. verweist darauf daß die Meder sich wenigstens drei Wochen, die Babylonier wohl noch länger in Niniveh aufhielten.

[4] Belege bei Calmeyer 1982: 179 n. 226-230.

[5] Der dort hinzugefügte Kiosk wurde von den Ausgräbern (Koldewey 1913: 126) nach dem Vorbild des Apadana in Persepolis rekonstruiert; es ist deshalb diese Ähnlichkeit nicht als Argument brauchbar (so Haerinck 1973).

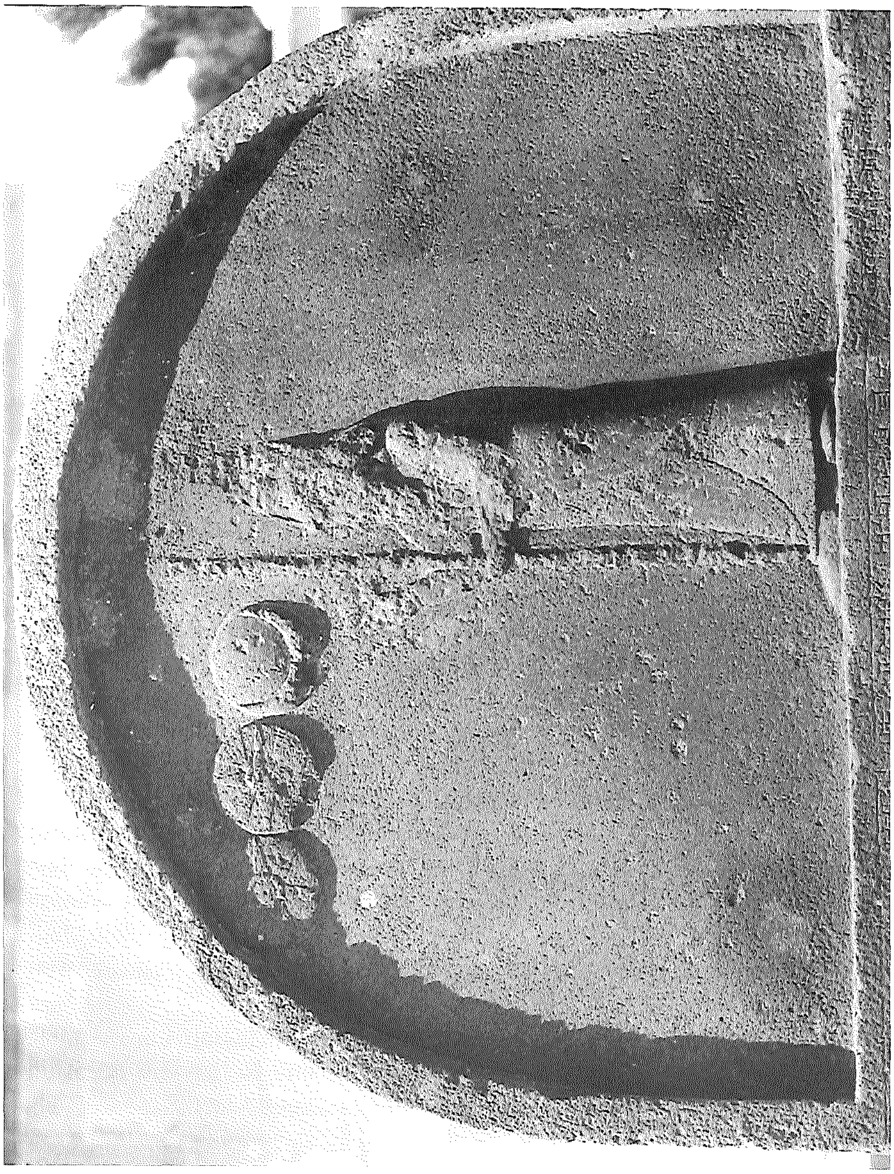

Fig. 2. Stele H 2 des Nabonid aus Harran; Urfa Mus. Photogr. Verfasser.

auch dem 'Sommerpalast' in Babil Gebäude und Wandbilder aus emaillierten Ziegeln hinzugefügt (Koldewey 1913: 125 Abb. 76; 126ff.).

3.1. Die Architektur Kyros des Großen in Pasargadae weist, nach allgemein anerkanntem Urteil (bes. Nylander 1970), keine mesopotamischen Elemente auf, sondern ist aus einheimischen Traditionen und griechischen Einzelformen zusammengesetzt. Dabei muß es auch bleiben; die Herkunft der Doppelprotomen als Säulenbekrönungen ist zwar nicht geklärt — motivische Anklänge finden sich unter den 'Luristanbronzen' — doch führt eine Spur aus Babylon wohl nur zu einem Zirkelschluß: an einem an die Oberfläche der Ostburg verschleppten »arg abgestoßenen Kapitell erkennt man wohl das runde Säulenauflager und zwei stark hervortretende Massen, die wohl als die Reste von zwei Stierköpfen anzusehen sind, wie sie bei den Kapitellen von Persepolis auftreten« (Koldewey 1913: 89; Koldewey & Wetzel 1931-1932, I: 34f. — leider nur in Beschreibung überliefert); das war jedoch vielleicht kein babylonischer Prototyp, sondern eine Nachahmung persischer oder hellenistischer Zeit.

Eine nur etwa 30 cm breite Doppelvolute aus schwarzem Stein (Nylander 1970: 120f. Fig. 40) ist gewiß zu klein, um als Teil der Architektur gedient zu haben (Stronach 1978: 66f. Fig. 33 Pl. 67); sie war wohl Teil einer steinernen Schranke oder eines Möbels und erinnert in ihrer Form eher an die Voluten vom Thronsaal in Babylon (Koldewey 1913: Abb. 64.65) und aus Susa (de Mecquenem 1947: 75 Fig. 43,12) als an 'äolische' Kapitelle.

3.2. Die Reliefs der Zeit Kyros der Große sind oft und mit Gewinn analysiert worden: so hat T. Kawami (1972) die apotropäischen Mischwesen in den Türen des ('Audienz'-)Palastes S überzeugend auf den Palast des Sanherib zurückgeführt, der zu dieser Zeit vielleicht noch kümmerlich bewohnt war (Kawami 1972: 148 n. 36a); in Babylon kommen zwar ebensolche Fischgenien (Fig. 1) und ein Stiermensch (Koldewey 1913: 203, 206 Abb. 128) vor, jedoch nicht monumental; letzterer stammt aus einer Ziegelkapsel an einer Tür, hatte also die gleiche apotropäische Funktion. Die Deutung und Ableitung des bekannten vierflügligen Genius des Torgebäudes R macht immer noch Schwierigkeiten; schon M. Dieulafoy erkannte das neuelamische Königsgewand, R.A. Parker die *hmhm*-Krone, R.D. Barnett (1969) deren Kombination mit einer vierflügligen Gestalt[6] als syrisch, vielleicht durch Elfenbeine vermittelt

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[6] Dieulafoy 1890: 53-54. Barnetts Identifikation der Gestalt als Gott (1969) ist jedoch von keinem neueren Bearbeiter übernommen worden; Mallowan (1972: 2; cf. Root 1979: 301f.) vergleicht die Gestalt im Traum des Kyros (Hdt. I 209), die jedoch feindselig-bedrohlich ist und ausdrücklich zwei Flügel hat; auch paßt dieser einzigartige Traumbote nicht dazu, daß in Pasargadae zwei Türen mit vier solchen Genien, alle nach innen gerichtet, angenommen werden müssen: sie schützen also dort jemanden, wie ähnliche Elfenbeinfiguren wohl die Inhaber von Möbeln. Eine Hypostase irgendwelcher Art des Großkönigs ist hier also kaum zu vermuten.

(Stronach 1978: 48 n. 34; 51f.). Assyrisch könnte allenfalls die Form der Flügel sein, doch hat Root (1979: 302) gezeigt, daß in diesem Fall nur Flügelformen des 9. Jahrhunderts als Vorbild in Frage kommen; ebenso erinnert der Figurenstil weniger an die späteren Stadien assyrischer Plastik, als vielmehr an babylonische (Stronach 1978: 52 Pl. 189b), worauf wir bei Behistun zurückkommen werden.

In Pasargadae verhalten sich also die Gebäude R und S verschieden — wie übrigens auch in ihren Kapitellen (Calmeyer 1981). Die Türgenien von S stammen in ihrer ganzen Form aus mesopotamischem Repertoire, wohl aus dem des Sanherib. Am Torgebäude R dagegen wurde offenbar bewußt synkretisiert — wobei eine Quelle, Syrien, bereits synkretistische Vorbilder lieferte.[7]

4.1. Die erste Phase der Tätigkeit Dareios' I., die seiner ersten drei Jahre, wird für uns am Felsen von Behistun sichtbar (Luschey 1968). Hier tritt das Babylonische buchstäblich auf, nämlich in der Sprache der als zweiten angebrachten Inchriften. Daß es nicht Assyrisch war, ist verständlich: die Schreiberschulen der assyrischen Könige waren längst aufgelöst, hatten sich übrigens selbst oft auch babylonisch geäußert. Es ist aber nicht selbstverständlich, daß die Schreiber Dareios' I. so vielfältig auf babylonische Leser Rücksicht nehmen (Schmitt 1980). Dies Element bleibt allen mehrsprachigen Inschriften der Achaimeniden erhalten: wie hier in Behistun, so heißen noch an Grab VI die Sakā (elamisch und persisch) archaistisch/babylonisch 'Gimirrai.'

Gegenüber Pasargadae hat sich in der Kunst hier fast alles geändert — alles bis auf den kurzen runden Bart des Genius, der in Behistun bei den Trabanten des Dareios noch einmal wiederkehrt und wohl der getragenen Tracht der älteren Generation entsprach. Alle Anderen, Herrscher und Pseudo-Herrscher, haben (verschieden) lange Bärte, wie es dem allgemein-vorderasiatischen Herrscherbild entspricht.

Gerade an die Darstellung der Bärte, Frisuren und Gesichter knüpften Herzfeld (Sarre & Herzfeld 1920: 23) und Luschey (1968: 84ff.) ihre Stilvergleiche mit Assyrischem und Babylonischem; sie führten beide zu dem Ergebnis, daß die Werke Assurnaṣirpals II. (1.H. 9.Jh.) Behistun am nahesten stünden, die Reliefs des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts dagegen ferner. Dieses Ergebnis ist ein wenig absurd, da es sich hier nicht um Vorbilder handelt — die ja uralt sein können — sondern um den Stil von Bildhauern, die ja nicht seit über 300 Jahren irgendwo überwintert haben können. Wir folgen deshalb dem Hinweis von

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[7] Dafür spricht auch der zuletzt von Stronach (1978: 50 n. 36) verglichene Stater aus Susa (*MDP* XX 1928: 65f. pl. 3) mit einem Thronenden in persischem Gewand und ägyptischer Königskrone (*pšent*); es ist eine Münze aus Tarsus und zeigt nicht Artaxerxes III., sondern wohl, wie die Beischrift anzeigt, Ba'altarz, der sonst ebenso thronend, aber ohne Krone dargestellt wird.

Stronach, der sich von der stärkeren Plastizität des Genius in Pasargadae an die Stelen Nabonids erinnert fühlte. Mehr noch als die dort abgebildete Stele im British Museum sind die Stelen aus Harran (Gadd 1958) zu diesem Vergleich geeignet: die schlanken Körper, die Herzfeld auffielen (1920: 23), eben jenes Vertrauen auf das Volumen, das die (assyrische) Angleichung der Figuren an die Flächen verhindert, die Vorliebe für das reine Profil,[8] die Stronach schon in Pasargadae auffiel (1978: 52), die weichen, fließenden Umrisse, alle diese Züge finden sich in Harran besonders deutlich (Fig. 2). Es bedarf deshalb wohl kaum noch eines Meisters ionischer Herkunft zur Begründung des Stilwandels von Assurnaṣirpal zu Behistun (Luschey 1968: 88f.)[9]; entweder dienten solche Stelen des wenige Jahre zuvor besiegten Reiches als Stilvorbilder, oder man bediente sich der neubabylonischen Bildhauer-Werkstätten.

Für beide Möglichkeiten bieten sich zusätzliche Argumente. Die Gesichter der Stelen von Harran sind absichtlich ausgelöscht — vielleicht anläßlich der letzten Verwendung als Treppenstufen einer Moschee (Gadd 1958: 36); die eine ist aber außerdem einmal umgearbeitet worden: der übliche hohe Spitzen-Hut des Nabonid in ein flaches Gebilde. Persische *Kitaris* oder *Keter* eines syrischen Priesters? Jedenfalls wurde die Stele, mit gut erhaltenem Text, in nach-neubabylonischer Zeit sekundär verwendet. Das Weiterleben andererseits von Bildhauer-Werkstätten in der Stadt Babylon ist bezeugt durch Fragmente von der nördlichen Prozessionsstraße mit Darstellungen und Textsplittern, die denen von Behistun entsprechen (Seidl 1976: 126f.). Eines der Relieffragmente (*ibid.* Taf. 34.2; Koldewey & Wetzel 1932: Taf. 19a) erlaubt eine Aussage über seinen Stil: etwas weicher, eleganter und in der Stellung der Hände realistischer.

»Die tatsächliche Abhängigkeit des Entwurfes von älteren Bildern, wie dem des Annubanini« (Herzfeld 1920: 21) ist unbestritten und übrigens eine der Leitideen von Herzfelds Buch. Daß eben dieses Felsrelief bei Sarpol-e Zohab das Vorbild war, und kein ähnliches, uns verlorenes, macht die Neun-Zahl der Gegner wahrscheinlich. Der lullubäische Fürst Annubanini folgt in früh-altbabylonischer Zeit wiederum älteren Vorbilder am selben Ort (*ibid.* 6 Abb. 2),

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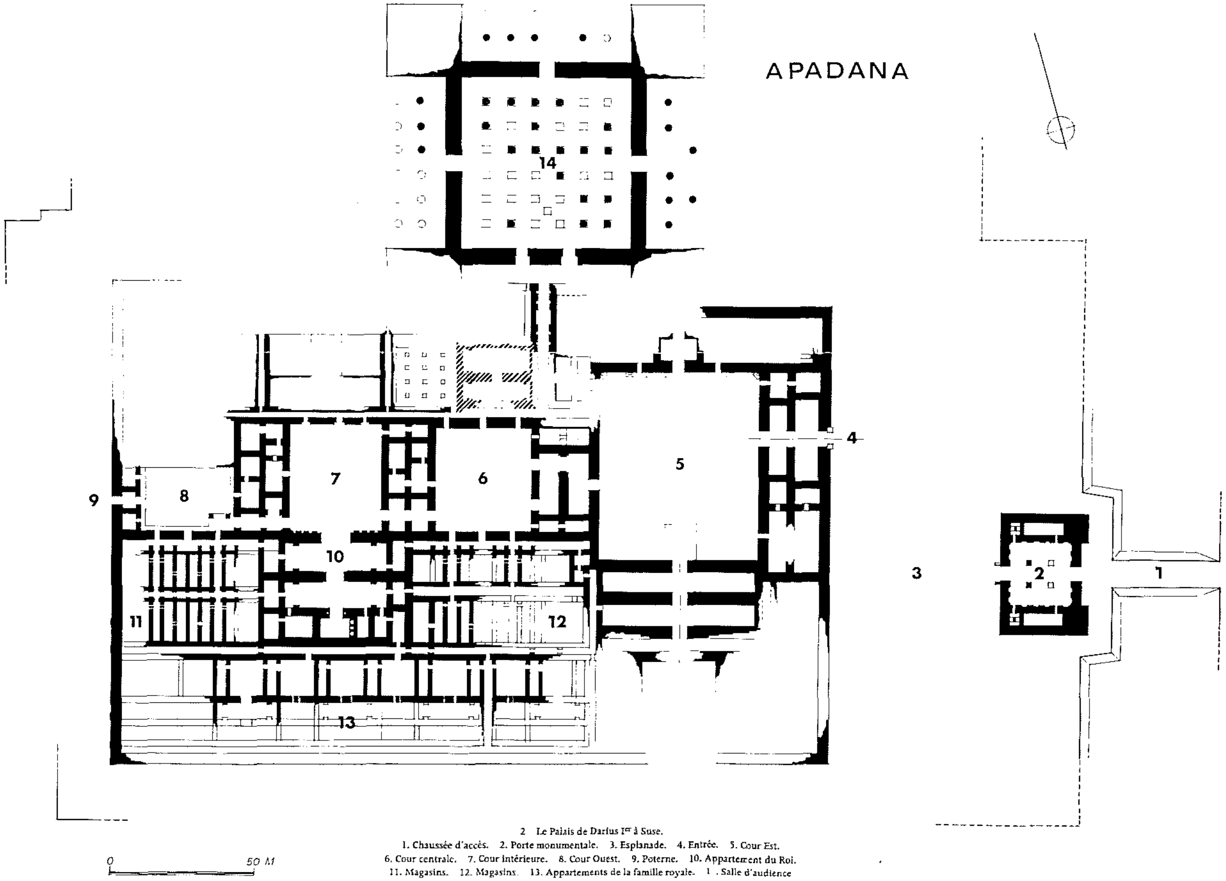
[8] Die Darstellung beider Schultern strikt von der Seite kommt im alten Orient seit dem 3. Jt. immer wieder vor, jedoch nicht konsistent. Bei assyrischen Herrschern hängt die Art der Darstellung ab vom Motiv der Arme und der Rechts- oder Linkswendung (Seidl 1986a: 326); bei Babyloniern besteht diese Regel nicht (z.B. Fig. 2).

[9] Gefolgt von Farkas 1985: 829. Auch schon Richter 1957: Fig. 382. Herzfeld (1920: 22f.) erwähnt keinerlei Griechen, nimmt jedoch, wie bei vielen anderen Gelegenheiten, die Vermittlung durch die medische Kunst an — die sich bis heute nicht so recht hat entdecken lassen. Damit hängt die Behandlung der Gewandfalten eng zusammen, die allerdings nicht zu unserem Thema gehört, sondern zu dem der griechisch-persischen Beziehungen. Das Experimentieren mit Falten zeigt jedoch wohl, daß der 'Faltenstil' nicht von der ausführenden Werkstatt mitgebracht wurde, sondern nach dem Befehl des Auftraggebers, zunächst nur bei den wichtigsten Figuren, ausprobiert wurde (cf. demnächst Calmeyer 1988).


APADANA
14
4
5
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13
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2
1
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50 M

2 Le Palais de Darius I^er^ à Suse.
1. Chaussée d'accès. 2. Porte monumentale. 3. Esplanade. 4. Entrée. 5. Cour Est.
6. Cour centrale. 7. Cour intérieure. 8. Cour Ouest. 9. Poterne. 10. Appartement du Roi.
11. Magasins. 12. Magasins. 13. Appartements de la famille royale. 1 . Salle d'audience

Fig. 3. Palast Dareios' I. in Susa. Nach Perrot 1981: Taf. 36.

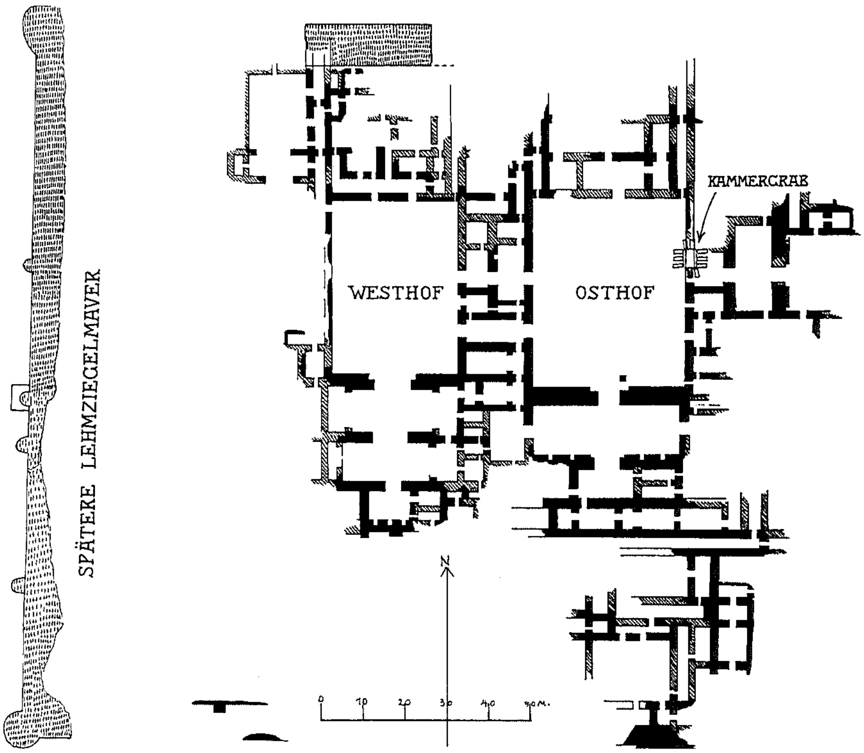
SPÄTERE LEHMZIEGELMAUER
KAMMERGRAB
WESTHOF
OSTHOF
N
0
10
20
30
40
50 M.

Fig. 4. Der 'Sommerpalast' Nebukadnezars im Hügel Babil, mit eingebautem Grab der Arsakidenzeit. Nach Koldewey/Wetzel 1932: Taf. 32.

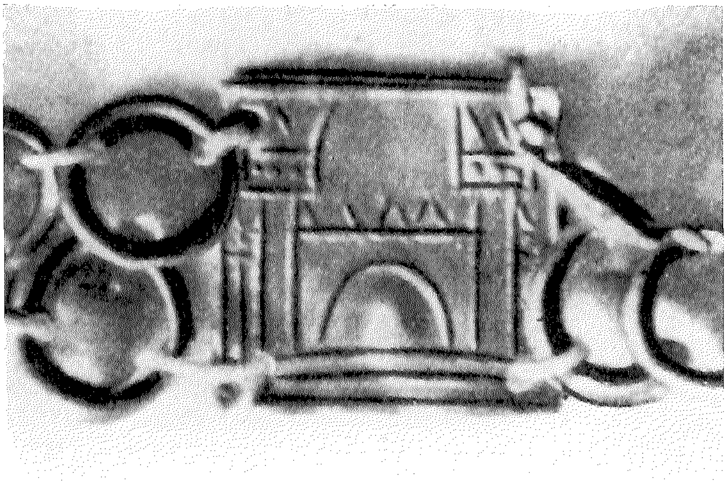

Fig. 5. Kette mit Goldplättchen aus einem Sarg in der Südburg des Nabopolassar. Nach Koldewey 1913: 34 Abb. 20.

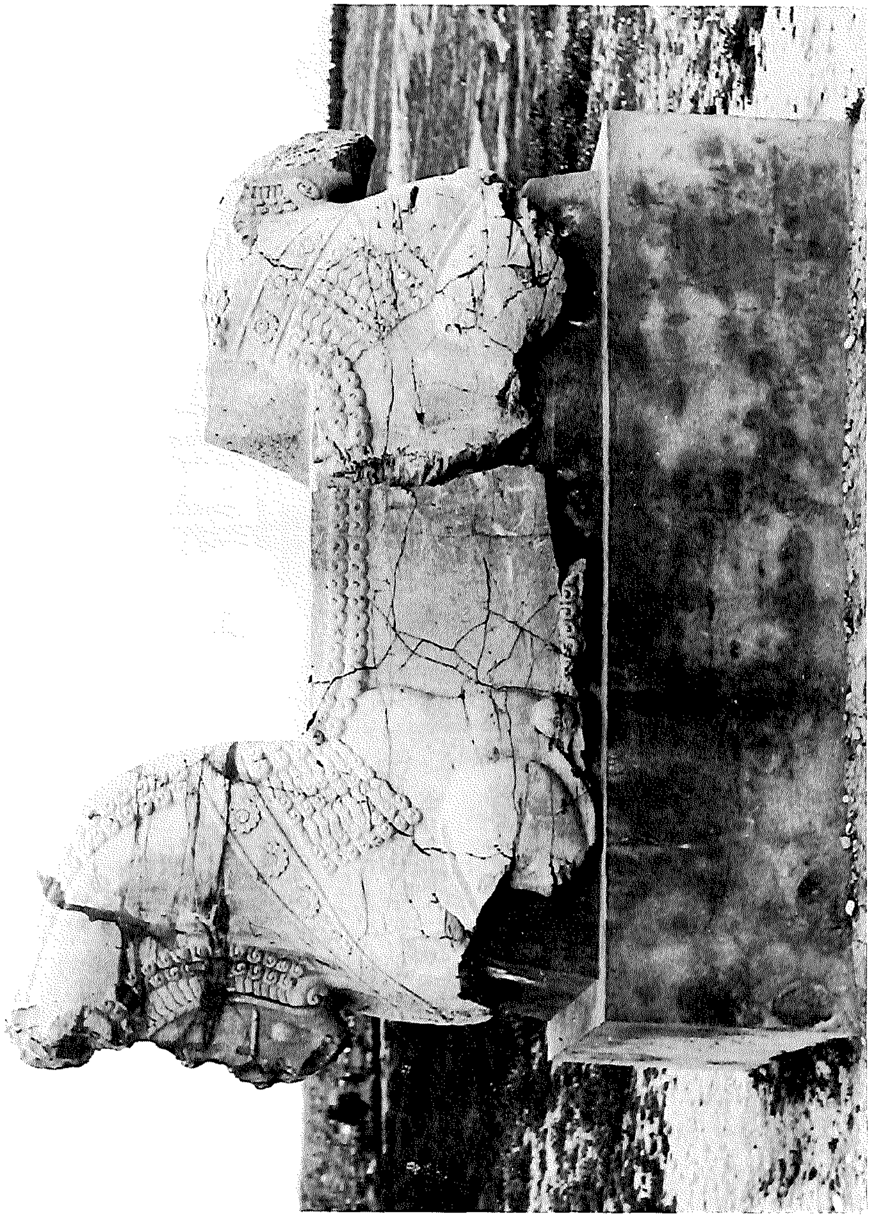

Fig. 6. Oberteil eines Kapitells des Apadana von Susa. Photogr. Verfasser.

zuletzt einem neusumerischen des Šusin.[10] Auf diesem Umweg — nicht über die Assyrer, deren Gefangenenvorführungen ganz anders konzipiert sind[11] — manifestiert sich noch einmal sehr eindrucksvoll ein 'babylonischer' Prototyp. Dareios selbst dürfte ihn, schon wegen der noch heute teilweise lesbaren Inschrift, nicht als elamisch (so auch Root 1979: 201 n. 54), sondern als babylonisch akzeptiert haben.

Anders steht es mit dem generellen Motiv der Verschiedenheit der Völker, das ja später zum wichtigsten der achaimenidischen Hofkunst wird. Hier mußte Annubanini als Vorbild versagen: im 3. Jahrtausend entkleidete man den Besiegten; so konnten Völkertrachten nicht zum Thema von Triumphbildern werden. Annubanini deutet es lediglich durch den exotischen Kopfputz eines der Gefangenen an. Für dieses Motiv kommen in der Tat die Fremdvölker auf assyrischen Reliefs in Frage, besonders bezüglich der Kleidung. Die sehr viel ältere ägyptische Tradition, speziell von (jeweils vier) anthropologisch verschiedenen Typen, könnte durch syrische Elfenbeine vermittelt worden sein.

In der Inschrift betont Dareios zum ersten — aber nicht zum letzten Male — daß er die Herrschaft einzig Ahuramazda verdanke. Die gleiche Rolle spielt im Text des Kyroszylinders[12] Marduk, in Nabonids Inschriften in Harran der Mondgott Sin (Gadd 1958), dagegen in Babylon Marduk (Lambert 1965: 1ff.; von Soden 1983: 63). Das ist vielleicht eine spezifisch neubabylonische Entwicklung; denn noch Assarhaddon nimmt bei Fragen der Thronfolge alle wichtigen Götter in Anspruch: in der Schilderung seiner eigenen Rechte und Schwierigkeiten im 'Prisma Niniveh A' sind es Assur, Sin, Šamaš, Nabu, Marduk und Ištar von Arbela und Niniveh, und nochmals Šamaš und Adad im Orakel; in der Regelung der Nachfolge seines Sohnes in den 'Vassal Treaties' ruft er sogar noch mehr Gottheiten an. Die Kompetenz nur eines 'Reichs'-Gottes war also jedenfalls in Babylonien vorgebildet — allerdings ebenso in Urartu.

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[10] Edzard 1960: 1ff.; Kraus 1963: 153f.: schon hier sind Ensis verschiedener Stadstaaten künstlich zu einer Szene vereinigt. Cf. Calmeyer 1976b: 168f.: »aus heterogenen Motiven zusammengesetzt.« Root 1979: 199 hat das als »relentless continuity« missverstanden, die »culminates« in Behistun — was in der Tat falsch wäre; doch sehe ich noch immer sehr wenig Assyrisches (cf. unten) und halte »demands of the text« (*ibid.* 223f.) für unwahrscheinlich: daß der Text bereits komponiert war, als das Relief entworfen wurde, ist durch nichts bewiesen; überdies weicht auch die IV. Kolumne entscheidend vom Relief ab: es werden alle 7 Helfer aufgezählt, und die Reihenfolge der Rebellen ist verschieden.

[11] Root 1979: 202ff., Pls. 52b-55a vergleicht Stelen und Palastreliefs. So verschieden diese sind, so ist allen gemeinsam, daß sie historisch sind, d.h. sie 'erzählen' ein Ereignis so, wie es realiter Statt fand bzw. gefunden haben könnte: der assyrische König bestraft jeweils einige wenige Feinde, oder er empfängt jeweils nur eine Delegation mit Tributen. Dieser erzählende Charakter der Reliefs wird sogar vom 9. bis ins 7. Jh. ständig stärker (*ibid.* 207f.). Der irreale Charakter von Behistun (zuerst Herzfeld 1920: 20f.) wird auch von Root anerkannt (1979: 187), später jedoch herunter gespielt (*ibid.* 208).

[12] Dessen Protokoll wohl auf dem basierte, das Assurbanipal in Babylon benutzte: Harmatta 1971a.

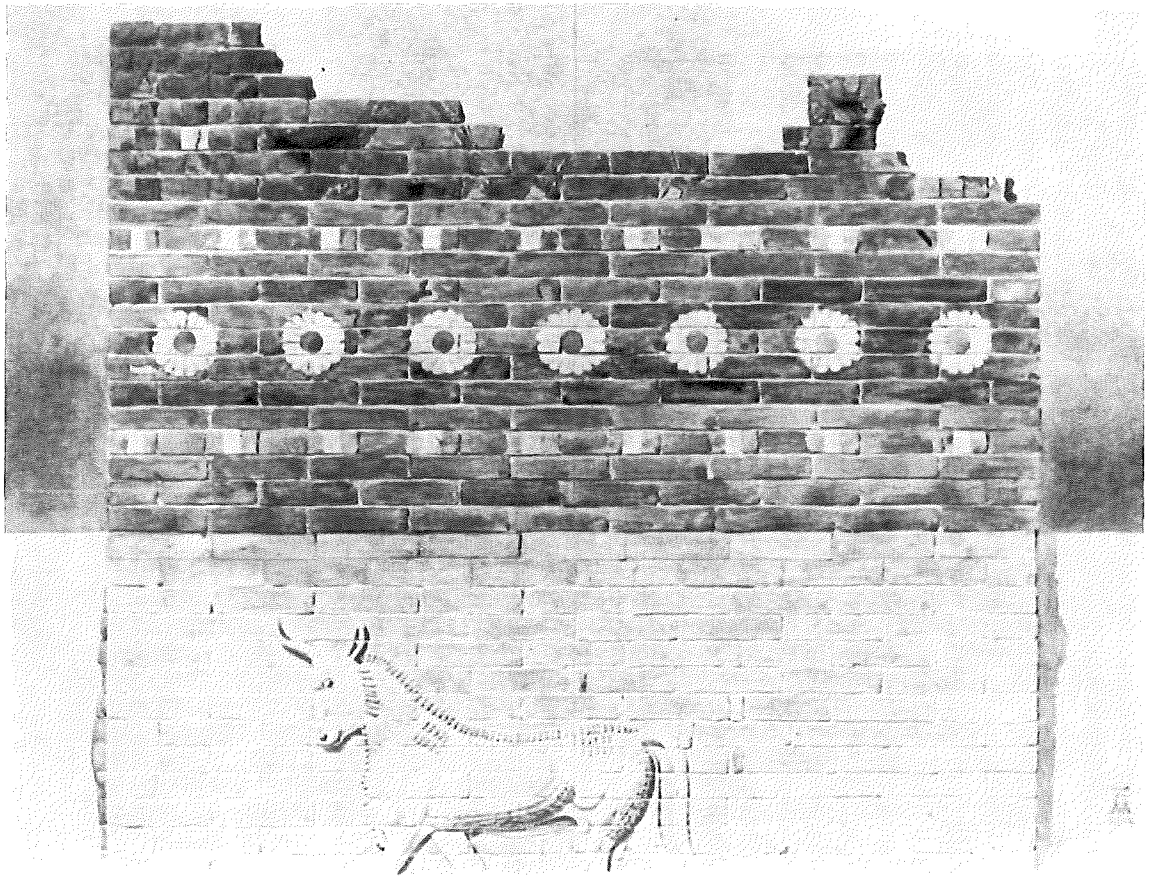

Fig. 7. Mauerstück vom Ištar-Tor in Babylon mit Stieren in Emaille-Bemalung und älteren in unbemaltem Relief. Nach Koldewey 1913: Abb. 30.

4.2. Der Palast in Susa, aus einer etwas späteren Phase Dareios' I., besteht aus einem Apadana wohl iranischen Typs und einem Komplex aus mehreren Höfen von mesopotamischer Bauart, der jedoch erst so recht verständlich wurde, nachdem Perrot und Ladiray (1972) eine früher als Durchgang mißverstandene Raumfolge als geschlossen erkannten (Fig. 3: 10). Es handelt sich um eine typisch babylonische Breitraum-Anlage (so etwa E. Heinrich 1982), wie sie für alle Paläste Nebukadnezars (Fig. 4) typisch ist (Amiet 1974a).

Auch die aus emaillierten Reliefziegeln zusammengesetzten Wände dieses Palastes folgen wohl am ehesten babylonischen Vorbildern; allerdings gibt es mittelelamische Vorläufer, doch scheint deren Tradition in neuelamischer Zeit nur in recht primitiven Ziegelbildern ohne Relief fortgesetzt worden zu sein (Amiet 1966: 508ff., fig. 383-393. 395). Deshalb dürften die Achaimeniden auf Mesopotamisches zurück gegriffen haben: entweder auf Ziegelfriese wie sie in Khorsabad noch in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts sichtbar waren, oder doch wohl eher auf Babylon, wo Ziegelbilder in dreierlei Techniken unmittelbar übereinander vorkommen: unbemalt-reliefiert, emailliert-flach und zuletzt emailliert-reliefiert (Fig. 7). Dieser lebhaften Entwicklung der neubabylonischen Techniken schließt sich — in der Stadt Babylon selbst und in Susa — eine letzte Erfindung an: Glasfäden mit höherem Schmelzpunkt trennen die Compartimente mit den Lokalfarben, und verhindern so deren Mischung (Koldewey 1913: 127).

Ebenso sind auch die Motive der Ziegelreliefs offenbar aus Babylon beeinflußt: ein Teil der berühmten Gardisten in Susa trägt einen Stoff mit eingewebten Bildern von Festungen; solche abgekürzten Embleme wohl der eigenen heiligen Städte kommen schon auf Gewandstoffen assyrischer Könige vor (Tiglath Pileser III., Sargon II., Assarhaddon, Assurbanipal); ein Goldplättchen mit diesem Motiv stammt aus dem Grab vielleicht Nabopolassars (Fig. 5). Auch die Stilisierung von Löwen und Stieren (Fig. 6.7) ist gut vergleichbar.

Der Synkretismus der Formen war bewußt und Teil eines Programmes der großköniglichen Bautätigkeit. Das erfahren wir aus der 'Charta' von Susa (in Varianten: DSf, DSz, DSaa) mit der Aufzählung der Länder/Völker, deren Materalien, Transportmittel und Handwerker. Im Rahmen der Bauinschriften, die wir vorher und nachher kennen, hat diese Komposition nur eine Parallele. In der ausführlichsten seiner Bauinschriften teilt uns Nebukadnezar II. zur Restauration der Zikkurrat Etemenanki mit:

> Weite Völkerscharen, die Marduk, mein Herr, Mir anvertraut, deren Hut der Held Šamaš mir übergeben, aus der Menge aller Lande, der Gesamtheit aller Nationen, vom oberen Meere bis zum unteren Meere, ferne Länder, Leute zahlreicher Nationen, Könige ferner Gebirge und tiefliegender Bezirke inmitten des oberen Meeres und des unteren, deren Knechtung Marduk, mein Herr, sein Joch zu ziehen, in meine Hand gegeben, bot ich auf als(?) Werkleute des Šamaš und Marduk, Etemenaki zu bauen und ließ sie tragen das Ziegelrück ....

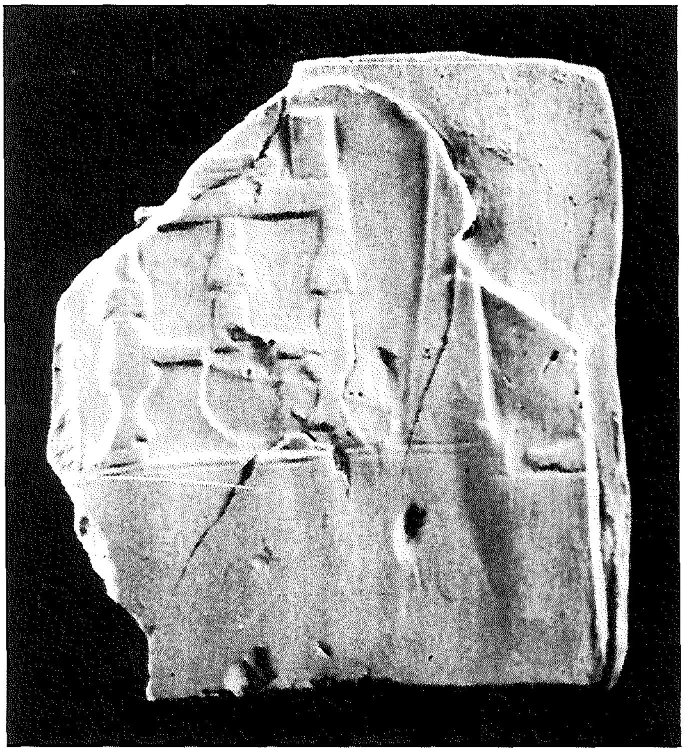

Fig. 8. Bruchstück eines Götter-Siegels aus dem Schatzhaus in Persepolis. Nach E.F. Schmidt, Persepolis II (1957) 63, Fig. 7.

> ... das Land Pu̯kudu, das Land Bît ..., das Land Bît-Amukkani, das Land Bît ..., das Land Arrapcha, das Land Laḫi[ru...], das gesammte Land Ag... und ... die Könige, die ... die Statthalter ... des Landes Hatti vom oberen Meere bis zum unteren Meere, das Land Sumer und Akkad. [... die Völker?] des Landes Mesopotamien allesamt, die Könige der fernen Länder, inmitten des oberen Meeres, die Könige der fernen Länder inmitten des unteren Meeres, die šakkanakkî im Lande Ḫatti jenseits des Euphrats gen Westen, deren Herrschaft auf Geheiß Marduks, meines Herren, Ich ausübe, sie brachten gewaltige Zedern vom Gebirge Libanon nach meiner Stadt Babylon. Alle Leute der zahlreichen Nationen die Marduk, mein Herr, mir zu eigen gegeben, nötigte ich, beim Bau von Etemenanki Dienst zu tun, und legte ihnen die Ziegeltrage auf. Als sein Fundament füllte iche eine Terrasse von 30 Ellen Höhe auf; dicke Zederblaken, grosse Stämme aus Holz von Magan überzog ich mit Bronze, ... stellte ich. (Langdon 1912: 32f. 145f.; bes. 147).

Einigermaßen nahe kommt diesem Text noch ein Tonprisma aus dem Stadtschloß in Babylon: Nebukadnezar II. zählt hier die Beamten des Hofes, der Provinzen und der Städte auf, denen

> Zur Erbauung des Palastes
> 'Wunderschloss der Menschheit'
> den Wohnsitz meiner Majestät,

habe ich ihnen das Joch auferlegt,
ließ sie die Ziegelkörbe nehmen
(Unger 1931: 35ff., 282ff.)[13]

Die Beamten sind geordnet nicht geographisch, sondern nach Beamten-Klassen. Der Unterschied zwischen Nebukadnezar und Dareios ist bedeutsam: keinem Babylonier oder Assyrer wäre es je eingefallen, seine Unterworfenen als Helfer zu nennen, bei welcher Arbeit auch immer.

4.3. Wahrscheinlich ist das Felsgrab diejenige Bauaufgabe, die Dareios als nächste begann (Root 1979: 75f.). Hierfür liess er jene Komposition entwerfen, die die achaimenidische Kunst am längsten begleiten wird und wohl deren perfektester Ausdruck ist: 'The King on High' (Root 1979: 131ff.). Die Vorläufer sind gut bekannt. Der Vorgang des Tragens ist bei zwei mittel- oder neuelamischen Herrschern in Malamir/Izeh vorgebildet: sie lassen sich von Untertanen auf einer Platte tragen. Möbel dagegen werden ausschließlich in Assyrien mit Atlanten und Karyatiden versehen: Tiglath Pileser III. verwendet ebenfals Untertanen, Sargon II. und Sanherib dagegen vertrauen auf den magischen Schutz niederer Gottheiten. Babylonien kommt bei diesem Motiv kaum als Vorbild in Frage: die wenigen überlieferten Möbel sind anders konstruiert (Kyrieleis 1969: 6ff. Abb. 2 Taf. 2,2; 3,3) und es kommen nur Karyatiden vor (Fig. 8), niemals mit den Armen stützende Atlanten (cf. Fig. 9).

Die inhaltliche Änderung bei den Stützfiguren ist die gleiche wie bei den eben genannten Bauinschriften: von den Repräsentanten des eigenen Volkes (und Genien) zu den Völkern des Reiches.

4.4. Endlich taucht im Tačara Dareios' I. noch ein assyrisierendes Thema auf: der königliche Held kämpft mit einem Löwen. Vorbild waren die sechslockigen Helden der Palastreliefs (besonders eindrucksvoll: Khorsabad) wohl nur für die Stellung der Löwen, für den Inhalt jedoch gewiß die Stempelsiegel assyrischer Könige (Sachs 1953: 167-170; Parker 1962: 38; Millard 1965: 12-16) deren Abdrücke leicht in die Hände des Großkönigs geraten sein können.

5. Xerxes war, aus der zugehörigen Inschrift zu schliessen, der erste Achaimenide, der (am Apadana) einen Fries aus Gaben bringenden Gruppen verschiedener Völker anbringen liess. Der Gedanke ist nochmals der der Helfer am Bau und der Stützfiguren; der Unterschied zu den assyrischen Vorbildern (Root 1979: 227ff.) ist jedoch eher der, den wir oben aus Anlass von Behistun feststellten: die Assyrer lassen sich nach gewonnenem Feldzug von den umliegenden Völkern Tribute bringen; der König empfängt jedes Volk einzeln. Daraus hat der Planer des Apadana wiederum eine große Konstruktion gezimmert: alle (der Idee nach) Völker bringen dem Großkönig freiwillig (der Idee nach) die für sie typischen Geschenke.

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[13] Cf. dazu Weissbach 1953: 258f.; Landsberger 1953: 297f.

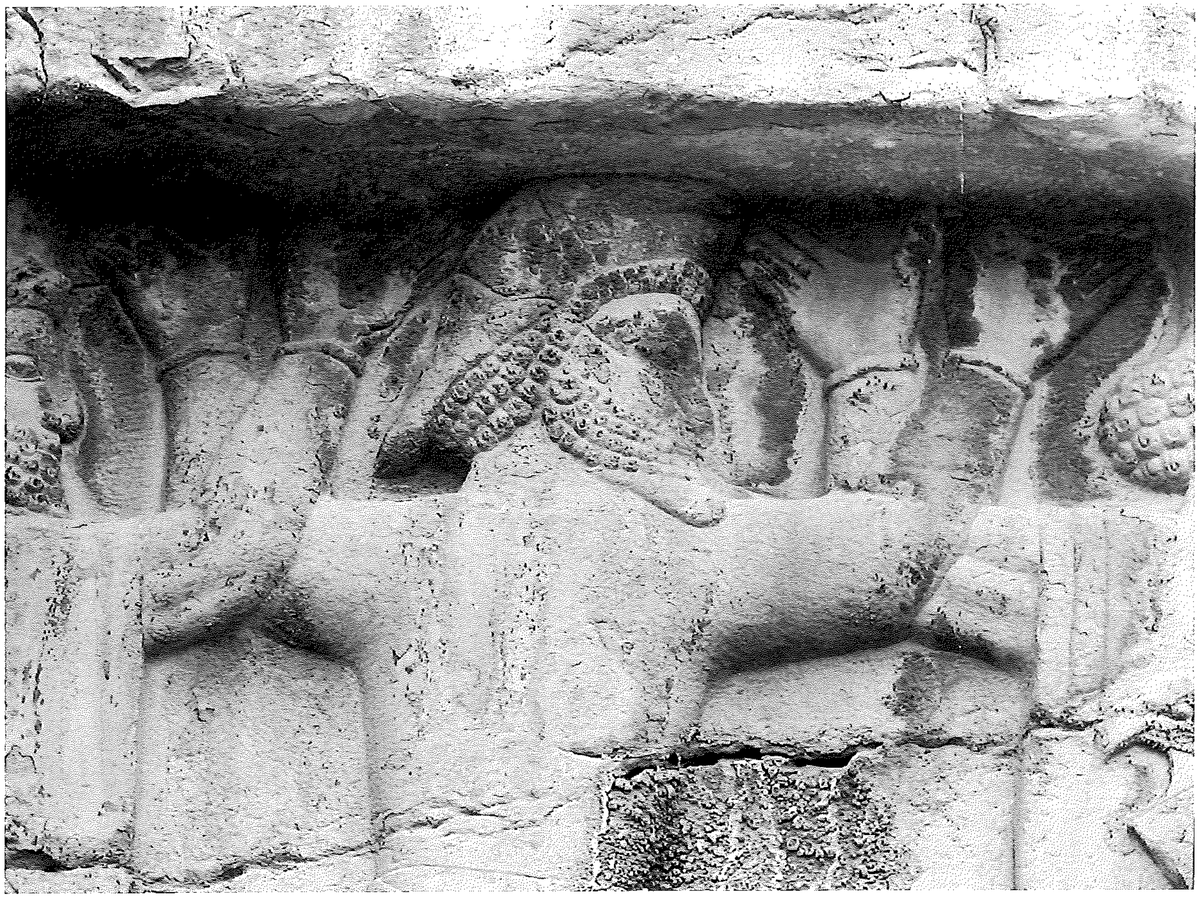

Fig. 9. Oberkörper der Stützfigur in medischer Tracht am Grab VI (Artaxerxes III?).
Photogr. B. Grunewald

Xerxes war nicht der erste, der riesige geflügelte Stiere und Menschenstiere in seinem Torgebäude anbringen ließ. Fragmente. die E. Herzfeld sah, bezeugen daß im Tor R in Pasargadae Ähnliches stand. Doch in ihrer Form können wir nur die des Xerxes beurteilen. Sie lehnen sich in der Zahl ihrer Beine, ihrer Schlankheit und im Gesichtstypus eng an die *Lamassu* des Sanherib, seien es die in seinem Palast, seien es solche wie in Chinnis in Kurdistan. Das paßt ausgezeichnet zu den Beobachtungen von Kawami (oben 3.2). Zum gleichen Typ scheint allerdings auch ein Tonfragment aus dem Ninibtempel in Babylon zu gehören.

6. Natürlich sind auch die Delegationen der Babylonier und der Assyrer (V. und VIII. am Apadana, ferner Babylonier an der Fassade Artaxerxes' I. und Assyrer an der Treppe Artaxerxes' III.) durch babylonische und assyrische Elemente gekennzeichnet. Es sind dies fast alles Antiquaria: Kopfbedeckungen, Gewänder, Stiefel und vielleicht einige der Gaben; stilisiert sind sie aber alle so verschieden von denen der assyrischen Reliefs,[14] daß man schließen muß, diese Elemente stammten nicht aus der mesopotamischen Kunst, sondern aus der frischen Beobachtung der gleichzeitigen Provinzialen. Besonders scharf gesehen ist der bei beiden Delegationen am Apadana gleiche Begrüßungsgestus der jeweiligen ersten Figur, des Anführers: er hebt, mit ausgestreckter Hand, den Unterarm in flachem Winkel. Im Gegensatz zu Herrscher und Gottheit an den Gräbern wird hier die Hand waagerecht gehalten, mit der Fläche nach unten. Das tut niemand sonst in Persepolis. Es entspricht — inhaltlich, nicht stilistisch — genau dem Gestus z.B. der einführenden Göttin im alten Mesopotamien, ist also wiederum an Mesopotamiern beobachtet, nicht an deren Kunst.

Die Perser selbst haben, wie Root ausführlich gezeigt hat, einige Gesten aus Mesopotamien übernommen: vor allem die übereinander gelegten Hände einiger Höflinge (1979: 272ff.).

7. Zuletzt sei noch eine Stiländerung angezeigt, die nach langer Nachahmung der immer gleichen Hofkunst, ganz allgemein am Grab VI in Persepolis festgestellt werden kann. Vielleicht ist es das Grab Artaxerxes' III.; jedenfalls kopiert es noch einmal, getreulicher als die voraufgehenden, die Waffen, Trachten und Inschriften von dem des Dareios. Ein Detail lässt sich jedoch nicht von dorther ableiten: die Neigung, an Beinen, Oberkörpern und Armen (Fig. 9) mehr Muskeln zu zeigen, als es je in der Kunst der Achaimenidenzeit üblich war. Naturalistisch sind diese Muskeln nicht, also keineswegs eine Vorahnung auf den Hellenismus. Falls auch sie ein Rückgriff auf Früheres sein sollten, war dies Frühere entweder direkt der assyrische Stil — oder der der Mischwesen in Pasargadae, also indirekt Assyrisches.

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[14] Zu dem Trachtenwechsel bei den Assyrern: Calmeyer 1990b.

THE PERSIANS
AND THE CONTINUITY OF EGYPTIAN CULTURE

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Egypt is usually considered a conservative culture, living in the past and minimising change, whether the impetus for such change came from within the society or from an outside stimulus. Although this is not an inaccurate representation when institutions and material culture are looked at on the broadest, most general level, where an essential 'Egyptianness' can be seen from late predynastic and Old Kingdom times at least through the Ptolemaic period,[1] more detailed study of such institutions and material culture reveal that change and development took place throughout the course of Egyptian history. One of the periods which very clearly exemplifies this change within continuity is the 26th, or Saite, Dynasty (664-525 B.C.). This Dynasty began with the departure of the Assyrians after their defeat of the Ethiopian 25th Dynasty and ended with the capture of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B.C. The conscious archaism found in Saite period art and inscriptional material has led modern scholars to think of the whole period as one when people attempted to live in the past, although both foreign policy and international trade became geared to playing a (rather small) role on a large international stage. It is sometimes claimed that the Saites, and Egypt under the Saites, tried to return to the glories of former periods (Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and New Kingdom) when Egypt was at the height of her military prowess and cultural energy.

But Saite Egypt was also a period of major cultural development, and changes which first appeared toward the end of the Saite period[2] were maintained and solidified or reinforced during the period of the Persian empire. Thus, the Egypt conquered by Alexander the Great can be seen as a culturally strengthened, if militarily weakened, version of the Egypt developed under the Saites. Although the Egyptian rulers of Dynasties 28-30, during the 60-year period (404-341 B.C.) when Egypt had thrown off Persian control, can be seen as consciously imitating the Saite rulers, it was, presumably, the basic laissez-faire attitude adopted by the Persians toward the culture of conquered territories which accounts for the continuity and allows for developments seen during the period of their political and military control.

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[1] See, for example, Lloyd (1983: 347-48). Having reviewed changes in technology and institutions in Late Period (Saite to Alexander the Great) Egypt, he concluded "It would, however, be a mistake to overrate the effects of these developments. Numerous though they may seem they cannot be regarded as creating fundamental changes in the institutional structure of the country. The overall impression is of continuity with ancient practice and of undiminished confidence in the relevance and resilience of ancestral ways of doing things. In certain essential areas these might be modified by a process of fine tuning to take full advantage of existing opportunities, to meet a pressing challenge, or to intensify the Egyptians' sense of national identity in the face of pressures from foreign cultural influence, but there is no question of any radical restructuring of Egypt's institutions." He went on to argue that one crucial change in Egyptian ideology, the idea that kings could do evil and act against the will of the gods, emerged between the two periods of Persian domination (in Egyptian terms, Dynasties 27 [525-404 B.C.] and 31 [341-323 B.C.]). Note, however, that the theory of kingship presented in Ptolemaic Egyptian texts is clearly based on earlier concepts of Egyptian kingship (see Johnson 1983: 61-72).

[2] Such changes were especially numerous under Amasis (570-526), the last non-ephemeral ruler before the Persian conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B.C.

I cannot begin to consider all the major Egyptian institutions or aspects of material culture in this paper. No one would imagine that any conqueror could, or would try to, change such basic aspects of Egyptian life as the rural, agricultural foundation[3] of Egyptian civilisation or the hierarchical nature of the extensive bureaucracy which ran the country.[4] Rather, in the latter case, the Persians simply added a layer of imperial officials above the top layer of Egyptian officials with nationwide responsibility; the local administration, and relations between local and 'national' administration, seem to have remained basically unchanged.[5] The tradition of access by the lowliest petitioner to the highest officials (after having gone through the proper channels or having persuaded the person with the right connections to one's case) was retained,[6] as was the tendency for (important) offices to be kept within small (family) circles.[7]

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[3] Or the basically redistributive nature of the economy, with storage and redistribution channelled through the palace, the temples, and high officials. Lloyd (1983: 331) concluded "It is indisputable that it [the Persian occupation] brought no significant change in the internal economic structure of the country." However, as noted by Harrison (n.d.: 14), archaeological evidence suggests "the Persians not only tried to shut down the Greek trading activity in the Delta, but also tried to replace it with a network of their own to facilitate the flow of Egyptian products in their direction." Harrison concludes the Persians were able "to accomplish this realignment without having to drastically change the basic structure of the country's economic base" and "while they may not have seriously tampered with the long standing social and cultural institutions of Egypt, the Persians nevertheless took a very active interest in the economic wealth of the country, and realigned the political power structure sufficiently enough to lay hold of this wealth" (Harrison n.d.: 19).

[4] Rather, Lloyd (1983: 334) has noted "close similarities in principle between Achaemenid and Egyptian systems of administration."

[5] For a summary, see, e.g., Briant (1988a: 160-166). Note, however, that the position of God's Wife of Amun, which had been used by previous dynasties to control Thebes, is seen no more although Thebes remained the head of the southernmost section of Egypt (south to and including Aswan). For the argument that Egyptians who served the Persians in high administrative positions should not be called 'collaborators,' with all the modern implications to this term, and that many may actually have chosen to serve the Persians to further their conservative religious attitude, see Holm-Rasmussen (1988: 29-38).

[6] The correspondence between the Satrap Pherendates and the priests of the Temple of Khnum, in Elephantine, concerning the appointment of the chief administrative officer of the temple (published by Spiegelberg [1928]) show that the king, through the satrap, still retained the right of making such appointments. The petitions by the Egyptians to the Persian in charge of Elephantine against the Jewish temple in Elephantine and the subsequent petitions by the Jews over the head of this Persian official to be allowed to rebuild their temple (see, e.g., Briant 1988a: 144-147 and Porten 1968, are another good example of both the advantages and the

I shall look at a small selection from a wide range of topics which are typically Egyptian and for which we have sufficient information to begin to draw some conclusions. These include the role of the temples and development of the animal cults, traditions of sculpture in the round, and the development of legal traditions (both documents dealing with 'property' and so-called 'marriage' documents) and legal language. Some of these show active involvement by the king (or, at least, presentation of the king as actively involved), others show aspects of the life of the common (literate, and presumably wealthy) citizen. In all cases we find developments introduced or enhanced under the Saites (Dynasty 26) continuing and being reinforced under the Persians (Dynasty 27) and the Egyptians of Dynasties 28-30, while in no case do we find a significant change introduced by the Persians which outlasts them.[8]

The political and economic character of the temples and their priesthoods in the Late Period were typical of Egypt at all periods since relations between the king and the temples in Egypt were always fluctuating, reflecting an underlying tension between the king as (theoretical) owner of all Egyptian land and (theoretical) chief priest of every temple in the country and the temples and

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disadvantages of the hierarchical, but very personal, system of administration typical of Egypt already in the third millennium B.C.

The Petition of Petiese (PRyl. 9, published by Griffith [1909], a petition for restitution to Petiese of priestly offices and income in a relatively insignificant temple which had been in his family for generations and which had been 'stolen' by nasty individuals with the assistance of bribed middle-level officials, spans the end of the Saite period and the beginning of the Persian period. It is an excellent presentation of the administrative hierarchy (and relations between the temple hierarchies and what we tend to think of as secular, state hierarchy), appeal within the hierarchy, and misadministration and injustice by officials within the hierarchy. One is reminded of the Middle Egyptian literary story of the Eloquent Peasant (see, e.g., Lichtheim 1975: 169-184), who complained to a regional official about an injustice and was jailed and forced to repeat his complaint to higher officials because he was so eloquent that the officials got great pleasure out of listening to his presentations.

[7] Family and kinship remained important, presumably at all levels of society, but it is most clear in the upper levels of officialdom where more information is preserved. There one can see not only inheritance of office within families but extended families controlling a collection of important and interrelated religious and secular positions (a pattern clearly established already in the Old Kingdom and repeated in all periods for which we have sufficient information).

[8] E.g. Bothmer (1960: xxxii) "for changes of dynasties, wars, and invasions had remarkably little effect on native cultural life." One introduction by the Persians which did remain was the use of the 'artaba' as a grain-measure; see Vleeming 1981b.

One late period introduction to Egyptian culture for which the Persians are frequently credited is astrology. Egyptian astrology clearly borrowed from the long-established Babylonian tradition — the Demotic eclipse text published by Parker (1959) is basically an 'Egyptianized' version of Babylonian texts. Parker calculated that the text was originally composed between 625-482 B.C., perhaps during the reign of Darius (see pp. 28-34). He even noted the possibility that astrology was introduced into Egypt by Udjaḥorresnet (p. 21, n. to text A, line 10). However, the text itself is Roman, presumably a copy of a much older text. There is no contemporary Saite, Persian, or early Ptolemaic evidence for Egyptian astrology. See also Derchain 1966.

their priests as economically and politically powerful groups who worked to maintain their position.[9] The fortunes of the temples, and their priesthoods, were partly dependent on politics — when a new dynasty arose, the major deity, temple, and priesthood of its hometown gained in power and wealth at the expense of previous favourites. The rise to prominence under the Saites of the goddess Neith of Sais (in the western Delta), her temple, and her priesthood is a clear example of this phenomenon, as is the damage suffered by the temple during the Persian invasion.[10] The reduction in the (external) income of most of the temples, which Cambyses is recorded to have ordered,[11] was an act which can be parallelled many times in the course of Egyptian history. The Persians favoured the gods and temples of Memphis,[12] which they made their capital, and Thebes,[13] the ancient political and religious capital far to the south and now well away from the political activity of the Delta symbolised by the Saites.[14]

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[9] There was a similar tension in all periods between the king and his high officials. Kings could and did confiscate land and redistribute it to punish an official who fell out of favour or to reward an official who had been supportive of the king (such confiscation and redistribution could be especially common at or near the beginning of a new dynasty, although new rulers would frequently, when possible, reward supporters with altogether new land rather than having to alienate some other powerful family by confiscating their land). At the same time there grew the opposite tendency of officials (or military people who were rewarded for their efforts by being given land) trying to convert property which they held by virtue of their position into personal, alienable/inheritable property. See, e.g., Hughes 1952: 1; Lloyd 1983: 302; Meeks 1979. One identifiable change from pre-Persian to post-Persian Egypt is that the donation stelae set up in the Delta by private individuals recording donations of land to a temple, for the maintenance of the individual's funerary offerings, cease with the Persians and are 'replaced' in Dynasty 30 and the Ptolemaic period by private contributions toward the building of temple chapels (see Meeks 1979: 653). One example of continuity of economic and administrative structure from the Saite period through the Persian period and into the Ptolemaic period is the individual accumulation of wealth in the form of temple income and the private transfer (by sale, lease or 'will') of the same. For references to the Persian evidence, see Shore 1988: 200 and n. 7; for the Ptolemaic situation, see Johnson 1986.

There is also a question at all periods of the extent to which the temple building attributed to a king was actually financed by him and the extent to which it was financed by the temple in his name (and with his permission). There was extensive temple building (some traditional structures, some new, including the first 'mammisi' [birth houses] by Nectanebo of Dynasty 30) in the names of the longer-reigning kings of Dynasties 28-30. Such building activity perhaps supports the view (see above, n. 3) that the Persians redirected aspects of the Egyptian economy, leaving behind them a strong economy with more widespread local power bases on which the kings of Dynasties 28-30 could build; the lack of such building in the name of Persian rulers after Darius need not be seen as an entirely political statement.

[10] See the stele of Udjaḥorresnet (published by Posener 1936; the most recent study is by Lloyd 1982b), a man who served as admiral to Amasis and his short-reigning son and who then served both Cambyses and Darius in fairly high office and who recorded that Cambyses had, at his instigation, had the 'foreigners' who had set up houses in the temple of Neith driven out of the temple and the temple rebuilt.

[11] Although apparently without touching their (sometimes mammoth) wealth in real and movable property. See column d on the verso of the so-called Demotic Chronicle (published by Spiegelberg 1914).

[12] One of the three temples spared, according to the short text mentioned in n. 11, was the temple of Memphis. It was during the reign of Darius that the earliest reference is found to a nationwide silver standard based on "silver of the Treasury of Ptah" (in Memphis); see Pestman 1961: 38, n. 2, 102, n. 5.

Some gods and temples had, by the New Kingdom, become almost 'national' in their impact (largely through association with the king and kingship), but those associated with the political and military prowess of the king were, to a certain extent, replaced in the 'Late Period' by new nationwide favourites such as the goddess Isis. By the Saite period the old animal cults had grown enormously in popularity and the kings presented themselves, or were presented by the priests, as being benefactors of these cults, building (or rebuilding/enlarging) temples and providing for the burial of the sacred animals after their death (on late period animal cults, see Kessler 1989). It has been suggested that the growth in popularity of these animal cults was associated with a need on the part of the Egyptians for something which set them apart from the multitude of foreigners (conquerors and otherwise) with whom they were having to deal.[15] Whether this is true or not, Cambyses and Darius

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[13] Whose deities were the primary deities honored in the Hibis Temple in Kharga Oasis decorated by Darius I. The long 'geographical' list of deities in the sanctuary included principally Upper Egyptian deities; the goddess Neith, who had become so important under the Saites, is not even mentioned; see Cruz-Uribe 1988: 197-198 and his footnotes for differing interpretations.

[14] And by the continuing rebellion of Delta 'chieftains' who had had or who wanted power and made use of their access to and communication with the Mediterranean world to further their own aims. Revolts against foreign troops (as under the Saite ruler Apries) or foreign rulers should be seen more as a result of internal socio-economic factors and the political ambitions and abilities of an elite 'out'group than as the result of racial or anti-foreign feelings. In this vein, Briant (1988a: 139-143) has argued that the Egyptian revolts against the satraps Aryandes and Arsames were revolts against bad administration, not against Persians as such. Certainly there were, throughout Egyptian history, revolts against Egyptian kings when their rule (or the application of their rule) was harsh, when they acted against powerful groups, and when there was a potential leader ready to step in; one thinks immediately of the contemporary revolt against the Egyptian king Teos of Dynasty 29 (c. 360) which has been attributed to his drastic measures confiscating precious metal from the temples in order to hire an army (see, e.g., Johnson 1974: 12-13 with references).

[15] So Robert K. Ritner, pers. comm. There were examples of anti-foreign feelings from the beginning of Egyptian history, especially visible as an Egyptian sense of superiority to foreigners. But, in general, if the foreigner (even a ruler) acted as/became an Egyptian, he was accepted. This seems to have been the scenario with the Libyans who moved into Egypt in the late second millennium and who took over rule by the beginning of the first; it is also probably true of the Hyksos in the mid-second millennium. The Ethiopians of the 25th Dynasty already saw themselves as more Egyptian than the Egyptians. But the Persians were not merely foreigners, but foreigners with a power centre and focus of attention outside Egypt. Although there are a couple of examples of Persians living in Egypt long enough to be somewhat 'Egyptianised' (e.g., the brothers Atiyawahy and Ariyawrata who were governors of Coptos and left a series of graffiti in the Wadi Hammamat published by Posener (1936: 117-129), Egyptian culture and attitudes had little influence on most Persians. Thus it may have been easy, once the Persians had been expelled and as the Egyptians fought to keep them out, for the Egyptians to come to share the antipathy for the Persians seen in at least some Greeks and Greek authors. Although the anti-Persian attitude seen in Ptolemaic period Egyptian texts such as the so-called Demotic Chronicle (published by Spiegelberg 1914) was probably an accurate reflection of the attitude of at least the

(at least) were presented, for example, in the records of the cults of the Apis-bull and the Mothers of the Apis,[16] as dutiful kings who not only allowed such cults to continue but contributed to the cults and the sacred burials. New temple building for the animal cults is recorded for their successors in Dynasties 28-30 and the animal cults had become a characteristic part of 'Egyptian culture' by the time of the Ptolemies.

Also characteristic of Ptolemaic Egypt was an Egyptian legal system based both on documents (records of contracts willingly agreed upon orally)[17] and personal testimony, including oaths. The documents were written in demotic using specific terminology and standardised formulae. Radical changes in the proliferation and form of legal documents began in the Saite period and there is a direct line of development through the Persian period and Dynasties 28-30 from the Saite documents. According to Menu (1988: 164) this change in the form of the documents reflected 'a conscious conceptualisation of legal relations and the identification of different juridical strains associated with agreement between parties.' Perhaps the most immediately recognisable change is the switch to demotic from 'abnormal hieratic.' This switch began by the reign of Psammetichus I (664-610), the first ruler of the Saite Dynasty, from whose reign derive the earliest preserved demotic documents.[18] The switch from 'abnormal hieratic' to demotic did not take place in the Theban area, the home of 'abnormal hieratic,'[19] until the reign of Amasis, at the end of the dynasty. With the switch in script and stage of the language went a change in legal terminology[20] and formulae[21] toward the patterns which are standard in the Ptolemaic period. This switch, and all that went with it, has been characterised (Lloyd (1983: 313 [based on the work of Seidl (especially 1956)]) as a major advance in legal thinking: Where law previously emphasised a mechanical

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upper levels of Egyptian society, this feeling had no doubt been enhanced/reinforced by the attitude of the Ptolemies and their Greek-speaking subjects. Some elements of Egyptian society in the period through Ptolemaic rule have been seen as reactions to foreign domination. Bothmer (1960: xxxiii) would see the immense popularity of (private) temple statuary from the Ethiopian 25th Dynasty through the Ptolemaic period as a strong visible statement not only of faith and tenacity to tradition but of pride in Egyptian culture; Lloyd 1982a discussed literary 'propaganda' aimed at helping the Egyptians deal with foreign conquerors.

[16] The earliest reference comes from year 37 of Amasis, followed by several under Darius I. Two broken stele seem to record activities under Xerxes and Artaxerxes; see Smith 1972: 176-79.

[17] See Cruz-Uribe 1985: 87 for discussion. Although most Egyptian legal documents are unilateral in form (drawn up on behalf of, perhaps signed by, only one party), they were bilateral in effect since the second party had the right to accept or reject the document as drawn up.

[18] An inventory of the earliest demotic documents was given by Griffith 1909: 15-32. On the development of early demotic, see Vleeming 1981a.

[19] And the source of a large percentage of preserved Saite and Persian documents.

[20] E.g., the verb used in 'abnormal hieratic' texts meaning 'to clear legal title to' something was *nʿ* 'to be smooth, undecorated;' the verb used in demotic texts was *wʿb* 'to cleanse, to be clean/pure.'

[21] Examples of the diagnostic formulae from Dynasty 25-26 documents are given in Appendix 2 of Menu 1988: 173-81.

process of reciprocity (I have given you X in exchange for Y), now volition/intention (for the 'heart' to be 'satisfied') is what is important. Leases and so-called marriage contracts can serve as good examples of the Saite developments.

The earliest preserved Egyptian land leases (published by Hughes 1952), written in demotic, date from the reign of Amasis at the end of the Saite period. They were relatively simple presentations (of settled transactions, not offers [Hughes 1952: 75]), but already exhibited a fundamental unity of character and stereotyped formulae which were to prevail until the Roman period. Hughes (1952: 3-5) noted a few differences between Saite or Persian leases and Ptolemaic ones (e.g., Ptolemaic leases often specify the size of the plot of land being rented and give its boundaries, the Saite/Persian ones do not; the rent in Saite/Persian leases was usually a share of the crop but in Ptolemaic leases it was usually a fixed rent; Saite/Persian leases include payment to the temple owning the land while Ptolemaic ones specify who must pay state taxes). Cruz-Uribe (1985: 77-78) has also noted that early (Saite and Persian) leases tended not to have penalty clauses while Ptolemaic ones did.[22] But in this difference, as in the others, the only major change which took place over time was the spelling out in detail in Ptolemaic leases of conditions implied in the Saite and Persian documents (Hughes 1952: 7).[23]

Changes in the form of so-called marriage contracts also appear during the reign of Amasis, at the end of the Saite period, with the new types continuing through the Persian period to remain as the main forms used during the Ptolemaic period. In some cases, the changes seem to reflect modifications in the legal or social system itself. However, it is impossible to tell whether these changes began in Saite times or whether a conservative legal/documentary system was only slowly coming to reflect a social system which had changed much earlier. This is especially true since documents from the New Kingdom and earlier clearly reflected an overall system of 'family law' very similar to that portrayed in the Saite and Persian documents (see Pestman 1961: 117, and for similarities between the Saite/Persian period and the New Kingdom in other aspects of family and property law, see also pp. 132 and 138-39). In all cases, the so-called marriage contracts are actually economic documents, not directly social ones.

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[22] Cruz-Uribe (1985) also noted that in sale documents the early ones might have either a monetary penalty clause or a 'procedural' penalty clause (a clause by which the seller promised to clear the title to the property for the buyer if a third party came and claimed the property) but the Ptolemaic documents almost all had 'procedural' penalty clauses, perhaps implying greater reliance on court procedures.

[23] Similarly, in the Ptolemaic period, two separate documents (a 'document concerning money' recording the payment for the item, the seller's satisfaction with the payment, and transfer of the physical property, and a 'document of cession' actually transferring ownership of the property) were used for two aspects of a sale where, in the Persian period, both aspects were included in the same document.

There were two basic forms (Pestman 1961) of such 'marriage contracts' which overlapped somewhat in time. In the earliest documents (ninth through mid-sixth century), the bridegroom dealt with the father of the bride and gave him, on her behalf, a 'gift of/for/to a woman' (*Šp n sḥm.t*) and pledged his property to his (future) father-in-law as security. But from 537 B.C.[24] (again the reign of Amasis) comes such a 'marriage contract,' drawn up in demotic, in which the bridegroom dealt not with the father of the bride but directly with the bride. All later (preserved) marriage contracts of any form are addressed to the bride, not her father.[25] It has been suggested that this switch from father to daughter was the result of the influence of Aramaic law (seen, e.g., from the Jewish colony at Elephantine), but there is no clear evidence for Aramaic influence and such a switch fits well with the high legal status of women throughout Egyptian history.[26]

In the second form of 'marriage contract,' the bridegroom did not give a gift but received money. In one sub-type,[27] the money is specifically called 'money to become a wife' (*Ḥḏn ír ḥm.t*). This money had to be returned by the bridegroom/husband on demand (e.g., upon divorce) and his property served as security for this. The second sub-type was called a 'document of endowment' or 'contract for an annuity' (*Sẖ n s'nḫ*) lit., 'document of making live'); in it, the money given to the bridegroom is specifically stated to be for the 'maintenance' (*S'nḫ*))[28] of the woman. Again his property served as security; in addition, most such documents, especially the Ptolemaic ones, added clauses indicating that her children (by him) were his heirs. The 'contract for an annuity' was the most common form of 'marriage contract' in the Ptolemaic period. The earliest extant example dates from 363 B.C. but it is assumed (Pestman 1961: 38 and 105) that such documents began in the Persian period since the money given to the bridegroom is several times stated to be 'of the treasury of Ptah,' a silver standard which seems to have begun under the Persians.[29]

There are two documents,[30] written by cousins and dated to year 8 of Cambyses which mention two 'contracts for annuity' which had been made in year 7 of Amasis, approximately 40 years earlier. Restudy[31] has shown that these should indeed be seen as the earliest examples to which we have reference of the typical Ptolemaic 'marriage contract' (despite Jelìnkovà-Reymond 1953 and Pestman 1961: 47). What is important is that one of them is stated to have been made not to the bride but to her father on her behalf.[32] This apparently early (i.e., pre-Persian) socio-legal situation in which a 'marriage contract' was made to the father of the bride on behalf of the bride, rather than to the bride herself, is also reflected in one other document, the so-called Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West.[33] A column and a half are dedicated to the 'law of annuity' (*hp n s'nḫ*)[34] the model for which (column 4, line 6) had one man making the document to a second man on behalf of a woman.[35] This is not the only 'archaic' element in this text[36] and Pestman (Pestman 1983: 17-21) suggested that the preserved text is an early Ptolemaic copy of a document written, perhaps, in the time of Bocchoris (the only king of Manetho's Dynasty 24, at the end of the eighth century B.C.).[37] But in an Egyptian text[38] it is recorded that Darius in year 4 had his satrap convene the soldiers, priests and scribes of Egypt in order to set down the laws of Egypt until year 44 of Amasis,[39] which compilation was written down, in demotic, in year 19 of Darius.[40] This compilation was presumably intended for imperial officials who would otherwise have been ignorant of the Egyptian law they were supposed to enforce. Although the dates do not fit exactly, it might be possible to suggest that the Hermopolis Legal Code was a copy of one part of this compilation of Egyptian law written down at Darius' behest just after the momentous changes seen in the reign of Amasis. In any case, it is in this role of compilers/maintainers of Egyptian law and society that the major contribution of the Persians to Egyptian history and culture can be found.

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[24] Assuming the document has been restored correctly; see Lüddeckens 1960: 17 and n. 17a. The next preserved 'marriage contract' dates from year 5 of Darius, 517 B.C.

[25] The only exception is P.Bibliothèque Nationale 219a, to be discussed below.

[26] See Pestman 1961: 185; for the supposed influence of Aramaic or cuneiform law on divorce contracts, see p. 64. For suggested Egyptian influence on Aramaic contracts, see p. 66, n. 2.

[27] The earliest of which dates from 517 B.C.; all other preserved examples are Ptolemaic.

[28] Also referred to as *'q-ḥbs* 'food and clothing.'

[29] Some Theban 'abnormal hieratic' documents of the Saite period had referred to a silver standard of the 'Treasury of Amun.' See also n. 12 above.

[30] P.Cairo 50059 (published by Spiegelberg 1932: 39-42 and pl. 17; see Lüddeckens 1982: 812, 7c for references to published studies of this papyrus) and P.BM 10792 (published by Shore 1988).

[31] By the author, ''Annuity Contracts' and Marriage' in: *For His Ka, Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David P. Silverman, (SAOC 55), Chicago 1994, 113-132.

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[32] The only other preseerved *sẖ n s'nḫ* written by one man to another is P. Bibliothèque Nationale 219a, dated to year 8 of Phillip Arrhidaeus (see Lüddeckens 1960: document 2D). It, too, is stated to have been made on behalf of the second man's daughter,

[33] A ten-column papyrus dating to the early Ptolemaic period which consists of a compilation of 'case law' and models for legal documents; approximately 80% of the text was concerned with real property and 20% with inheritance. It was published by Mattha and Hughes 1975.

[34] Most of what is discussed involves various situations in which the man who undertook to maintain the woman was in arrears.

[35] The writing is such that the group read *sḥm.t* 'woman' could be read *t3y(⸗y) šr.t* 'my daughter.' Such a reading would reaffirm the relationship between the second man and the woman which is found in actual documents, but the vocabulary would deviate in this slight manner from what is found in those actual examples.

[36] The use of *p3y* instead of *p3* in the expression *p3y '.wy nty ḥry* was noted by Pestman (1983: 17). Similarly, the writings of such words as *ỉr⸗f* in 1/12, *nb* in 3/20, and *rmṯ* (see glossary, p. 139) and the shape of the *š* in 1/30 are all archaic. The models for various kinds of documents include only the year and the month, not the day of the month, which day dates began being included during the reign of Ptolemy II. More interestingly, the text consistently refers to paying back grain debts at the end of the third month of inundation, which was, in the early Ptolemaic period, May-June. If, as one would expect, grain debts were due at the end of harvest (Hughes 1952: 74, no. 2, noted that, in Ptolemaic leases, a specific month [or two month period] was given and these months were always considerably after the harvest; he suggested that this delay was provided to allow the state taxes to be collected before the rent was paid), in March-April, then the papyrus actually records the time of harvest two or more centuries earlier (on calendars, and the 'slippage' of Egyptian days and months, see Parker 1950).

[37] Of whom Diodorus Siculus (I 94.5) said: "He ... gave precisions to the laws on contracts" (quoted from Pestman 1983: 21).

[38] Column c, lines 6-16, of the verso of the Demotic Chronicle (published by Spiegelberg 1914).

[39] I.e., the end of the reign of Amasis.

[40] Copies were also made in Aramaic and cuneiform (line 14).

Rather different, perhaps, was the indirect Persian contribution to developments in another, extremely characteristic, Egyptian discipline — sculpture, especially three-dimensional sculpture in the round.[41] It has long been realised that the archaism in art and language found in Saite period monuments was not a slavish copying of earlier monuments, or even styles, but a borrowing and reworking of some of the best, most successful elements from earlier times. The Egyptians had learned to manipulate stone beautifully already in the prehistoric period, and royal and private statuary and relief abound in all major periods. In all periods, there were a few 'ideal types' of human representation into which most sculpture in the round fit. But it was in the late Saite and/or Persian period (see Bothmer 1960: xxxviii), when all sculpture in the round, whether of royalty or private individuals, was destined to be set up in a temple and seen by worshippers, that some sculptors began carving what were not merely 'types,' however well done, but actual portraits (Bothmer 1960: xxxiii). Such portraits, and sculpture in the round in general, remained so popular, and frequently so well executed, through the Ptolemaic period, that Bothmer has even been able to undermine the old idea of the degeneration of Egyptian culture through the Ptolemaic period on the basis of the quality and quantity of such sculpture (Bothmer 1960: xxxiii, xxxviii, and xxxix and catalogue 61).

It was presumably the reputation of Egyptian sculptors which led the Persians to import such men[42] to Persepolis and which led Darius to have his famous statue carved, evidently of Egyptian stone and almost certainly by Egyptian sculptors (see e.g., Stronach 1974b and Trichet & Poupet 1974). There are occasional traces in Egyptian sculpture of the Persian period of the Persian presence (e.g., a few men are shown wearing a 'Persian torque' [see, e.g., Cooney 1953:11-13] or holding their hands in a 'Persian gesture'

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[41] A similar picture would emerge if one looked at the development of Egyptian literature. From the Saite period at least into the beginning of the Ptolemaic period was a time of great flourishing in the native Egyptian literary tradition. Egyptian genres and themes were developed and expanded and although Egyptian literature came into contact with other literary traditions (especially the Aramaic, and later the Greek), what one sees remains an essentially Egyptian cultural product. For an example of the flourishing of many literary traditions during this period, note, for example, the extensive literary texts, in several languages, which were found during the excavations at North Saqqara (e.g. Segal 1983; Smith & Tait 1983).

[42] There are also references to Egyptian doctors in Persepolis.

[Bothmer 1960: catalogue #68]).[43] But such elements were ephemeral whereas it was from the Egyptian development of portrait statuary that the Greeks and Romans began their development of portraiture (Bothmer 1960: xxxiii and catalogue #65, 67, and 77). As has been noted (Bothmer 1960: catalogue #64; Bianchi 1982: 947), whatever the specific impetus for portraiture,[44] it was to no small extent the fact that the Persians left the Egyptians alone to develop their own culture, without attempting to impose anything Persian, that allowed this development.

These few topics, then, have provided an introduction to how Egyptian society could change while remaining recognisably Egyptian. They point to the strength of Late Period Egyptian culture, that it could pick up, emphasise and develop high points from earlier periods while adapting in a completely Egyptian way to a totally new world situation. They also highlight one of the strengths of the Persians: their ability to allow and encourage conquered peoples to develop their own culture.

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[43] Note, however, that what has been thought to be a Persian costume depicted on several statues of individuals who held fairly high positions under the Persians must actually, like so much else, be attributed to the Saites since the earliest example of such a costume is found on a statue which should date to the end of the Saite period. See Bresciani (1967: 273-280); Herman de Meulenaere had long held that this costume should not be used as an indicator of Persian (versus Saite) date (see Bothmer 1960: catalogue #63).

[44] This impetus clearly came from within the Egyptian tradition since, as Bothmer (1960: catalogue #83) noted: "No Achaemenid or Greek influence was needed to create this portrait; it is purely Egyptian, evoking memories of the great portraits of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms."

DARIUS, LE ROI KAPELOS.

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S'il y a un domaine où la continuité est évidente avant et après l'époque achéménide, c'est bien celui des finances royales. Après la défaite perse, les conquérants macédoniens veulent profiter de leur victoire et acceptent de reprendre nombre de traditions achéménides, s'ils les jugent efficaces. Le système tributaire devient par conséquent un modèle dominant des relations sociales, même dans des régions hellénisées, comme l'Asie Mineure occidentale (Asheri 1983: 48). Si l'on prend le problème par l'autre bout chronologique, on constate que les Achéménides n'ont pas inventé les pratiques tributaires et qu'ils reprennent, avec quelques modifications, l'héritage des États mésopotamiens et de leurs voisins (Lydiens, Indiens etc., Zaccagnini 1989).

Mais cette continuité en apparence uniforme cache des variations plus complexes. Elle n'est jamais le résultat d'un procès unique, mais la suite d'une série de contacts, d'échanges qui obéissent à certains rythmes (où l'histoire économique a peut-être son mot à dire), qui alternent des phases d'emprunt et des phases de développement séparé. Ce sont ces rapports que je voudrais illustrer à propos d'un exemple restreint: pourquoi Hérodote (III 89) écrit-il «qu'en raison de l'imposition du tribut et d'autres mesures du même genre, les Perses disent de Darius qu'il fut un *kapēlos*, un 'trafiquant'»?

1. La phrase s'intègre dans la partie du système hérodotéen d'exposition qui s'appelle l'*akoē*, une opinion exprimée par ouï-dire (en l'occurrence ce que disent les Perses).[1] L'historien ne prend pas parti lui-même. Doit-on donc le prendre au mot et considérer qu'il tire son information d'une source perse? C'est peu probable, à moins de penser que *kapēlos* est un titre honorifique, digne d'une épithète royale (Olmstead 1948: 185), mais nous n'en avons aucune preuve. Il est donc plus probable qu'il se réfère au même courant d'information qui lui a permis de rédiger la liste des tributs, dont fait partie en fait le passage, c'est-à-dire une source originaire d'Asie Mineure occidentale, sans qu'il ait pu vérifier par lui-même, comme à d'autres endroits (I 94, voir *infra*).

Le surnom de *kapēlos* fait d'ailleurs partie d'une trilogie, puisque Cyrus, dans le même passage, est le *père*, et Cambyse le *despote*. Je ne reviens pas ici sur la signification historique possible de ces termes qui sont très clairs pour un auditeur d'Hérodote (tout comme *kapēlos* sans doute), mais je voudrais souligner combien cette succession rappelle étrangement les différentes parties du pouvoir oikonomique selon Aristote (*Polit.* I 1253bsqq.). L'*oikos* est la cellule fondamentale de la cité; sa gestion (l'*oikonomia*) se compose du pouvoir du *père* de famille, du *maître* sur ses esclaves et de l'art d'acquisition (la chrématistique), qui est l'essentiel de l'art d'utiliser les biens de l'*oikos* (Natali 1990). Or la *kapēlikē*, le fait d'être *kapēlos*, est l'expression d'une des formes de la chrématistique, l'acquisition de richesses liées à la monnaie. Si le passage appartenait à un texte du IVe siècle, l'influence d'Aristote (ou tout au moins la communauté d'idées avec lui) ne manquerait pas d'être soulignée, mais Hérodote écrit un siècle plus tôt. Il n'est cependant pas exclu qu'il y ait un lien avec le début de la pensée oikonomique, qui date certainement de la deuxième moitié du Ve siècle (et plus particulièrement de la période de Périclès, qu'une tradition [Plutarque *Périclès* 16] présente en parfait gestionnaire, Foraboschi 1984: 77; Descat 1988: 107). Ce type d'ouvrage, qui traite de la bonne organisation de l'*oikos*, se rattache à l'image idéale de Cyrus; dans le catalogue des œuvres d'Antisthène, qui est l'un des premiers à écrire un ouvrage de ce genre, le *Peri nikēs oikonomikos* précède les ouvrages sur le roi perse.

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[1] En dernier lieu Darbo-Peschanski (1987: 84-88), qui conclut sur la place privilégiée de l'opinion chez Hérodote par rapport à la vérité certaine.

Je crois donc possible qu'une tradition se soit forgée, isolant les trois premiers règnes achéménides comme une entité particulière, qui fonctionnerait comme un récit de fondation de l'empire (et qui, sur ce plan, pourrait trouver ses racines dans la propagande officielle de Darius). Véhiculée dans un contexte grec, cette trilogie va peut-être jouer un certain rôle dans la réflexion sur l'*oikos*, puisque le royaume perse est considéré comme un grand domaine personnel. Dans ce cadre, Darius est le gestionnaire, celui qui entretient et augmente les ressources. Pourquoi cependant l'appeler *kapēlos*, dont le sens grec courant, 'trafiquant,' 'petit commerçant' est péjoratif? Il y a là un fait curieux. Dans un article récent, Wallinga (1984: 410-411) a estimé que ce nom est appliqué à Darius parce qu'il fixe un prix à la terre, au moment de l'établissement du tribut, et parce qu'il le fait en marchandant, en discutant les offres de ses sujets, comme le ferait un trafiquant. Il semble infiniment probable qu'il y a un lien avec le tribut, comme le dit Hérodote, mais quel lien en réalité? Il faut essayer de le préciser à la lumière de ce que peut vouloir dire réellement le mot *kapēlos*.[2]

2. Nous sommes en effet devant un exemple typique d'influences diverses: il y a un fait perse (Darius) et une réalité grecque (le mot *kapēlos*). Il faut y ajouter logiquement un fait lydien, évoqué par Hérodote lui-même dans ce

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[2] Étude très intéressante de N. Smith (1989) qui associe également *kapēlos* à la monnaie en en faisant un changeur, un premier banquier; en prolongement de Lombardo (1989: 198) qui reprend le thème.

passage célèbre (I 94): «(Les Lydiens) sont les premiers à notre connaissance qui frappèrent et mirent en usage la monnaie d'or et d'argent; les premiers aussi qui firent le commerce de détail (*kapēloi*)» (voir Lombardo 1974: 691-692). L'expression ici est différente, Hérodote parle par *historiè*, par enquête personnelle et non plus par ouï-dire. Or chez l'historien cette confirmation vient généralement de l'*opsis*, du témoignage visuel: Hérodote a bien vu les anciennes monnaies d'or et d'argent émises par les Lydiens (et appelées de son temps des *kroiseioi stateres*, comme dans une inscription [*IG* I^3 458,29] datant de 439/8) et cela vaut sans doute pour lui confirmation qui s'étend aussi au fait d'être *kapēlos*, alors que dans la phrase suivante, Hérodote émet des réserves sur l'affirmation des Lydiens selon laquelle ils auraient inventé les jeux («à ce qu'ils disent»). L'affirmation de l''invention' de la *kapēleia* n'est pas affaire d'*akoē*. L'autorité qui a frappé l'or et l'argent a été aussi, de ce fait, le premier *kapēlos*.

Le mot *kapēlos* n'a pas d'origine grecque claire; il serait tentant d'imaginer de ce fait une origine lydienne, mais nous n'en savons rien. On peut seulement remarquer que les témoignages les plus anciens viennent d'auteurs d'Asie Mineure, Hipponax (Masson 1962: frg. 79,18) et Hérodote. L'idée possible d'un emprunt rend plus attractive la recherche du sens du terme qui n'est pas univoque. L'étude qu'en a faite M.I. Finley dans l'un de ses premiers articles (Finkelstein 1935) a abouti à une conclusion importante: les différents sens ne renvoient pas à une réalité précise. Dans l'usage courant de l'époque classique, le *kapēlos* est le commerçant de l'*agora*, qui vend surtout de la nourriture; c'est le sens du passage d'Hipponax (qui a pu être à l'origine des définitions de lexicographes comme Hesychios) qui parle de l'endroit où le filou vend du vin. Il est inutile de multiplier les références car il est évident que ce n'est pas le seul sens de *kapēlos* et que ce sens ne peut s'appliquer ni à Darius ni aux rois lydiens. Il n'y a en outre aucune raison d'y voir le sens originel. A plusieurs reprises en effet *kapēlos* est employé comme l'équivalent d'*emporos*, le grand commerçant et dans la *Politique* d'Aristote, il a le sens de 'commerce pour faire un profit,' 'commerce professionnel.'

Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse seulement dire que «l'usage grec n'était pas toujours cohérent lorsqu'il choisissait entre les différents mots signifiant 'commerçant'» (Finley 1984: 280). Il faut en effet reconnaître que sous un mot, nous recherchons systématiquement une réalité 'institutionnelle,' ici un type de commerçant, alors que nous voyons le grec employer parfois deux mots (*emporos*/*kapēlos*) pour désigner le même commerçant. Cela veut dire que le doublet n'exprime pas fondamentalement une typologie institutionnelle, mais la même institution vue sous deux aspects distincts. La différence — qui existe bien — entre *emporos* et *kapēlos* ne peut être à l'origine celle qui sépare le grand du petit commerçant, car *emporos* ne signifie pas plus le 'grand commerçant' que *kapēlos* le 'petit.'

L'*emporos* est celui qui est sur un *poros*, un passage, un trajet (d'où le sens ancien de passager sur un navire) pour aller rencontrer quelqu'un et/ou aller chercher quelque chose; les deux aspects sont étroitement liés dans la circulation archaïque des biens où l'on obtient ce que l'on cherche par les rapports d'hospitalité créés entre les personnes (Descat 1986: 280-282). Il n'y a donc pas dans la valeur d'*emporos* l'idée du profit que l'on va gagner dans l'affaire, parce que à l'origine ce n'est pas lié à un commerce professionnel. Le profit, c'est le mot *kapēlos* qui l'exprime. On le voit bien par exemple dans le début du *Pour Nicoclès* d'Isocrate:

> Ceux qui ont l'habitude, Nicoclès, de vous apporter, à vous qui régnez, des vêtements, du bronze, de l'or travaillé, ou quelque autre présent de même sorte... m'ont toujours paru de toute évidence faire, non pas un cadeau, mais un marché et vous vendre ces objets avec beaucoup plus d'habileté que ceux qui de leur propre aveu se livrent au trafic.

Ceux qui donnent au roi tel objet de prix ne font pas en réalité un don, mais un échange (*emporia*) parce qu'ils attendent quelque chose en retour et ainsi vendent d'une manière plus rusée (*technikoteron*) que ceux qui cherchent à gagner de l'argent (*kapēleuein*). La *kapēlikē* est la même chose que l'*emporia*, mais vue sous l'angle du bénéfice qui termine la transaction. Le *kapēlos* est celui qui tire profit d'une opération d'échange. Que de ce fait il soit associé à l'activité des petits marchands de l'agora, de plus en plus nombreux à partir du VIe siècle dans les cités grecques, peut paraître tout à fait logique. Hérodote lui-même n'échappe pas à cet usage dominant puisqu'un peu plus loin (I 155), il nous indique que les Lydiens ne sont pas des *kapēloi*, au sens habituel de marchand. Cela renforce bien l'idée que le premier *kapēlos*, lydien précisément, n'est pas un 'marchand' comme les autres, à ceci près qu'il a bien tiré profit de quelque chose.

Il faut ajouter encore un point. Pour que *kapēlos* se soit aussi nettement trouvé associé au commerçant de l'*agora*, il faut qu'il y ait eu dans son origine un autre fait, l'idée d'un espace délimité, d'un lieu fixe où le profit était réalisé (idée différente du trajet, du mouvement de l'*emporos*). Avec le profit et le lieu, le mot *kapēlos* a bien une structure propre. La question que l'on doit donc poser, maintenant que peut être écarté le sens originel de petit commerçant, c'est le lien avec l'Orient, la Lydie puis la Perse.

3. Revenons à la phrase d'Hérodote (I 94). La première partie évoque la politique monétaire de Crésus; c'est alors la première fois qu'on frappe un monnayage séparé d'or et d'argent. Pour le reste du texte, l'idée la plus simple est de considérer que la même autorité qui a frappé monnaie est de ce fait *kapēlos*. Le *kapēlos* est celui qui frappe monnaie et qui tire profit de cette opération. Le mot renvoie à la réalité des premières frappes de monnaie en Asie Mineure. Ce n'est pas un service public, comme le laisserait penser l'usage

ultérieur, c'est un moyen pour l'état d'augmenter ses ressources et d'avoir donc des bénéfices supplémentaires.[3] Le roi lydien n'est pas un émetteur de monnaie mais un *vendeur* de métal, en particulier un vendeur d'or. Hérodote (I 69) nous montre les Spartiates allant à Sardes pour acheter de l'or. On ne sait où ni comment la transaction s'effectuait mais probablement dans un lieu défini, peut-être associé à un sanctuaire (comme le patronage de Cybèle pour la fonderie de Sardes (Hanfmann 1983: 72)) qui pouvait être un *kapēleion*, *agora*/sanctuaire/taverne (dans le fragment d'Hipponax, le *kapēlos* vend du vin étranger) dont la tradition lydienne est la seule à nous mentionner l'existence de manière précise.[4] Ce peut être dans ce type de lieux que l'or était vendu, désormais sous forme monnayée.

On peut retrouver ce phénomène en remarquant quelques caractéristiques des créséides lydiennes. P. Naster (1965) suivi par Carradice (1987), en les étudiant, a mis en lumière un fait étrange, qui n'a pas été expliqué: la créséide lourde (10g80) et la créséide légère (8g10) d'or, dans la première phase de style, ont été frappées à peu près simultanément (la créséide lourde étant un peu antérieure) et ont été utilisées à la même période. Or les deux pièces n'ont pas la même valeur face à l'argent puisque la créséide lourde est échangeable avec l'argent dans un rapport de 1/13 alors que la créséide légère l'est dans un rapport de 1/13⅓ (ce qui doit nous retenir de parler d'un véritable bi-métallisme). Il me semble qu'une explication possible réside dans les nécessités de compte et d'échange. Il faut que la nouvelle monnaie puisse s'échanger commodément avec l'ancienne d'électrum; or le statère de 10g80 s'échange à parité avec le statère d'électrum de 14g (qui est l'ancienne monnaie lydienne) ou 13 statères d'argent du même poids. Tous ceux qui ont des pièces d'électrum n'ont que le désir de les changer en or véritable et cela ne pose donc pas de problèmes de conversion. Par contre les choses sont complètement différentes si on se place du point de vue de ceux qui, avec de l'argent, souhaitent acquérir de l'or. A 1/13 l'échange n'est envisageable que par 13 statères ou multiples de 13, autant dire qu'il est dans la grande majorité des cas, impossible. C'est donc pour cette raison que l'état lydien met en circulation une créséide légère qui peut se convertir avec l'argent: 10 statères d'argent = 1 statère d'or à 8g10, 5 équivalent à 1/2 statère d'or, 3⅓ à 1/3 d'or, etc. Le résultat est simple, on *achète l'or plus cher* et les étrangers qui viennent acheter de l'or à Sardes sont particulièrement victimes de ces profits de *kapēlos*; frapper ainsi deux types de monnaies, c'est une bonne façon de vendre plus cher ce que l'on a. On comprend que la tendance soit allée vers la domination de la créséide légère, décision que prendra Darius après une probable manipulation financière en sa faveur (Descat 1989: 26).

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[3] Je développerai ce point dans un article à paraître dans les *AIN*

[4] Cf. l'Hermaion-Thyessou (Nicol. Damas. *FGrH* 90 F45,9) associé à Steph. Byz. *Thyessos polis Lydias, apo Thyessou kapēlou* et la ville de Hermokapeleia en Lydie, au NO d'Appolonis.

La décision de Crésus s'accompagne d'un monopole des frappes de l'état et de l'établissement de limites précises à l'intérieur desquelles les taux officiels ont cours. On sait que Crésus met en place des stèles pour marquer officiellement la frontière de la Lydie (Hdt. VII 30), alors même qu'il contrôle des territoires de plus en plus vastes en Asie Mineure (jusqu'à l'Halys) (Hdt. I 28). Hérodote (I 6) nous rappelle aussi qu'il fut le premier à imposer un *phoros* aux Grecs, probablement, on le devine, à l'occasion d'une intégration des cités dans des circonscriptions territoriales. Le lien est sur ce point aisé à faire avec les réformes de Darius I^{er}.

En conclusion le *kapēlos* est bien ce profiteur de l'échange monétaire que connurent les Grecs, mais ce n'est pas à l'origine un petit commerçant. Servi par une conjoncture probablement favorable à une extension de la demande en métal précieux (Kraay 1956: 63-64; sur les courants d'échange Thompson 1979), Crésus est un vendeur d'or et Darius le suivra dans cette voie. Au fond des choses, le bénéfice qu'ils en tirent n'est pas différent de ce que feront les États grecs (généralement un peu plus tard): à partir du moment où ils frappent monnaie, ils n'auront de cesse, dans la mesure de leurs moyens, d'en tirer le plus grand profit possible.[5]

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[5] En imposant un change obligatoire et un cours forcé à l'intérieur des frontières (Le Rider 1989).

THE PERSIAN ROYAL ROAD SYSTEM

David F. Graf — Miami

One of the most impressive features of Achaemenid administration was its imperial postal system, comprised of mounted messengers and relay stations spread along the major arteries of the empire at regular intervals. Most of our details of this communication system are derived from Herodotus' account of the royal road connecting Sardis with Susa (V.52-53). Distances of major segments and the corresponding number of road stations (*stathmoi*) are given for the route. In addition, reference is made to 'guard stations' (*phylakteria*), 'inns' (*katagogai*), and 'caravanserai' (*kataluseis*), for the accommodation and security of those making the journey. Normal travel allegedly took 90 days to cover the approximately 2400 km from the Aegean to the Persian capital, but the mounted express service must have covered the distance in a week or two, since relay stations were located at intervals of a day's journey. It was claimed that neither inclement weather nor darkness prevented the couriers from prompt delivery of their messages, in what was considered the fastest overland travel in existence (VIII 98; cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII 6,17-18). The Persian royal mounted courier service, essentially the *missus dominicus* of the Great King, dispatching its messages to the various provinces, became legendary (*Est.* 3.13 and 8.9-14), emblematic of the greatness and efficiency of Achaemenid rule.

Although this description may evoke images of the American pony express of the past century, it was neither so shortlived nor as limited in scope as its modern counterpart. The Persian mounted royal courier was virtually symbolic of the Persian state itself. Both kings (Hdt. III 88) and satraps (Driver 1957/1965: no. 9) represented themselves in sculptured monuments as mounted horsemen. Inherent in the national ethic was skill in "horsemanship, archery, and truth-telling" (Hdt. I.136), virtues preserved in Darius I's tomb inscription, where he boasts that he was a "good horseman," as well as adept with both the bow and the spear (DNb 40-45). Before assuming the crown, both Artaxerxes II (Plut. *De Alex. Fort.* II 8 = 340c] and Darius III (326e; and cf. Plut. *Alex.* 18,7) served as the *astandēs*, a 'royal courier,' perhaps implying they commanded the entire courier service (Pflaum 1940: 197). For in the ancient Near East, royal messengers were frequently members of the royal house and the senior administrative officials. With such status, they not only transmitted messages, but were empowered to extrapolate their contents and negotiate with the recipient. Clay 'rider' figurines and seals also appear typically at Persian garrison sites throughout Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Egypt

(Farkas 1969; but cf. Tuplin 1987a: 207), indicating the widespread nature of the mounted horseman motif among the military.

In addition, the royal posting-stages served as a communication system, sending messages by 'fire signals' even more rapidly across the extensive Achamenid realm than the mounted couriers. These beacons purportedly made it possible for the great king to know the same day all the important news in Asia even from the remotest parts of his empire (Pseud.-Arist. *On the Cosmos* 6 [398a]). Hieronymus of Cardia even relates the incredible tale of Persian guards stationed on the mountains of Iran rallying 10,000 archers in a single day by shouting their message to adjacent mountain posts across the valleys so that even those as far away as 30 days' journey could mobilize their military forces (*apud* D.S. XIX 17). It has been suggested that this fantastic story must be restricted to the mountains of Iran (Aschoff 1977a and 1977b), but it is reminiscent of the Jewish tradition that indicates the date of the New Moon was communicated from Jerusalem to Babylon in a single night by five intermediate mountain-top relay stations (B.T. *Rosh Hashaneh* 22b). Communication by both visual (fire or smoke) and audible (trumpets and shouts) signal stations is well known elsewhere in the ancient Near East (Dossin 1938; Crown 1974), a reality the Greeks only exaggerated.

In similar fashion, the impressive highways of the Achaemenid realm were given legendary foundations by the Greeks. The Persian roads were attributed to mythical figures like Semiramis, the Syrian warrior goddess who founded Babylon, who allegedly constructed the great highway from Babylon across the Zagros mountains to Ecbatana (Ctesias *apud* D.S. II 13,5) as well as other 'expensive roads' throughout Persia and the rest of Asia (II 14,1). Another tradition assigned to Memnon, the mythical king of Ethiopia, conqueror of all the territory between Susa and Troy (Pausanias X 31,7), the construction of a 'public highway' (D.S. II 22,3-4), perhaps a cryptic reference to the royal road between Sardis and Susa (Forshaw 1977). It can be assumed that the Persian roads were of sufficient size and number, and operated with such striking efficiency, that they inspired their legendary status among the Greeks. The problem we face is gleaning the true extent and proportions of the Persian royal road system from the scanty facts at our disposal.

I. *Methodology and sources*

The basic strategy and procedures for reconstructing the Persian royal road system are the following:

1. Of primary importance are the so-called 'travel-ration texts,' which form a sizeable corpus of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets (Hallock *PF*, *PFa*), reflective of the documentary nature of Persian administration. These receipts

from the royal archives record the daily rations provided for official travellers on the imperial highways (PF 1285-1579, 2049-2057; PFa 12-23; cf. 30). Official travellers from the Persian capitals were normally accompanied by a royal escort and documents authorizing passage through provincial territories (cf. *Neh.* 2.7). Provisions received from the various roadstations and imperial authorities were recorded. Although these documents pertain mostly to the Iranian homeland, Aramaic papyri (Driver 1957/1965: no. 6) and ostraca (Naveh 1981) attest to a similar system of authorized disbursement of provisions for official travelers on royal highways elsewhere in the Achaemenid realm. Destinations and intermediate stations are sometimes mentioned in these documents, providing the essential points of the imperial roadmap.

2. The location of Persian administrative centres and garrisons provides the essential framework for the communication and transport network of the Persian empire (Tuplin 1987a, 1987b; cf. Cook 1985: 276-277). Xenophon indicates that 'circuit' commissioners — the crown prince, the king's brother, or the king's eye — made annual visits to the satraps and the garrisoned citadels in the provinces (*Cyrop.* VIII 6,16), scattered across the imperial landscape (cf. *Anab.* I 5,9). Archaeological and literary evidence for the location of these centres of imperial civil and military administration provides the essential framework of the transport system. Admittedly, many of these routes would be subsidiary to the main official arteries, but they were an important element in the functioning of the empire. Such local routes involve too much detail for discussion here, but they must be assumed in any total assessment of the imperial highway system.

3. The pre-existing road system of the Near East offers some insight into the thoroughfares established by earlier imperial régimes, but 'itinerary' texts are not abundant (Edzard 1980) and no prior imperial power ever controlled the extensive territory that comprised the Achaemenid realm. Nevertheless, the Near Eastern landscape was criss-crossed by trade routes and the various states absorbed into Achaemenid rule had established their own regional transport networks. Persian utilisation of these main communication arteries may be assumed.

4. It is generally assumed that Alexander the Great's great expedition often followed and intersected the royal highways of the Achaemenid empire. As a result, the itinerary of Alexander through the Near East has also provided the basis for speculation about the routes of the royal roads. In addition, surveyors and topographical experts formed part of the specialist corps that accompanied Alexander. Their official name was the *bematistae* or 'pacers' and they were primarily responsible for recording the distances covered during the expedition. No traces of their records appear in the literary tradition emerging from Alexander's own generation, but later references to such works as the 'Stages of Alexander's Expedition' and the 'Stages of Asia' suggest they survived (Jacoby, *FGrH* 119-123). Caution about this procedure is necessary, especially

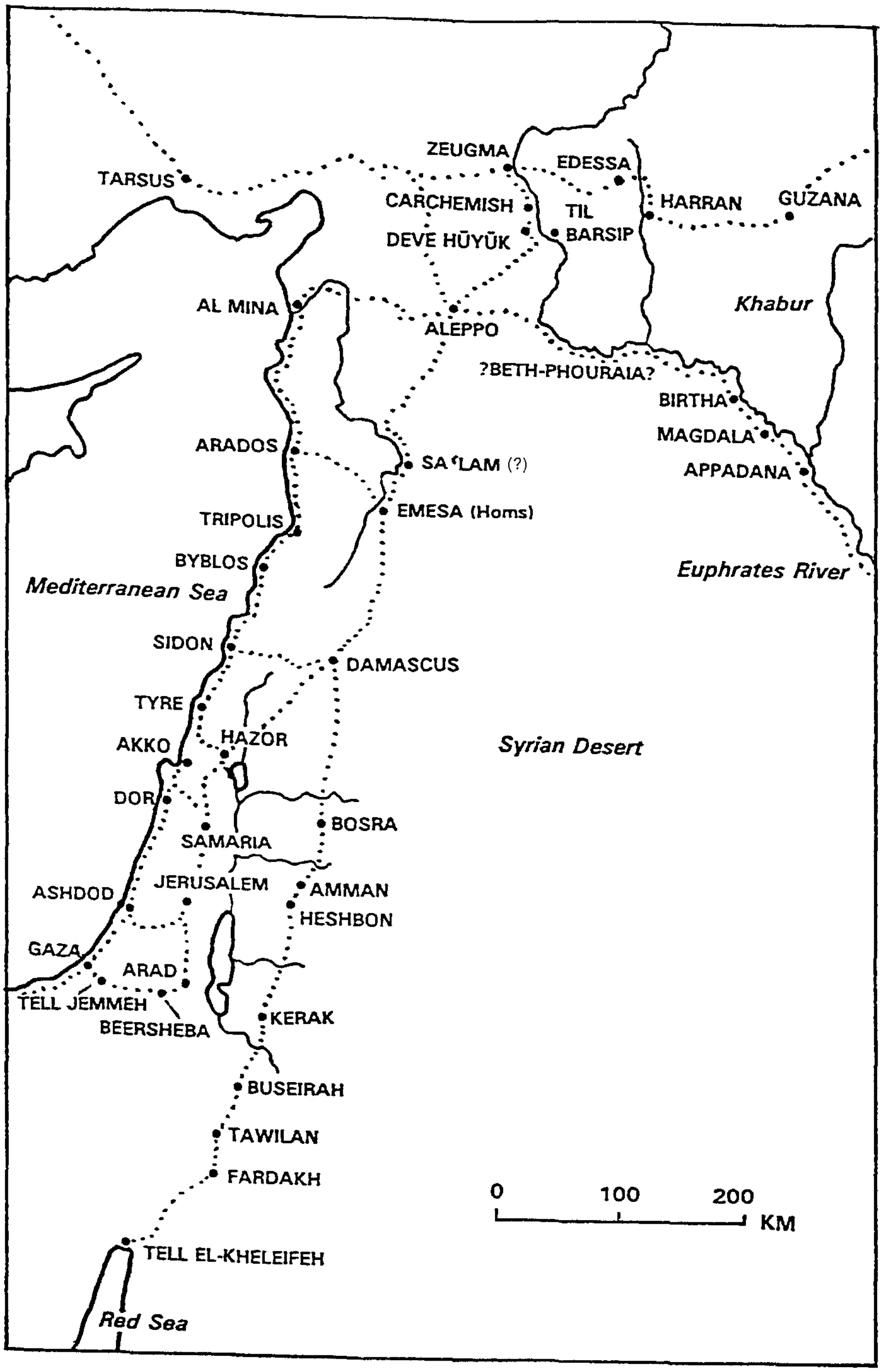

TARSUS
ZEUGMA
EDESSA
CARCHEMISH
TIL
BARSIP
HARRAN
GUZANA
DEVE HŪYŪK
AL MINA
ALEPPO
Khabur
?BETH-PHOURAIA?
BIRTHA
MAGDALA
ARADOS
SAʿLAM (?)
APPADANA
TRIPOLIS
EMESA (Homs)
BYBLOS
Mediterranean Sea
Euphrates River
SIDON
DAMASCUS
TYRE
HAZOR
AKKO
Syrian Desert
DOR
BOSRA
SAMARIA
JERUSALEM
AMMAN
ASHDOD
HESHBON
GAZA
ARAD
TELL JEMMEH
BEERSHEBA
KERAK
BUSEIRAH
TAWILAN
FARDAKH
0
100
200
KM
TELL EL-KHELEIFEH
Red Sea

Fig. 1. Map of Ebirnari (Abarnahara).

east of Susa where so little is certain about the Achaemenid royal road system (Badian 1985: 440).

5. The later road-systems of imperial powers may also reflect the previous official Achaemenid royal itineraries. Isidore of Charax's *Parthian Stations* of the Augustan era appears to decribe the stations of an old caravan route. The Roman road system in the East known from such documentary evidence as the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Map may have been patterned in part after the Achaemenid imperial system. Archaeological discoveries of milestones with adjacent paved roads and forts give indisputable confirmation of the major points and directions of these routes. Such works as A. Sprenger's *Die Post- und Reiserrouten des Orients* (Leipzig, 1864) and J. Sauvaget's *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1941) also provide the transport pattern for later periods and can be consulted with profit. Even if there were alterations of former systems, the geographical nature of the Near East dictates the basic routes. One may safely surmise that the Persian royal roads mainly lie beneath the remains of the later imperial road systems and modern highways.

Of these approaches, none is foolproof. Even the surviving records of the Achaemenid regime are of limited value since they are mainly restricted to travel between or near the royal capitals of Persia. For the most part, we are in the realm of pure conjecture and speculation for the exact itinerary of the Persian routes. Even the itinerary of the best known royal road connecting Sardis and Susa described in some detail by Herodotus is a vexed question and centre of controversy. In addition, the scope of the Achaemenid imperial territories exposes the personal limitations of any inquirer. The most that can be offered are some tentative proposals about the extent and nature of the Achaemenid road system that are both vulnerable to criticism and subject to the advice of other specialists.

II. *The Neo-Assyrian background*

With the Neo-Assyrian conquests of the ninth to seventh centuries B.C., a communication system was created for controlling the newly annexed provincial territories (Kinnier-Wilson 1972: 57-60; Eph^{c}al 1983: 101-104). In the Assyrian palace archives at Nineveh and Nimrud, official correspondence suggests a chain of 'posting stations' (*kalliu, kalliju*) and 'road stations' (*bīt mardiāte*) were located on the main arteries connecting the Assyrian capitals with the provincial centres in the surrounding territories (ABL 414, 1021). These routes were serviced by government officials, including 'royal messengers' (*mār shipri* or *apil shipri*), 'military messengers' (*kallāpu shipirti*), 'express messengers' (*kallû* or *daiâlu*), and 'escort riders' (*raksūti*). Such diverse terminology implies a professional courier staff of specialists. Village garrisons (*ḫalṣu* and *bīrtu*) provided accomodation and provisions for these royal messengers passing through the provincial territories. Several of these important Assyrian 'royal roads' (*harrān šarri*) have been traced through Upper Mesopotamia (Kessler 1980), east from the Lower Zab region across the Zagros mountains into Iranian Kurdistan (Levine 1989), and in the western provincial areas of Syria and Palestine (Alt 1944-1945; Oded 1970: 182-183). This pre-existing Assyrian official road system must have served as the backbone for the Achaemenid communication system in the west.

These arteries were also fundamental for conducting military expeditions. Level roads were required for the transportation of chariots, siegecraft, horses and pack-animals from the huge military arsenal (*ekal māšarti*) at the Assyrian capital to the campaign areas. In addition, these major arteries provided the means for collecting and delivering tribute (Postgate 1974: 121-128). Provincial representatives (*ṣerani*), and city rulers regularly conveyed this tribute in ceremonial chariots to the capital for the New Year's festival in the spring of each year (ABL 242 and 948). A Nimrud letter contains an official order issued on the first of Nisan for the preparation of the roads ('carriage ways') to facilitate the passage of provincial governors to the capital for the New Year festival (Saggs 1959b: No. LXIII). Other messages from the archive refer to officials waiting for horses before beginning their journey (Saggs 1956: No. XXV) and even repairs on the royal chariot ('sleeping coach') in preparation for travel by the king (Saggs 1956: No. XXVII). Such Neo-Assyrian sources provide a model for the manner in which the succeeding imperial Achaemenid road-system functioned.

Assyrian influence may even be detected in the Greek term used by Herodotus to designate the Persian courier system (*aggarēion*), which appears to be a loanword derived from Akkadian *egirtu* ('letter') and probably transmitted into Greek by the Aramaic *'igerah* (Kaufman 1974: 48). Such 'express messengers' were called in Akkadian the *kallû* (CAD K, 84) or *daiālû* (Saggs 1956: No. XXIX) and in Persian texts the *pirradazish* (Hallock 1969a: 744 s.v.), not *aggaros*. But 'mounted couriers' are still known as the *aggaros* in Egyptian demotic sources of the hellenistic era (e.g. P. Ryl. III, 321 and 421; P.Berlin 15697 verso 13; P. Lille 59) and by authors in the Roman East (Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrH* 90 F4). It is also reflected in the institution of *angaria*, compulsory services connected with the imperial post in the Ptolemaic (Rostowzew 1906) and Roman periods (Isaac 1990: 291-297). Behind this practice, may be the Assyrian *ilku* service, the requisition of men and animals by the state (Postgate 1974: 83), perhaps inherited and transmitted by the Achaemenid regime (*pace* Pflaum 1940: 203). It is then possible that the Persians borrowed the Aramaic term *'igerah* from the Neo-Assyrian empire as the designation for the messengers in their own dispatch-system and the institutions associated with it.

III. *Achaemenid imperial roads*

In similar fashion, administration of the vast territory of the Achaemenid realm demanded an efficient communication system between the central royal court and provincial authorities. These administrative arteries also served as the *viae militares*, facilitating the movement of troops for the maintenance of order. Caravan traffic across the empire also required protection by military escorts to guarantee safe arrival at their destinations (Wiesehöfer 1982; Briant 1991b). Most of these roads were merely level unpaved dirt-tracks for travel by horses, chariots, and by foot. Paving of roads in the Near East was normally restricted to the main streets and entrances to the capital cities (e.g. ARAB II: §§ 474-476), but examples of pavement have been observed on the main arteries connecting the royal Persian capitals in Iran. These paved stretches have been connected with the old Iranian word for roads, *raytha*, derived from *ratha*, 'chariot,' but they are the exception if not attributable to more recent centuries. As David Stronach has observed (in personal communication to me), the main builder of paved roads in Iran was Shah Abbas in the sixteenth century, under whose rule numerous roads were paved, especially where they crossed over treacherous areas of the Dasht-i Kavir or where they penetrated thickly wooded areas near the south-east corner of the Caspian. Even the Greek sources emphasize the Persian routes were unpaved 'wagon roads,' suitable for wheeled traffic, armies on the march, or cavalry' (Xen. *Anab.* I 1,21; Arrian III 18,1). Paving of main highways was the unique contribution of Roman rule in the Near East.

A. The Persian royal capitals

Within the Persian heartland, the great king moved annually among his royal residences at Babylon, Ecbatana, Susa, Persepolis and Pasargadae (Amandry 1987). Accompanying him were a large number of officials, soldiers, and attendants of the royal court. For the Greeks, these collective movements were dictated by climatic fluctuations (Xen. *Cyr.* VIII 6,22; cf. Strabo XVI 1,16), but they also represented political and symbolical aspects of royal power in which the Great King demonstrated the military strength at his disposal and the wealth of his court, much like the *entrées royales* in Medieval and Early Modern France (Briant 1988b). The annual pilgrimage through Babylonia, Media, and Fars was the way the king expressed his dominion over his subjects, solidifying their support and minimising threats of rebellion. The great king in his royal chariot, towering above his entourage (Q.C. III 3,15-25) evokes images of the Neo-Assyrian monarchs on their military campaigns (ARAB II: § 44). Such regular circulatory movements inherently involved the formalisation of an official route, in which a network of garrisons and storehouses were necessary to facilitate the transport of the mobile royal court.

In addition, visits of satraps and officials to the royal court also demanded secure and convenient travel across the empire.

Travel-ration texts from the Persepolis archive provide some insight into how this communication systemm functioned. Officials designated as 'élite guides' (*barrishdama*) escorted and protected foreign visitors to the royal palaces from as far as Sardis (PF 1409) and Skudria (PF 1363) in the West to India in the Far East (PF 1572); 'agents' (*karabattish*) travelling in advance of visiting parties made the necessary arrangements for provisions and lodging (PF 1340-41; 1375); 'travel assistants' (*shaulu*) also aided the guests in their journey to the royal capitals. Other texts refer to officials named *dattimara*, perhaps 'road counters,' and '*shirak* (spear) bearers,' which may indicate 'road surveyors,' the spear referring to either their instrument or the markers they used (PFa: 115). This surveying tradition may be reflected in the crenellated stone from Pasargadae mentioning the name of the site in a fragmentary Greek-Aramaic text of the early hellenistic period, which has been interpreted as a possible milestone or distance-marker (D. M. Lewis in Stronach 1978: 160-162). The *shirak* bearers are also often associated with the 'road counters' and administer work-parties of 'stone removers.' Such roadworkers were a regular part of Persian military expeditions (Xen. *Cyrop.* VI 2,36), just as they were earlier for the armies of the Assyrians (ARAB I: § 221; II: § 142), and later for those of Alexander the Great (Arrian, *Anab.* I 26,1), and the Romans (e.g. Jos. *JW* III 6,2; 7,3; V 2,1).

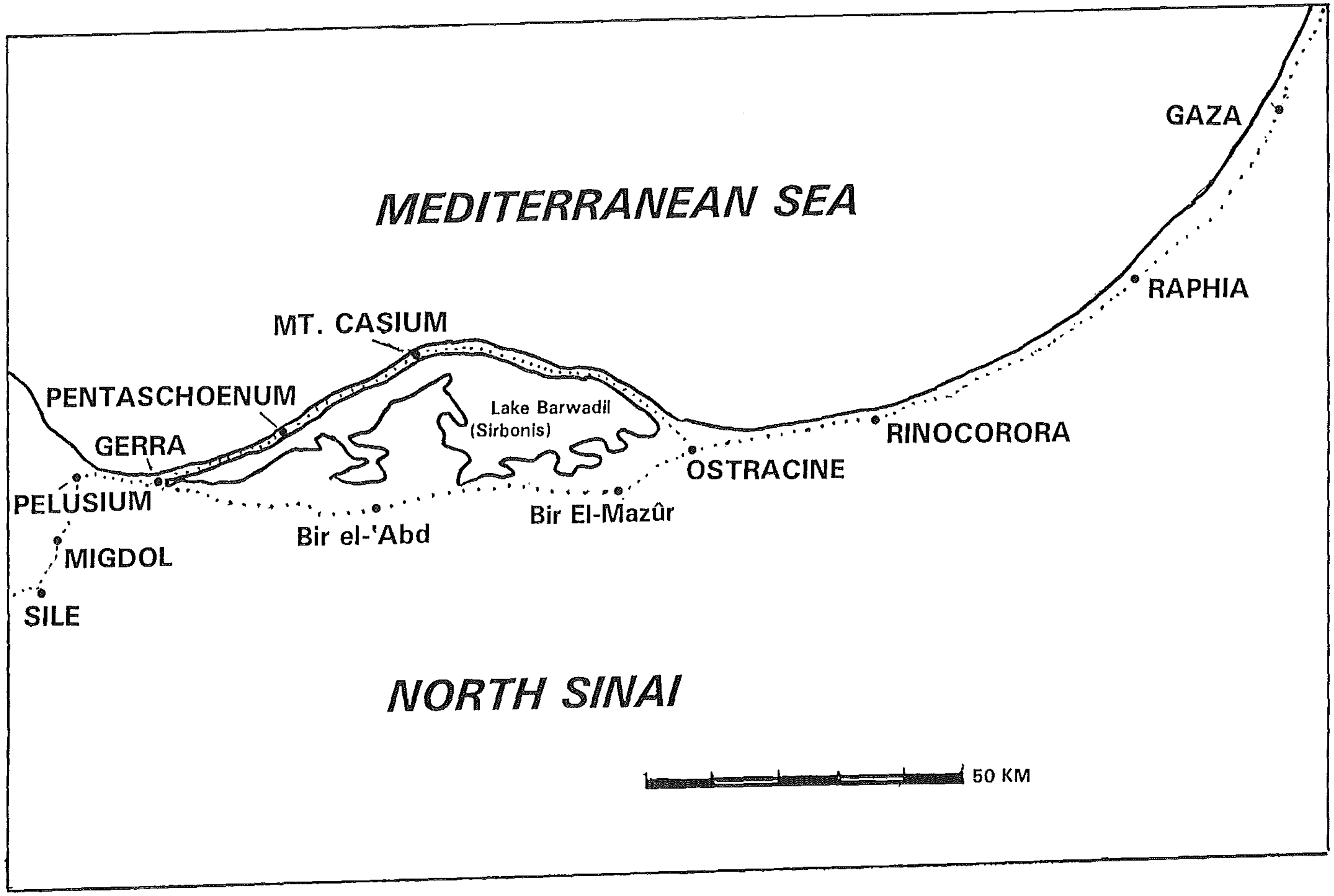
Others view the *dattimara* and '*shirak* (spear) bearers' as referring to a monitoring force of 'police' and 'scouts' (Koch 1986: 135; Tuplin 1987a: 211), much like those who earlier guarded the royal roads in the Hittite kingdom (Goetze 1957). Surveillance of travellers on the Persian royal roads certainly is well attested (Hdt. V 35; VII 239; D.S. XI 56,6; Plut. *Them.* 26), but other terms appear in the Persian texts for 'police' (*da'ubattish* PF 1250, 1487, 1902) and 'law officers' (*dattibara* PF 1272) on the highways. Such varied terminology implies specialisation of duties and functions, but there official duties may also have varied; note the use of Greek *hodopoioi* ('roadmakers') as 'couriers' (P.Oxy. 1656.1). Whatever may be the case, there is little doubt the royal road system required both an intelligence service and a work force to create and maintain the highways.

Moreover, numerous roadstations are mentioned in the Persepolis texts, about twenty of which have been located on the 600 km stretch of the royal road between the capitals at Persepolis and Susa. This would place them at approximately 30 km intervals, but their correlation with the archaeological evidence remains disputed. Various proposals exist for identifying the geographical names in the travel-ration texts with archaeological sites and modern toponymns (Mostafavi 1964; Hansman 1972: 117-122; Kleiss 1981: 45; Koch 1986; Sumner 1986: 17-28). From Persepolis to Susa, two routes have been delineated. The first leads northwest along the eastern banks of the Kur River past Kuh-i Qale and Kuh-i Istakhr, before crossing the river at Bard Burideh II to pass into the Ardekan plain and on to Susa (Sumner 1986: 17). Several roadstations have been identified along the first 75 km of this route (Kleiss 1981) along with cobble and stone gravel paved stretches about 5-7 m wide near Kuh-i Qale (Sumner 1986: 17) and Kuh-i Shahrak (Nicol 1970: 278-281). Between them, the path leads through a rock cut mountain passage about 5 m. wide above the banks of the Kur River, some 30 km northwest of Persepolis (Kleiss 1981; Sumner 1986: 11), comparable to the rock-cut road near Pasargadae (Stronach 1978: 166-167). It is clear that this was an established Achaemenid route from Persepolis leading to Susa.

A more traditional route proceeds west from Persepolis past Shul and Tal-i Malyan (Anshan), before heading northwest through Fahlian and Behbehan on the way to Susa (see Hansman 1972; Kleiss 1981; Koch 1986; cf. Stronach 1978: 2). Ruins of an 'Achaemenid pavilion' with black limestone column bases decorated with lotus flowers at Jin-Jin, 6 km northwest of Fahlian (see below), an Achaemenid bridge and possible tomb at Dai-i Dukhtar, and the remains of a paved road surface at Behbehan (Ghirshman 1954b: 145-146; cf. Cook 1985: 243) offer some archaeological support for this route. In fact, according to Sir Aurel Stein (1940: 18-27), it was near Behbehan that Alexander decided to take a more direct mountain path to Persepolis, leaving the easier 'carriage road' for Parmenio's heavier armed troops and the baggage train (Arrian III 18,2). In this case, Alexander's route may be the mountainous track over the Ardekan plateau and down the Kur River to Persepolis (cf. D.S. XVII 67,4; Q.C. V 4,17), whereas Parmenio took the easier, but less direct route via Fahlian and Shul (Nicol 1970b: 281). Not everyone is convinced of Stein's interpretation (Badian 1985: 442 n. 1), but the remainder of the route to Susa seems assured. From Susa, the royal road continued north, intersecting the great Khorasan road leading west to Babylon and east to Ecbatana, another main artery of the Achaemenid royal road system (cf. D.S. XIX 19,2).

B. The Sardis-Susa road

According to Herodotus, the royal road between Sardis and Susa consists of 111 staging posts stretching over a distance of 450 parasangs or 13,500 furlongs, involving a journey of 90 days (V 52-53; cf. VIII 98; Xen, *Cyrop.* VIII 6,17-18). From the provincial capital at Sardis, he tracks its path from Lydia through Phrygia, across a fortified point of the Halys River, through Cappadocia and Cilicia, across the Euphrates, through Armenia and Cissia, down the plains east of the Tigris, and then east through the Zagros mountains to reach Susa. Persepolis ration texts provide documentation of travel along the route (PF 1321, 1404; Q 901), including that of a certain Datiya in 494 B.C. —


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GAZA
RAPHIA
MT. CASIUM
PENTASCHOENUM
Lake Barwadil
(Sirbonis)
GERRA
RINOCORORA
OSTRACINE
PELUSIUM
Bir El-Mazûr
Bir el-'Abd
MIGDOL
SILE
NORTH SINAI
50 KM

probably Datis the Mede, the commander of the later Persian expedition at Marathon — who departed from Sardis to travel to the great king at Persepolis via express service (PFT Q-1809 in D. Lewis 1980), perhaps with a report on the Aegean situation after the quelling of the Ionian revolt. Although the route is well known, the details of the itinerary are controversial. The most questionable segment is that of Anatolia, where a crossing of the Halys river is combined with a passage through the Cilician gates. Two major interpretations exist for explaining this circuitous route.

(i) *Northern Hypothesis*. Herodotus indicates the route ran eastwards from Sardis across the Halys river to Pteria (Boghazköy), the ancient Hittite capital, later captured by Croesus before his defeat by Cyrus (I.73-79), and then through Cilicia to cross the Euphrates. At Gordium, there is a paved stretch of road winding between the Phrygian tumuli apparently headed east toward Ancyra. It is approximately 6.25 m. in width with a hard gravel surface, bordered by flat curb stones set on edge with a spine or ridge in the centre, dividing it into two lanes. A test sounding indicated late sixth-century B.C. sherds beneath the bedding, providing some basis for its identification as part of the Persian Royal Road (Young 1963: 348 and n. 6), although its general appearance appears strikingly Roman (cf. Starr 1963: 169). Moreover, there does not appear to be any evidence elsewhere in Turkey of paved roads before the Roman period (French 1980: 704). Of course, the remains of the old Persian Royal Road may lie along this later route, as it seems clear it ran east from Sardis through the Hermus valley and by Leonton Kephalai (Lion's Head) to Gordium, based on the itinerary of Greek envoys, armies and travellers across the Anatolian plateau to Ancyra and beyond (Xen. *Hell.* I 4.1; cf. Plutarch, *Them.* 30 and *Alcibiades* 37-39; *Hell. Oxy.* 11 [16]; and D.S. XIV 11; Briant 1990).

After Ancyra, however, the route of the road presents numerous problems, as the city forms the nexus for at least three prominent routes proceeding east to the Euphrates: either directly east by way of Sebasteia-Sivas to Erzincan (Winfield 1977), or to the southeast by Kayseri-Mazaca to Melitene and Samosata (Anderson 1897; cf. Goetze 1957 and Magie 1950: 788-789), or almost directly south through the Cilician Gates to cross the Euphrates at Zeugma (French 1981), all of which were paved during the Roman period and protected by legionary camps at their Euphrates termini; no new system emerged afterwards (French 1980: 711). The first route constitutes part of the pre-Persian overland trade route from Urartu westwards to the Aegean via Altintepe, Boghazköy, and Gordium (Birmingham 1961). Prior to this, the Hittites had established posting stations in the segment between Yozgat and Sivas, which later became the location of Roman military camps (Garstang 1943: 55). In addition, a narrow gorge near Elmadag just west of the crossing of the Halys, has been identified with the 'gates' mentioned by Herodotus

(Starr 1963: 163-166). Others prefer the second route, from Kayseri to Melitene, as it seems to correspond better to Herodotus' distance between the Halys and the Euphrates (119 1/2 parasangs), is listed on the Peutinger Map, and was the traditional Byzantine military route (Anderson 1897; Brice 1982). The circuitous third route, once adopted by Ramsay, then finally rejected by him, has subsequently found little favour.

(ii) *Southern Hypothesis*. Ramsay (1920) went on to reject the 'northern hypothesis' completely, preferring to see its route across the Halys as merely an 'ornamental touch' by Herodotus, which obscured the fact that the path of the Royal Road actually led south from Sardis via Laodicea and Pisidia to pass through the Cilician Gates and cross the Euphrates at Zeugma, where the itinerary of Isidore of Charax begins. It was later argued that the distance of this route conforms better to Herodotus' figures for Sardis to the Euphrates than the northern route across the Halys (Calder 1925). This southern route also was used by Cyrus the Younger in 401 B.C. (Xen. *Anab.* I 2,20), and perhaps earlier by the Neo-Babylonian king Neriglissar in his Anatolian campaign through the 'Cilician gates' as far as the borders of Lydia in 557/6 B.C. (Cavaignac 1956 on B.M. 25124). It later became an important Roman road, as it represented the most direct east-west route across Anatolia, but the prior difficulties of travel by this route are emphasised in the earlier accounts (cf. Xen. *Anab.* I 2,21-22; I 5,7-8; IV 1,10; V 1,13-15 and 2,6).

Moreover, either of these views must reject an element of Herodotus' account of the Royal Road. For the northern hypothesis, the 'borders of Cilicia' is a problem; for the southern hypothesis, the 'Halys River' must be ignored, which is so crucial in Cyrus' campaign against Croesus (I 28, 72) and crossed by Xerxes' army in the expedition against Greece (VII 26). Consequently, Lendle (1987) has recently proposed that the Royal Road not only crossed the Halys River, but also passed from Pteria (Boghazköy) through Kayseri and the Cilician Gates along the path of the old pre-Persian trade route. This circuitous route requires that Herodotus' distances in Cicilia be increased from 3 stages and 15.5 parasangs to 13 and 50.5 respectively in order to yield the necessary 1205 km from Sardis to the Euphrates. Some adjustment in the figures is necessary, since Herodotus' itemised total of 81 stages and 313 parasangs is less than his summarised total of 111 stages and 450 parasangs. By increasing the figures of Matiene to 24 stations and 102 parasangs, the higher total is approached and the important elements of Herodotus' account are maintained, albeit by some troublesome arbitrary emendations.

Furthermore, Lendle's proposal ignores the impressive argument of Louis Dillemann (1962: 147-162) for the traditional 'northern' hypothesis. On the basis of the Peutinger Table, Dillemann argues the Royal Road from Sardis crossed the Euphrates at Malatya (cf. Brice 1982: 22), then proceeded east via

Nisibis and across the Tigris to Arbela on the way to Susa. The initial station AD ARAS, identified with Tomisa at the Euphrates crossing just east of Malatya, is where Lucullus offered sacrifice on the altar of Artemis of Persia (Plut. *Luc.* 24; cf. Tacitus, *Annals* XV 26-27). Afterwards, six of the fifteen stations listed for Upper Mesopotamia have Persian names: BARA, ARACIAPIS, SARDEBA, APADNA, DAUSARON and SARBANE. Of these, the station ARACAMO near the Tigris, is identified with the Roman castellum of APADNA (Notitia Dignitatum, *Or.* 36,23), derived from the Persian word *apadna* and implying that it was formerly the residence of a satrap on the Royal Road. In sum, Dillemann's northern route provides the itinerary and locations of Herodotus' enigmatic 'fifteen Armenian stations' (cf. Hewsen 1983: 138-139). This upper Mesopotamian route terminates at Arbela, undisputed as a main station on the royal road, the location of Persian storerooms and a treasury at the time of Darius III (D.S. XVII 64,3; Q.C. V 1,10) and used by Alexander's surveyors to demarcate distances during his campaign (Arrian III 15,5; VI 11,5). For these reasons, the 'northern hypothesis' is more convincing than either the 'southern hypothesis' or Lendle's recent 'synthesis' proposal.

Between Arbela and Susa, Herodotus indicates that the royal road skirted the Zagros foothills east of the Tigris, crossing the Upper and Lower Zab, and the Diyala rivers by ferry. The Aramaic letter of Arsames, the satrap of Egypt, provides the names of the major stations along this route (Driver 1957/1965: no 6). In what is comparable to a travel ration text, he instructs the governors of the various districts in Mesopotamia and Syria to provide lodging and supplies for the return of Neḫtiḫur, a subordinate official of Arsames. The stations mentioned on the route are La^{c}ir (Lahiru, located on the border of Elam), Arzuḫin (just south of the Lower Zab), Arbil (Arbela, between the Upper and Lower Zab), Ḫala[za] (Hazza, southeast of Nineveh; cf. *ABL* 916 and Chazene in Strabo XVI 1,1.[736]), Mātlabash (Ubasie, 20 km north of Assur), Sa^{c}lam (unidentified), and Damascus. The initial stations are all former Neo-Assyrian provincial centres located on an old route that ran along the Tigris between the Diyala Valley in Babylonia and Upper Zab in northern Assyria: Lahiru (*ABL* 543), Arzuhina/Urzuhina (*ABL* 43; cf. Kessler 1980: 94), and Arbela (*ABL* 179). At this point, the Persian royal road briefly joined the great Khorasan road leading east from Babylon to Ecbatana through the Zagros mountains (cf. Xen. *Anab.* III 5,15), before turning south to reach Susa. In the Deh Lurān plain, approximately 120 km north of Susa, a concentration of Achaemenid sites on a line running from the northwest to the southeast (Neeley 1970: 203) provides evidence for the last leg of the 'royal road' between Sardis and Susa.

Evidence of the existence of other Achaemenid routes in western Anatolia is contained in the correspondence relating to the 'sale' of crown land by

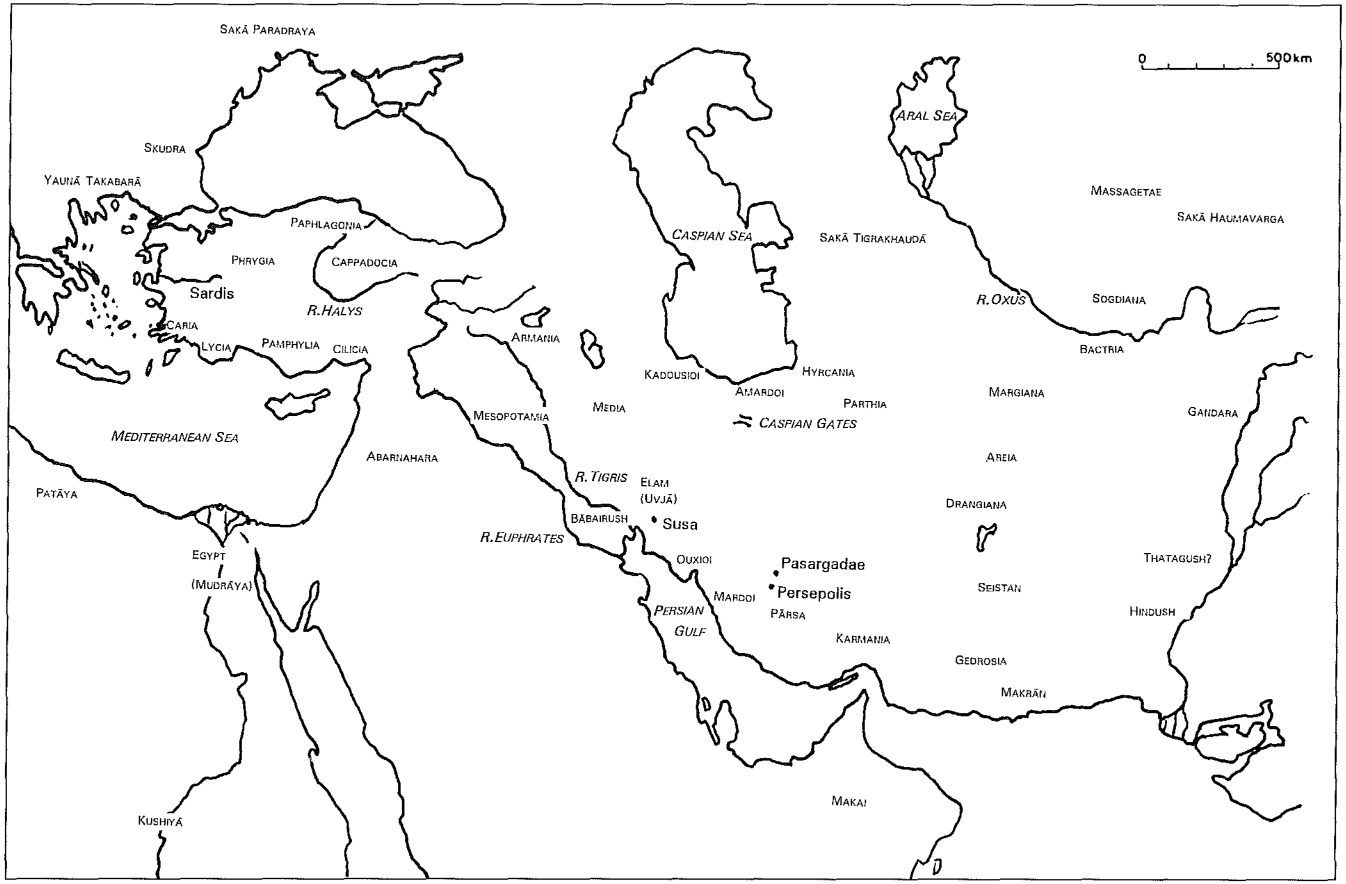
Antiochus II to his divorced wife Laodice in 253 B.C. This royal property bordered the adjacent territories of Zelia and Cyzicus, villages in northwest Anatolia, and the 'old road' (*tei hodōi tēs archaiai*) which passed near the village of Pannucome (Welles 1934: no. 18). Local farmers had ploughed up the old route requiring the local hyparch to make inquiry of the local residents to establish its path. The official report of the hyparch indicates the 'ancient royal road' (*hodos basilikē hē archaia*) led to Pannucome "through the Eupannese to the river Aesepus" (Welles 1934: no.20). This route must have been the old Achaemenid road leading west from Lampsacus along the southern coasts of the Propontis through Cyzicus to the satrapal centre at Dascylium, where over 300 inscribed bullae were discovered (Balkan 1959), remnants of the royal Achaemenid correspondence that once emanated to and from this remote post of the Achaemenid realm. Branches also possibly led south from Cyzicus (Magie 1950: 41) and Dascylium (*Hell. Oxy.* 11-12 [16-17]) to intersect the main Sardis-Susa royal road. Another branch from Sardis must have led to the satrapal centre in Caria, perhaps as an extension of the Sardis-Ephesus branch road (Hdt. V 52), since a reference to a 'king's highway' appears in connection with the hyparch Condalus, serving under Mausolus, the satrap of Caria (Ps.-Aristotle, *Oec.* II 2,14 [1348a 25]). These incidental allusions to vicinal 'royal roads' interconnecting the satrapies of Western Asia attest to the complexity of the Persian imperial communication system.

C. Babylon and 'Beyond the River'

The main route between Persia and the western satrapies of Syria-Palestine probably followed the traditional route across the Upper Mesopotamian region, either the Old Babylonian itinerary (Goetze 1953, 1964) or Old Assyrian caravan road (Beitzel 1990), which passed from North Assyria across the Upper Khabur to Urfa (Edessa) and Harran. The latter continued to the northwest, crossing the Euphrates at Samsat or Zeugma to reach Kanish (Beitzel 1990). Another Bronze Age route followed the western banks of the Euphrates from Mari to Emar (Hallo 1964; Beitzel 1978; Finet 1985), but by the Neo-Assyrian period Carchemish supplanted Emar as the central entrepôt in the West (Oppenheim 1967). Only two major Neo-Assyrian Royal Roads existed in the Euphrates region (Kessler 1980: 183-230). One led west from Nisibis via Gozan and Harran to Arpad in North Syria. These cities represented administrative centres for the Assyrian provinces of Guzana and Ḫarranu. The other main route in Upper Mesopotamia proceeded south from Nisibis along the Khabur and down the Euphrates to Babylon. That the latter route was incorporated into the Persian royal road system is implied by Cyrus the Younger's expedition to Mesopotamia in 401 B.C. A route between Carchemish and Babylon along the Euphrates also formed the initial leg of Isidore of Charax *Parthian Stations* and maintained its fundamental importance into the Roman imperial era (Gawlikowski 1988). Evidence for an Achaemenid royal road of similar nature is perhaps preserved in the recently discovered Greek and Syriac documents found in the Middle Euphrates region (Feissel & Gascou 1989). Vestiges of the old Persian imperial administration and communication system of the region may be reflected in the network of villages centred around the town of Appadana on the Lower Khabur that have Iranian names: Birtha Okbanon; Magdala, village of Sphoracene; and Berth Phouraia (Graf 1993: 153). The terminology and relations of these towns to Appadana suggest the Persian royal route ran along the west bank of the Middle Euphrates connecting the satrapal centres of Syria and Babylon.

From Carchemish, another Achaemenid royal road led south to Damascus and Transjordan. This route is reflected in Neḫtiḥur's itinerary in the Egyptian satrap Arsames' letter (Driver 1957/1965: no. 6). After Arbela, his route apparently diverted west across the Tigris into Syria via stops at Matlabash and Saʿlam on the way to Damascus. Matlabash has been identified with Assyrian Ubasie (modern Tell Huwaish), where traces of an ancient road have been sighted running northwest to Tell Afar with possible signal stations located every 4 km along the route (Oates 1968: 59 n. 5). This suggests Neḫtiḥur proceeded along the old Neo-Assyrian route leading west through Nisibis across the Khabur to Ḫarran (Akkadian for 'road' or 'caravan station'). Saʿlam remains unidentified (cf. the unknown site of Salamme in *ABL* 726 r. 11), but it must lie somewhere along the traditional route that proceeded to Ḫarran, then south through Aleppo and Homs to Damascus. The Euphrates crossing point probably was near the Achaemenid garrisons at Deve Hüyük and Til Barsip, just south of Carchemish (Moorey 1975: 115; cf. id. 1980). Damascus, an important Achaemenid administrative and military centre for the Levant, was where Darius III sent the families of his Persian officers before the battle at Issus (Q.C. III 8,12; 13,10-14; cf. Ath. XIII 608a). It was also the nexus for important routes in the region.

To the west was Phoenicia, whose territory in the Achaemenid period extended north to Myriandros in Cilicia (Hdt. IV 38; Xen. *Anab.* I 4,6; Pseudo-Scylax *Per.* 102) and south to Ashkelon (*Per.* 1,78; cf. Hdt I 105). A Roman road later connected the Phoenician cities along the coast between Antioch and Akko (later Ptolemais), but it appears to be a later Roman creation (Goodchild 1948-1949: 106, 112). Previously, the northern entrance from the Euphrates was difficult and treacherous (*ANET* 307; cf. Jos. *AJ* XIV 15,8 [441]. From Akko in the south, the path led across the steep mountain path of the *Scala Tyriorum* or 'Tyrian ladders' (Jos. *BJ* II 10,2 [188]). Far easier was the inland route to Tyre through Upper Galilee. Persian garrisons at Byblos and Baniyas guarded the northern and southern entrances to this coastal route (Elayi 1980: 26). Easier access to the Phoenician cities was by a


Sakā Paradraya
Skudra
Yaunā Takabarā
Paphlagonia
Phrygia
Cappadocia
Sardis
R. Halys
Caria
Lycia
Pamphylia
Cilicia
Armania
Mediterranean Sea
Patāya
Egypt
(Mudrāya)
Kushiyā
Abarnahara
Mesopotamia
Media
R. Tigris
Elam
(Uvjā)
Bābairush
Susa
R. Euphrates
Ouxioi
Mardoi
Persian Gulf
Pasargadae
Persepolis
Pārsa
Karmania
Makai
Caspian Sea
Kadousioi
Amardoi
Hyrcania
Parthia
Caspian Gates
Sakā Tigrakhaudā
Aral Sea
Massagetae
Sakā Haumavarga
R. Oxus
Sogdiana
Bactria
Margiana
Gandara
Areia
Drangiana
Seistan
Thatagush?
Hindush
Gedrosia
Makrān
0
500km

number of natural routes leading inland to the interior of Syria (Elayi 1982). From Damascus, an important route led west through the Biqaʿ Valley to Sidon, the capital of the fifth satrapy. Further north, another route led east along the Orontes to Aleppo and Emesa (Homs). These routes were essential for the Persian communication system in Syria.

South of Damascus, an ancient road led across the Transjordan plateau to ʿAqaba. Along this route, the Achaemenid presence is attested at Amman, Heshbon, Dibon, Kerak, Bozrah, Tawilan and Tell el-Kheleifeh (Dalley 1984; Zayadine 1985; Graf 1990; Knauf 1990). Under Neo-Assyrian rule, a chain of Assyrian garrisons may have existed from the district of Zobah in the north to Edom in the south (Alt 1944-1945; Oded 1970: 182-186). It has become known as the 'King's Highway,' even though the biblical tradition (*Num* 20: 17; cf. 21:22 and 33: 41-49) suggests a route from Kadesh in western Palestine to Edom in Transjordan (Bartlett 1989: 38). However, it seems apparent that the route represents a conflation of various late traditions and suspicious correlations (Miller 1989) that may have confused Kadesh with Petra (cf. Targum Ongelos and IQ Gen AP XXI.11), although this is not perfectly clear (cf. Eus. *Onom.* 112.8-12, Klostermann ed.). Nevertheless, previously, the kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom evidently had their 'royal roads,' judging from the ninth century Moabite Mesha inscription, which speaks of repairs on the road crossing the River Arnon (Mujib) in Transjordan (*KAI* no. 181.26). Such vicinal roads probably were transformed into a connected major north-south artery in Transjordan by the Assyrians, a legacy which the Achaemenid administration inherited. In fact, the later Roman *Via Nova Traiana*, which stretched from Bosra in southern Syria to ʿAqaba on the Red Sea — *a finibus Syriae usque ad mare rubrum* — essentially followed the path of this earlier imperial highway (Thomsen 1917). Arabs mentioned in the Persepolis travel-texts (PF 1477, 1507, 1534; PFa 17) may have used this route on their way to Susa and Persepolis.

From Damascus, entrance into Palestine across the Jordan Valley was by a route leading to Hazor northwest of the Sea of Galilee and then either through the Jezreel Valley to the coastal city of Akko or south to the administrative centres at Samaria and Jerusalem. From Akko south was the traditional coastal route leading to Egypt, erroneously called the *via maris* (Meshel 1973; Beitzel 1991), which Neḥtiḥur must have taken on his way to Memphis. Achaemenid garrisons at the coastal cities of Akko, Dor, Ashdod and Gaza must have served also as posting stations for official travellers on this route. Later, Akko was the primary military base for launching Persian attacks against Egypt (D.S. X 41,3; Strabo XVI 2,25 [758]) and a number of garrisons in the Negev between Gaza and the southern end of the Dead Sea evidently protected the southern frontier during the period of Egypt's independence in the fourth century (Tuplin 1987a: 187). Ostraca from Arad, one of these desert posts, record provisions supplied to horsemen, donkey-drivers and cameleers (Naveh 1981: nos. 7-18), serving in the local Persian militia (*degelin*) in this remote district of the province (*mdynh*). These inscribed sherds have the basic elements of the Persepolis travel-ration texts, attesting that the bureaucratic documentation inherent in the Persian central administration extended even to remote frontier outposts.

D. Egypt and North Africa

The traditional Asiatic gateway into Egypt was from Gaza to Memphis along the famed 'way of Horus,' the royal road of the New Kingdom pharaohs, used in their military campaigns into Syria-Palestine (Gardiner 1920). The Persians adapted this route by developing a coastal spur between Pelusium and el-Arish that utilized the narrow land bridge between the Mediterranean and Lake Sirbonis (Bardawil). According to Herodotus (III 5), Greeks, Arabs and other foreigners founded a number of harbour cities in this sector, reflected in the names of the stations on the Peutinger Table for this route: Pelusium, Ostrakine, and Rhinocorura are Greek; Gerrha probably is derived from an Arab emporium for Gerrhean incense established during the Persian period (P. Alex. 1.3 with Feissel 1984: 560). Between Gerrha and Ostrakine, another station was named Pentaschoenum (P. Ryl. 633). Although Herodotus indicates the *schoinos* was an Egyptian term (II 6), it is associated elsewhere with the Persian parasang (Pliny, *N.H.* VI 124; XII 53) and occurs only within the confines of the Achaemenid realm: India, Iran, Armenia, Turkey and Egypt (Mitchell 1976: 121-122). The name 'Pentaschoenum ('five walking hours') is then the equivalent Greek terminology for the Persian parasang. Greek ceramic ware and Persian cylinder seals discovered at these North Sinai coastal sites (Oren 1982-1983: 24) further attests that this route was founded in the Achaemenid period (Graf, 1993: 161-165).

Linkage of the coastal route with the Nile was by a line of fortresses during the Saite dynasty. In Cambyses' invasion of Egypt in 525 B.C., the fortresses at Migdol (Tell el-Heir) and Daphnae were destroyed (Oren 1984: 34), but later reoccupied, since a Persian military detachment escorted caravans from Migdol to Syene (Fitzmyer 1979: 219-226; Porten 1968: 42), i.e. from the entrance into Egypt to the border station located on the distant southern frontier. Other military stations leading from Migdol to Memphis served as posting stations for travellers journeying to the Nile capital (Oren 1984), such as exist on the Antonine Itinerary between Pelusium and the Suez port city of Clysma. In the fifth century, Qedarite Arabs were stationed at Heroonpolis (Tell el-Maskhuta) probably to facilitate traffic moving through the Wadi Tumilat, the major entrance to Memphis from the Suez region and close to the outlet of Darius' Nile canal. In fact, there was a navigation and irrigation system connecting the Isthmus of Suez to the Mediterranean via Pelusium (Tell Farama) in the late sixth or early fifth century B.C. (Oren 1984: 9), providing another access route to the Nile.

Within the Nile Valley, travel between Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt by river transport is well known, but there were also routes by land along the Nile. References to the 'king's street' (*wswq mlk'*) at Elephantine in the Persian period (Kraeling 1953: 3.8, 10; 4.10; 12.19) are matched by similar designations for other Nile cities in hellenistic and early Roman papyri: Thebes (P. Louvre 2430), Pathyris (P. Adler 1.2.5, 12.6, 13.1.3, 14.r20, 16.7; P. London 7), Herakleopolis (BGU 14, 2377), Tebtunis (P. Mich. 5; P.S.I. 8.917), Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 6), and Arsinoe (P. Petr. 3, p. 65). Most of these are from the Faiyum and probably designate only the main streets of the various towns and villages in this region, but a road system from the Persian capital at Memphis down the Nile to Syene is suggested by the papyrus fragments of a daybook from a royal postal station of the Ptolemaic period (ca. 255 B.C.). It records the reception and dispatching of official documents between the king in Alexandria and his officials elsewhere in Egypt (*P. Hibeh* I, 110 *verso*) by a relay system of couriers on horseback similar to that of the Persians (Preisigke 1907).

Another indication of the adoption of this Persian institution is the use of the word *hgr* for mounted couriers in demotic papyri of the hellenistic period. The term preserves the traditional Greek word (*aggaros*) used to designate the Persian messengers. Other hellenistic Greek papyri speak of a *pyrsouros*, 'a watchman who gives fire signals' (P. Gurob 22; P. Edfou 8), a possible hint of the survival in Egypt of the legendary Persian communication system (Van't Dack 1962). In addition, both the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table indicate that there were official routes along the Nile connecting Memphis with Syene during the Roman period. Roman milestones reported between Sakkara and the Faiyum (Hirshfeld 1907: 166) perhaps represent the first stages of this itinerary. Since they are separated from each other by a *schoinos*, with smaller markers at every 1/12 of these intervals, it is not unlikely that they mark the path of the older Achaemenid route.

Extension of the Persian post system to the subject regions of either Put or Kush is doubtful. After Cambyses' Ethiopian expedition (Hdt. III 17-26), Kush appears among the subject peoples listed in royal inscriptions, and participated in Xerxes' campaign (VII 70), but it was never a formal satrapy (III 97). Persian troops, chariots and messengers were sent by the satraps of Egypt to Libya in 514 and 482 B.C. (Hdt. IV 167, 200-205; cf. Polyaenus, *Strat.* VII 28,1), but neither of these ephemeral military operations resulted in any permanent Persian occupation of the region. East of the Nile, the Persian presence in the Wadi Hammamat appears to have been restricted to quarrying activity (Posener 1936: no. 24-30), as the development of the trade route between Coptos on the Nile and the port of Leukos Limen on the Red Sea dates to the Ptolemaic-Roman era. The temple of Darius at Hibis in the Khargeh oasis some 150 km west of the Nile in Upper Egypt is near the later Roman garrison at Dush, but there is no evidence to indicate the Persians previously occupied this frontier post. Egypt's numerous revolts and the independence of the region between 404 and 343 B.C. rather suggests the Persian commmunication system in Egypt was confined to the Nile valley and Delta.

E. The eastern satrapies

The major route across Iran was the famous Khorasan road that began in Babylonia and ran through the Zagros mountains to Ecbatana and then through the Caspian Gates to Bactria and the Hindu Kush (Levine 1973: 3-4; 1974: 100-101; Kleiss 1977). A lost work of Ctesias apparently described a route stretching from Ephesus to Bactria and India, with appropriate distances between stations (*FGrH* 688 F33). Isidore of Charax' *Parthian Stations* of the Augustan era may have incorporated some of this information, since it provides the major stops from Zeugma on the Euphrates through Mesopotamia to Babylonia and then across the Iranian plateau via the Caspian Gates (Standish 1970; Hansman 1990), an important datum for determining distances in the Persian empire by later classical authors, (Strabo XI 9,1; XV 2,8; Pliny, *N.H.* VI 17,43). Much of this route later became a part of the famous Silk Road during the Late Roman imperial period.

Unfortunately, Isidore of Charax' itinerary of this route diverges at Herat, where it takes a sharp detour southwards to Alexandropolis (Kandahar) in Arachosia, rather than continuing directly east through Bactria to India. This detour once was taken to represent the penetration of the Kushans into Bactria, but it is now accepted that this took place after Isidore's time. Khlopin (1977) recently proposed that this problematic sudden twist signifies a local route, perhaps forced by Scythian encroachment into the region during the Parthian period (Walser 1985). Since Arachosia formerly was the seat of an Achaemenid satrap whose rule extended east over the Indian tribes that dwelt between Kandahar and the Indus (Q.C. IX 7,14), Isidore's circuitous route may represent an older Achaemenid artery, with eastward connections leading to Taxila and India (Fouchler 1947: 190-208). Arachosia's prominence in both the Persepolis travel texts and Aramaic ritual texts also indicates its importance in the Achaemenid realm (Vogelsang 1985). These references include three possible 'forts' in the region (Tuplin 1987a: 140). It then is possible that the final stages of Isidore's intinerary reflects one of the former Achaemenid *militares viae* for controlling the region. Alexander's foundation of cities bearing his name at Herat and Kandahar preserved this administrative arrangement.

The continued importance of the route is reflected by the discoveries of Aramaic inscriptions left by Aśoka at Kandahar and Laghman in the third century B.C. They indicate not only the western frontier of the Mauryan empire, but also traditional stops along the major transportation arteries through Arachosia to India (Allchin & Norman 1985: 46). Several of the Aśokan texts between Kabul and Taxila in the Laghman Valley may even provide distances (Macdowall & Tadde 1978: 192-192). Support for this interpretation can be found in Megasthenes' statement that Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, earlier made roads and set up pillars at every ten *stadia* to mark byroads and distances (*apud* Strabo XV 1,50 [708]). In fact, the same author mentions that a 'royal road' existed from the Indus river to Chandragupta's capital at Palibothra (Sanskrit Patālipūtra, modern Patna), measured according to the *schoenus*, and equivalent to ten thousand stadia (XV 1,11 [689]). It is not unlikely that Achaemenid influence is to be detected in the Indian tradition preserved by Megasthenes.

A more direct route also existed between Persepolis and India further to the south through the region of Carmania and Gedrosia (cf. Eratosthenes *apud* Strabo II 1,25-27 [80-81]). The ration texts from Persepolis describe activities of workmen as far east as Narezzash (modern Niriz), some 150 km southeast of the Persian capital (*PFT*: 737s.v.). This site must have been one of the stages on the route that passed further east through the satrapal centres at Carmania (Tepe Yahya) and Pura (in the region of Bampur-Iranshahr) in Gedrosia on its way to the Indus. Such a route would explain why Indians (PF 1552), Arachosians from Kandahar (PF 1358, 1440, 1550), Arians with Harmozians (PF 1540), and Carmanians (PF 1398-99), all travel to Susa via Persepolis. The satraps of Pura (PF 681) and Makkash (PF 679-680) must have taken the same route to Persepolis. A branch route through the satrapal centre at Zranka-Drangiana (perhaps at Dahan-i Ghulaman) evidently led to Kandahar and the Indus (Cook 1983: 186-187). The facility of this southern route explains why travel between Susa and Carmania via Persepolis is so well attested in the Fortification Texts (PF 1289, 1330, 1332, 1348, 1377, 1398-99, 1436, 1439, 1466, PFa 35). This road evidently was the 'easy' route taken in 324 B.C. by the Macedonian general Craterus, returning to the Aegean with Alexander's veterans after the Indian campaign (Arrian *Anab.* VI 17,3; cf. 15,5; with Badian 1985: 475). Alexander's more arduous return along the coast of Gedrosia necessitated an advance force to be sent ahead to prepare stations and dig wells for what proved to be the most miserable stage of his expedition (Arrian *Anab.* VI 23-24; Strabo XV 2,3 [721]).

This southern route between Persepolis and the Indus through Gedrosia is listed on the Peutinger Table, with connecting links to other major routes in the region, although its confusing format and garbled names make it difficult to interpret (Ronca 1971). Of these itineraries, the branch road it provides for the northeast through Bactria should be noted, as this was the natural eastern continuation of the road through the Caspian gates (Strabo XVI 2,8 [723]). Earlier, it must have been an essential lifeline for the numerous Achaemenid fortresses located along the Oxus River in Bactria and Sogdiana (Tuplin 1987a: 201 n. 120 with map 6). Later, the famous Chinese Silk Route passed through this region, reflecting its continued importance as a major thoroughfare. These invaluable appendices to Isidore's *Parthian Stations* offer at least some possible ways in which the old Achaemenid centres of east Iran and beyond were incorporated into the imperial Persian road system.

IV. *Summary*

The Persian royal road system was the effective means by which the Achaemenid empire maintained its control and administered its vast imperial landscape. Preoccupation with the major Sardis-Susa artery has obscured the extensive communication and transportation network that existed throughout the Persian realm. In fact, as a result of travel-ration texts in the Persepolis archives, the best known segment of the system now is that which functioned between Susa and Persepolis in the Iranian heartland. Other sources permit us to extend the royal highways into the rest of the Iranian plateau, Bactria, and India in the east; and Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt to the west. With these additions, the total mileage of imperial highways approaches 8,000 miles. Of course, not all of these arteries could be maintained at the same time or in the same way. Doubts exist that such an express service could have operated over the vast territory of the 'decentralised empire' of the Achaemenid kings, since it required such a sizeable staff of men and horses for it to function properly (Pflaum 1940: 204). But it is well to note that provisions and requisitions were derived from villages along the major arteries (PF 1573, 2057; Driver 1957/1965: no. 6), not just roadstations. Administrative posts of hyparchs and garrisoned citadels must have assisted in expediting the communication service necessary for ruling the somewhat unwieldy Achaemenid territory. Later communication systems with mounted messengers also operated over much of the same territory and in the same manner as that of the Persian royal post (Popper 1955: 45-54), undermining modern scepticism.

If these figures are accepted, they compare quite favorably with other pre-modern imperial road networks. The total length of the imperial highways in China at the end of the Han Dynasty in the third century A.D. has been estimated at between 20,000 and 25,000 miles for an empire of approximately 1,532,000 sq. miles (Needham 1971: 27). The Roman imperial road system at the time of its greatest extent under Trajan in the second century A.D. embodied 48,500 miles of roads (according to the Antonine Itinerary and Peutinger

Map) for a territory of approximately 1,763,000 sq. miles. Another example from the pre-modern period is the Inca road system which stretched some 3,500 km across western South America from Ecuador through Peru, Bolivia, and Chile to Argentina. A recent estimate of the total road system is 25,000 km over very difficult terrain (Hyslop 1984: 215-223). When vicinal roads are added to the major arteries of the Achaemenid empire, the Persian Royal Road system offers a fitting comparison with these later networks.

DU BLÉ, DE L'HUILE ET DU VIN...*

(Notes sur les échanges commerciaux en Méditerranée orientale vers le milieu du 1^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.)

Jean-François Salles — Lyon

La vigne et le vin

Il n'est pas question de dresser ici un tableau de la viticulture en Méditerranée orientale vers le milieu du 1^{er} millénaire avant J.-C., encore moins d'esquisser une histoire de la production et de la commercialisation du vin dans les pays riverains: la seule liste des références bibliographiques sur ces thèmes emplirait la totalité de la présente étude.[1] Mais en l'absence de synthèses accessibles sur le sujet pour la Palestine,[2] la Phénicie ou Chypre, il n'est pas inutile de rappeler quelques faits généralement connus et de préciser des problèmes liés aux découvertes archéologiques récentes.

L'Égypte ancienne fut riche en vignes et en vins. Introduits dans la vallée du Nil et dans les oasis dès le début du 3^{e} millénaire, les travaux de la vigne figurent souvent sur les fresques des tombeaux qui présentent en détail les soins apportés à sa culture, les vendanges, la préparation et la préservation du vin, etc. Les inscriptions et graffites égyptiens sur des amphores dénombrent la variété des productions et des crus, qui ne déméritaient en rien par rapport aux vins des pays voisins: Athénée rappelle le renom du 'maréotique' blanc, cultivé près du lac Maréa dans le delta (Mariout aujourd'hui), et cite le vin d'Anthylla, non loin d'Alexandrie, dont les [gouverneurs? hauts dignitaires? grands propriétaires?] perses donnaient les revenus à leurs femmes comme argent de poche à l'époque de la domination achéménide (*Deip*. I 33).

Malgré les rendements élevés de leurs vignobles privés ou royaux, les Égyptiens furent aussi de gros importateurs de vins étrangers. On connaît des exportations de vins palestiniens vers l'Égypte à l'époque du Nouvel Empire (Ahituv 1978), mais les consommateurs ont semblé préférer très tôt les vins

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[*] Les deux premières parties de cette trilogie ont été présentées lors de la rencontre de Groningen, en 1988 et sont publiées sous le même titre dans *AchHist* 6: 207-236 (= Salles 1988a). Sur les limites de cette contribution, voir les conclusions de cet article.

[1] Même en restant dans les limites de la Méditerranée orientale, donc sans tenir compte des innombrables travaux sur la vigne et le vin dans l'Occident antique (par ex. Tchernia 1984). Sur les amphores grecques, on se reportera aux travaux de Virginia Grace (1961, etc.) et aux recherches récentes de J.Y. Empereur et Y. Garlan (1986, 1987). Sur la viticulture en Grèce, voir les notes récentes de M.C. Amouretti 1988, après l'indispensable article de Fr. Salviat 1986.

[2] Un ouvrage de David Eitam sur le vin et la vigne en Israël (1988) n'est disponible qu'en hébreu.

phéniciens ou syriens: vins du Liban ou vins d'Helbon mentionnés dans l'Ancien Testament, remarque d'Hérodote selon laquelle «la Grèce entière et la Phénicie envoient toute l'année en Égypte des jarres pleines de vin» (III 6), et surtout, le grand nombre d'amphores du Levant trouvées dans le pays; la 'jarre cananéenne' est présente sur les fresques égyptiennes dès le XV^{e} siècle avant J.-C., comme les jarres phéniciennes un millénaire plus tard, à côté d'amphores grecques (Grace 1961: fig. 4, IV^{e} siècle avant J.-C.). Contrairement aux affirmations d'Hérodote,[3] l'archéologie a fourni un très grand nombre de jarres étrangères en Égypte, complètes ou fragmentaires, certaines portant des graffites ou timbres phéniciens ou hébraïques (Éléphantine, Saqqara, etc.; voir Zemer 1977 pour une classification des amphores, Lemaire 1977 pour les ostraca); des amphores phéniciennes d'époque néo-babylonienne et perse datant du VII^{e} au V^{e} siècle avant J.-C. ont été récemment trouvées dans le Wadi Tumeilat, là où existait une liaison par canal entre le Nil et la Mer Rouge (cité par Lemaire 1989: 59). Enfin, l'Égypte fut certainement l'un des premiers pays d'Orient à importer du vin grec ou d'Asie Mineure en grandes quantités: près de cent mille anses d'amphores timbrées ont été recueillies dans la seule ville d'Alexandrie, la plupart hellénistiques ou romaines, dont certaines sont datées du début du IV^{e} siècle avant J.-C; et l'on sait que les amphores timbrées ne représentent qu'une partie seulement des amphores qui circulaient (Empereur 1982), et qu'il faut tenir compte, en outre, des fabrications locales.[4] Avant les vins de Rhodes, ceux de Thasos, de Samos ou même de Sinope ont été abondamment envoyés vers la vallée du Nil. Par contre, il semblerait que l'Égypte n'ait pas exporté ses propres productions.

Il faut évoquer ici un problème important pour comprendre les mécanismes d'échanges en Méditerranée orientale, également valable pour les autres régions riveraines: celui d'une hypothétique adéquation entre la production et la consommation. En dépit de très nombreux témoignages sur les multiples utilisations du vin dans les pays grecs et non-grecs: culte, médecine, et bien sûr, banquets et/ou beuveries, il est impossible d'évaluer la consommation totale de vin dans une région donnée, même très approximativement. On sait, de plus, que le monde grec buvait le vin mélangé d'eau: «C'est ainsi que les hommes commencèrent à rester droits en buvant [...] alors qu'auparavant le vin pur les tenait courbés»[5]; des indications semblables sur le mélange nécessaire sont présentes dans les textes de l'Ancien Testament (Zemer 1977: 98-108), et le type céramique du 'cratère' est une constante des productions levantines depuis le 2^{e} millénaire avant J.-C. Au-delà de l'interprétation des comportements individuels, le problème économique serait de chercher à savoir si les pays producteurs, comme l'Égypte, étaient capables de suffire à leurs besoins? La réponse brute est inaccessible, mais il paraît probable, pourtant, que les quantités massives de vins importées dans les pays riverains de la Méditerranée orientale ne répondaient pas aux besoins d'une consommation aveugle et sauvage, mais bien à une diversification des goûts de la clientèle; tous ces vins avaient une réputation spécifique — Athénée énumère plus de quatre-vingt cinq variétés, décrites avec soin —, et, comme je l'ai souligné dans la première partie (*AchHist* 6: 215), les échanges ne s'opèrent pas entre 'pays qui ont' et 'pays qui n'ont pas,' qu'ils soient grecs ou orientaux: on se trouve bien dans un système de concurrence commerciale. Dans ce monde, le paysan-noble détenteur de surplus[6] ou le bateleur-marchand de pacotille (*infra*) n'ont plus leur place, et les choix de production et/ou de commercialisation relèvent d'une véritable stratégie: «C'est avec un peu de vigne que l'on peut espérer des bénéfices rapides, avec des domaines fonciers même moyens des profits substantiels» (Amouretti 1988: 5).[7] Dès lors, même si l'organisation des échanges — et de la concurrence? — reste assez énigmatique, y compris dans les pays grecs où les témoignages écrits sont plus nombreux, il faut bien envisager des structures commerciales relativement élaborées et complexes.

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[3] Je reviendrai brièvement plus loin sur le récit d'Hérodote du retour des jarres vides vers leur point de départ.

[4] Voir, par exemple, les contributions de J.Y. Empereur & M. Picon (p. 103-126) et de W.D.E. Coulson, N.C. Wilkie & J.W. Rehard (535-550), dans *AmphGr*.

[5] Philochore, cité par Villard 1988: 25 (je remercie R. Descat de m'avoir signalé cette référence). Le vin pur est symbole de sauvagerie chez les Grecs, le vin mélangé signe de civilisation.

Le vin et la vigne sont mentionnés plus de cent quarante fois dans la Bible, et l'on sait la place que tient le vin dans la vie religieuse de la Palestine. La plupart des sites archéologiques palestiniens ont livré des pressoirs à vin, des installations viticoles comme ces tours qui étaient dressées au milieu des vignes pour la surveillance et l'entretien du matériel, qui permettent de reconstituer peu à peu la géographie des terres consacrées à la vigne,[8] et parfois, de vastes caves contenant des centaines d'amphores (Gibeon).[9] Les textes révèlent que la Palestine envoyait du vin en Égypte à la fin du Bronze Récent, en Phénicie au temps de Salomon en vertu de l'accord commercial établi avec Hiram de Tyr; J. Naveh (1987) laisse supposer que le vin de Gaza pourrait avoir été exporté vers Chypre au IV^e siècle. Mais la Palestine importait d'autres vins, en provenance de Chypre (Naveh 1987: 30), de la Phénicie plusieurs fois mentionnée dans l'Ancien Testament, et surtout, à partir de la fin du IV^e siècle, de Rhodes; bien qu'un inventaire complet des anses d'amphores timbrées manque pour la Palestine, il apparaît que les importations de vins grecs ne commencent qu'à la fin du IV^e siècle et se concentrent sur les produits rhodiens, laissant peu de place aux autres productions viticoles grecques (Halpern-Zylberstein 1980).

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[6] Voir les remarques de B. Bravo sur la 'naissance' du grand commerce grec à l'époque archaïque, citées dans la première partie sur le blé, Salles 1988a: 213-214.

[7] L'auteur insiste sur l'absence de 'routine paysanne' et de 'déterminisme climatique' dans la viticulture antique (Amouretti 1988: 14), à la différence de ce qui se passait sûrement pour les céréales, sans doute pour l'oléiculture: tout est lié à «l'objectif à atteindre: un vin de masse qui privilégie le rendement aux dépens de l'alcoolisation, un vin de cru qui vise à privilégier la teneur en alcool, le corps du vin et sa bonne conservation» (*ibid.*: 6).

[8] On se reportera à l'ouvrage de D. Eitam cité plus haut, en hébreu. Voir également Borowski 1987: 102-114, très détaillé sur les citations bibliques et les méthodes viticoles, plus rapide mais utile sur les trouvailles archéologiques. Une étude générale est également présentée par Zemer 1977: 98-108, bien documentée sur le traitement des amphores à vin.

[9] Des timbres sur les anses des amphores de ce site paraissent désigner des 'clos,' en tout cas des vignobles clôturés par des murets de pierres sèches, comme cela est mentionné à plusieurs occasions dans la Bible, *Bull. Ép. Sém.* 1972: no. 76 (p. 203).

De nombreuses catégories de vin sont connues en Palestine, rouge, blanc, clair, 'nouveau,' vieux, doux, amer, et même 'bouilli' (Brown 1969; Paul 1975), et quelques crus avaient grand renom: Mt. Carmel, Sharon, Gaza, etc. L'organisation royale des vignobles les plus importants est révélée par les textes bibliques, mais aussi par les innombrables marques et graffites sur des amphores: ostraca de Samarie ou d'Arad,[10] etc. (Lemaire 1977: 67-84; 155-222). Les jarres royales de Juda estampillées du sceau *l-mlk* recueillies à Lachish et dans d'autres sites ont suscité une littérature trop abondante pour être abordée ici.[11] Leur fonction de récipient de stockage à vin paraît confirmée par la présence du signe *têt*, diversement interprété: ce pourrait être un scarabée royal (*Bull. Ép. Sém.* 1970: no. 10, (p. 116): par ailleurs, «il est vraisemblable que les noms, qui accompagnent d'habitude le terme *l-mlk* et le symbole royal, sont des noms de régions vinicoles»), une abréviation d'une expression signifiant 'fermé, clos' — sans doute pour certifier le contenu (*Bull. Ép. Sém.* 1975: n^o 79 (p. 327)), la désignation de 'bons' vins ou de vins ordinaires (*Bull. Ép. Sém.* 1976: n^o 108 (p. 367)), ou une forme dérivée d'un signe égyptien pour 'royal' (*ibid.* n^o 109). Au-delà de ces querelles épigraphiques, il ne fait aucun doute que beaucoup de ces récipients étaient destinés à conserver du vin dans les magasins royaux: ils étaient exclus des réseaux commerciaux, qui utilisaient d'autres conteneurs moins volumineux.

La riche typologie d'amphores que présente Zemer 1977: 12-36, la plupart en provenance d'épaves méditerranéennes, ne compte pas que des conteneurs à vin, qui paraissent pourtant dominer: un revêtement intérieur en chaux et des traces de bitume pour le scellement du bouchon sont quelques-uns des éléments qui permettent de reconnaître la spécificité du récipient. Les inventaires des sites de trouvailles proposés par l'auteur associent Chypre, la Phénicie, la Palestine et l'Égypte, si bien qu'il n'est pas facile de distinguer les fabrications propres à une région;[12] l'impression qui prévaut est celle d'une diffusion généralisée de quelques types standardisés, chacun générant de nombreuses variantes. Une donnée chronologique paraît importante et claire: les plus anciens des nouveaux types d'amphores qui remplacent l'antique 'jarre cananéenne' datent des IX-VIII^e siècle avant J.-C. (types 5 et 9-10 de Zemer); tous disparaissent à peu près complètement vers la fin du IV^e siècle avant J.-C., au moment où commencent à affluer les amphores grecques, sauf survivances (type 29 de Zemer, par exemple). Comme on l'a déjà remarqué pour les récipients que j'ai associés aux échanges de grains et d'huile (voir *AchHist* 6), l'acmé de ces productions paraît se situer entre le VII^e et le V^e siècles, toutes régions d'origine confondues.

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[10] Sur les ostraca d'Arad, voir aussi la bibliographie citée dans la première partie sur le blé et l'huile. A Samarie, le terme utilisé pour désigner les livraisons de vin est le mot phénicien *yn*, dans un milieu linguistique entièrement hébreu.

[11] En dernier, Lemaire 1989, qui fait le point sur les études en cours.

[12] Toutes ces amphores se ressemblent beaucoup et sont présentes, en nombres variables, sur tous les sites côtiers à l'intérieur d'un triangle Égypte-Syrie côtière-Chypre; une étude urgente

La Phénicie semble avoir été célèbre dans l'antiquité pour ses exportations de vin plus que pour ses productions propres, et le vin de Byblos ne semble pas avoir joui d'une renommée flatteuse. Les conditions naturelles du Mont Liban se prêtent pourtant bien à la viticulture,[13] et il n'y a aucune raison de l'exclure des régions productrices; plus au nord, Strabon rappelle la richesse viticole de la plaine de Laodicée, l'actuelle Lattaquieh, dont, de son temps, les habitants d'Alexandrie prisaient les crus (Strabon XVI 2,9). On a vu plus haut que les vins phéniciens étaient répandus en Égypte, et plusieurs historiens soutiennent l'hypothèse d'une diffusion des crus phéniciens jusqu'en Occident.[14] Les textes restent cependant discrets sur la variété et la qualité de ces vins, et sans en tirer d'argument définitif, il convient de s'interroger sur l'originalité des productions phéniciennes: s'agissait-il de réelles exportations ou de ré-exportations, en d'autres termes, les vins 'phéniciens' auraient-ils été des vins 'orientaux' au sens large (Chypre, Palestine, Syrie) transportés dans des récipients 'phéniciens'?

Un faux indice pourrait être le récit d'Hérodote sur le rapatriement des amphores vidées de leur vin en Égypte vers leur pays d'origine, en Syrie: de nos jours, on appellerait cela un retour de consigne. Mais le texte est suffisamment clair et ne réfère qu'à l'approvisionnement en eau indispensable lors du franchissement de la partie septentrionale du désert du Sinaï: «il y a trois jours au moins, et la région est d'une aridité terrible» (III 5). Cambyse y avait fait porter des outres lors de son entrée en Égypte (III 9), et, si l'on en croit Hérodote, ses successeurs auraient jalonné cette route de points de ravitaillement constitués par des amphores phéniciennes remplies

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consisterait à mettre de l'ordre dans toute la documentation présentée par Zemer et dans celle qui s'est accumulée depuis la parution de son ouvrage en 1977. Bien sûr, des programmes systématiques d'analyses physico-chimiques seraient également nécessaires: le travail entrepris pour les amphores grecques reste à faire pour celles du Proche-Orient.

[13] Si les meilleurs vins libanais contemporains proviennent de la Bekaa, cela ne tient qu'à des raisons historiques indépendantes des avantages naturels; des vignobles de qualité abondent dans la moyenne montagne libanaise.

[14] F. Benoit, *Recherches sur l'hellénisation du midi de la Gaule*, cité par Elayi 1988: 97, n. 69. Gras, Rouillard & Teixidor 1989: 105, sont plus prudents sur ce point.

d'eau.[15] Les arguments archéologiques paraissent plus sérieux pour soutenir l'hypothèse d'une spécialisation phénicienne dans la production de récipients. Une brève controverse opposant Geva (1982) et Bikai (1985) sur l'origine réelle — Tyr ou Israël — de plusieurs types d'amphores que les archéologues ont l'habitude de désigner comme phéniciennes fait apparaître des éléments assez solides: ces vases-conteneurs ('sausage storage jars' ou 'crisp ware storage jars' chez les deux auteurs précédemment cités, types 12-15 et 29 de Zemer 1977, jarres à lèvre repliée ou jarre-torpille dans Salles 1980) sont certainement d'origine phénicienne: Tyr pour les crisp ware storage jars, probablement la plaine de ^{c}Akko pour les jarres à lèvre repliée à argile jaunâtre, Sarepta pour d'autres types. Certaines particularités techniques telles que le faible poids, les anses spécialement conçues pour l'attachement du récipient dans une cale de navire, le volume à peu près constant, etc., suggèrent que ces récipients étaient fabriqués spécialement pour l'exportation, pas nécessairement celle du vin mais comme des conteneurs vides susceptibles d'accueillir tous types de produits. Une remarque, pas nécessairement déterminante, peut être faite dans le même sens. On s'accorde pour reconnaître que les estampilles des amphores grecques sont relatives au contenant (nom du fabricant du vase, du magistrat-surveillant, etc. — voir les explications possibles proposées par Garlan 1986: 271), le contenu n'ayant besoin d'aucune spécification puisqu'il s'agissait toujours de vin — bien que de nombreux graffites indiquant des crus aient été trouvés dans la Délos hellénistique. Les ostraca hébreux, phéniciens, ou araméens en Égypte et au Levant associent souvent un nom propre (le propriétaire? le destinataire?) avec la désignation du contenu, comme si celui-ci n'était pas évident à la seule forme de l'amphore: on se trouverait donc en présence de conteneurs indéterminés, et non de fabrications propres à un produit unique comme le sont les amphores à vin grecques. D'autre part, la très grande diffusion de ces amphores caractéristiques dans tous les sites de Chypre et du Levant laisse supposer qu'elles y sont arrivées non seulement par le biais du commerce des marchandises qu'elle contenaient, mais aussi comme récipients vides, pour y être utilisées comme conteneurs de produits locaux; autrement dit, les Phéniciens vendaient des amphores vides que chacun remplissait à sa guise. Un exemple pourrait être celui d'une amphore trouvée à Kition (*Kition* III: D7, 135-136), traditionnellement interprétée comme une jarre à vin (type 19 de Zemer 1977); mais l'inscription peinte fait état d'huile d'olive, comme si l'on avait voulu attirer l'attention sur un contenu 'inhabituel' — le vin ne fait jamais l'objet de graffites mais apparaît parfois dans des estampilles. Si l'hypothèse est juste, il n'est donc plus assuré que les amphores phéniciennes aient transporté du vin phénicien, et des crus chypriotes, palestiniens, syriens ou autres pouvaient circuler dans ces vases-conteneurs indifférenciés. Ceci ne remet pas en cause, bien sûr, l'intensité des échanges de vins en Méditerranée orientale qu'attestent les textes et la diffusion des amphores phéniciennes, chypriotes, palestiniennes, etc.[16]

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[15] Sur les ré-utilisations de jarres, voir, entre autres, Garlan 1983: 40. Et l'historien grec ne prétend pas que «[ces] jarres vides [étaient] rempli[es] d'eau en Égypte et ramen[ées] pleines d'eau en Phénicie» (Elayi 1988: 75).

L'étude de la culture de la vigne à Chypre et celle du vin chypriote dans l'antiquité restent à faire, à ma connaissance, alors même que des conditions naturelles favorables et l'histoire moderne et contemporaine rendent abondamment compte du rôle de la viticulture dans l'île.[17] Strabon rappelle que l'île est pourvue en 'bon vin' (XIV 6,5), et des textes talmudiques célèbrent le vin chypriote (Naveh 1987: 30). Mais le tri de la documentation archéologique et épigraphique n'est pas aisé. Des mentions de 'vin blanc' et de 'vin de palmier' en caractères syllabiques chypriotes ont été reconnues dans une tombe de Vouni sur des pithoi qui constituaient sans doute des offrandes funéraires (ICS 207 et 208, citées par Masson 1967: 133); un ostracon recueilli en 1896 dans une tombe de Salamine fait état, sur la face A, d'une jarre [de vin?] consacrée comme prémices et, sur la face B, de libations qui nécessitent «une jarre de vin pour chaque jour qui vient, durant toute une année.»[18] Il paraît peu probable, pourtant, que le vin n'ait eu qu'une fonction funéraire et/ou religieuse aux périodes chypro-archaïque et chypro-classique de ces graffites. A la même époque, des amphores phéniciennes sont importées à Chypre en quantités considérables;[19] plusieurs correspondent aux types orientaux généralement reconnus comme 'amphores à vin' (Zemer 1977), et de nombreux graffites en phénicien désignent le propriétaire ou le fabricant du récipient(?), jamais son contenu en vin.[20] Mais les remarques précédentes sur la circulation d'amphores vides en Méditerranée orientale interdisent d'envisager que toutes ces importations aient été des vins phéniciens ou palestiniens, même si quelques inscriptions explicitent parfois une origine levantine.[21] Les fouilles chypriotes démontrent l'abondance des productions amphoriques locales pendant tout le premier millénaire avant J.-C.; au début du IV^{e} siècle, peut-être plus tôt, des amphores caractéristiques sont fabriquées à Paphos, à Kourion ou à Kition et exportées en Égypte, en Phénicie ou en Palestine (Grace 1979; Calvet 1986): leur spécifité viticole est mentionnée plus tard dans les papyri de Zénon. L'argile de ces amphores est facilement reconnaissable, en particulier à Kition, et des timbres figuratifs ou portant des signes syllabiques permettent une identification plus précise (Calvet 1986; *Kition-Bamboula* IV). Dans une synthèse préliminaire sur ce type d'amphores, Y. Calvet rappelle qu'elles ne témoignent que d'une infime partie du commerce chypriote, dont il faut chercher d'autres survivances matérielles, encore mal identifiées (Calvet 1986: 513-514). C'est également à partir du IV^{e} siècle que commencent à se répandre à Chypre les vins grecs et les amphores de Thasos, de Samos ou de Cos, avant que les importations rhodiennes ne deviennent dominantes au III^{e} siècle avant J.-C.[22]

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[16] Entre autres sujets d'études urgents à mener, il serait souhaitable que les témoignages écrits sur l'exportation des vins grecs vers la Phénicie soient relayés par un inventaire des anses d'amphores timbrées ainsi que par celui des amphores non timbrées recueillies dans les sites du Liban et de Syrie.

[17] Les témoignages des voyageurs anciens signalent la qualité du vin chypriote dès le XIV^{e} siècle. On a pensé d'abord que la domestication de la vigne dans l'île était relativement tardive, puisque des trouvailles de semences à Salamine se rapprochaient de la plante sauvage (Hjelmqvist 1973: 238); il s'avère qu'elle fut exploitée dès le 3^{e} millénaire (Hjelmqvist 1979: 110-111), mais l'hypothèse d'une domestication différenciée dans le temps selon les régions de Chypre n'est guère convaincante.

[18] *Ibid.*: 139-142. L'auteur signale la consécration de cruches de vin par un fidèle, «comme prémices de la production de son domaine» (139, n. 4).

[19] Les amphores orientales de Kition-Kathari, le principal site phénicien de Chypre, n'ont pas été publiées: dans son étude sur les importations amphoriques, Johnston 1981 se contente de renvoyer à Salles 1980, ce qui paraît nettement insuffisant. Dans le même ouvrage, P.M. Bikai ne traite pas des amphores dans son analyse des importations phéniciennes (Bikai 1981), et le problème est à peine abordé par Bikai 1987.

[20] Seule l'huile est citée dans les graffites. Pour la typologie des amphores, voir, après Masson & Sznycer 1972, Amadasi dans *Kition* III, par ex. D3 et D4 (p. 131-133) assimilables aux types 12-14 de Zemer 1977; de nombreux autres exemples peuvent être mentionnés dans les rapports de fouille.

Plus encore peut-être que celui des grains ou de l'huile parce qu'il s'agit d'un produit non immédiatement nécessaire qui est porteur d'une formidable charge culturelle au sens le plus large, le commerce du vin chypro-levantin à l'intérieur des régions riveraines de la Méditerranée orientale, toutes à la fois productrices et importatrices/exportatrices, paraît avoir été très actif et complexe. Si l'on en juge, hâtivement et probablement de manière superficielle, par la circulation des amphores, ces échanges atteignent leur intensité maximale entre les VI^{e} au IV^{e} siècles avant J.-C., avant que les vins égéens n''envahissent' le marché oriental. Quelle fut l'organisation exacte des circuits de distributions des vins orientaux entre les innombrables sites où leur présence est attestée par l'archéologie? Il est impossible de l'envisager sérieusement, mais on retrouve plus qu'ailleurs l'image d'un mouvement brownien très éloigné des visions linéaires excessives (voir *AchHist* 6: 213): on pouvait consommer n'importe quel vin oriental dans les grands centres de la Méditerranée orientale, et il n'est sans doute pas exagéré d'imaginer des circuits commerciaux aussi compliqués et rémunérateurs que ceux du Beaujolais nouveau. Pour quelles raisons les crus orientaux n'ont-ils pas pu supporter la concurrence des vins grecs produits en masse à partir du IV^{e} siècle avant J.-C., et quel est leur réel devenir après l'époque hellénistique? Malgré une littérature abondante, qui touche inégalement les productions grecques et celles du Proche Orient, les problèmes restent nombreux, et une meilleure interprétation des conteneurs pourrait, peut-être, apporter quelques éléments de réponse.

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[21] Voir Naveh 1987, qui cite des trouvailles de Larnaca, d'Idalion et d'Alassa, datées des IVe et IIIe s. av. J.-C.: la marque 'A' désigne sans doute un vin d'excellence, mais le contenu de l'amphore n'est pas expressement désigné.

[22] Travaux d'Y. Calvet à Salamine et Kition (en dernier, *Kition-Bamboula* IV), de Z. Sztetyllo à Paphos.

Dans les pages qui précèdent, nous avons privilégié les produits méditerranéens par excellence, le blé, l'huile et le vin; au-delà, il paraît difficile d'évaluer la variété des marchandises qui emplissaient les cales des navires sillonnant la Méditerranée orientale en tous sens, tant les mentions sont nombreuses. D'autres produits alimentaires circulaient, glanés au hasard des textes de l'Ancien Testament (également, Athénée *Deip.* I 28): le miel de Juda, les dattes de Phénicie, certainement pas originaires des côtes du Liban mais peut-être de la vallée du Jourdain, les fruits séchés, etc. L'Égypte vendait du poisson; à Kition-Bamboula, la fouille a trouvé les restes d'un grand Siluridé d'eau douce provenant du Nil dans les rejets de cuisine d'une auberge du III^{e} siècle avant J.-C. (*Kition-Bamboula* IV). Cela rappelle le temps où l'égyptien Wen-Amon faisait parvenir trente couffes de poisson séché au prince de Byblos, mais il est probable que l'Égypte n'était pas la seule à se livrer à ce commerce.[23] Le bétail n'est pas en reste: agneaux, béliers et boucs que les Arabes de Qédar fournissaient à Tyr pour être ensuite ré-exportés vers l'Égypte et autres régions voisines; ou chevaux que la Palestine semble avoir achetés aux Phéniciens, qui eux-mêmes les faisaient venir de Cappadoce ou de Cilicie par voie de mer (Elat 1979: 540-541); mais d'autres échanges existaient sûrement, que nous pouvons difficilement imaginer.[24] On soupçonne la circulation du sel marin: l'exploitation du Lac Salé, près de Kition, justifie la présence d'un fonctionnaire spécialisé, l'homme des salines, honoré par une stèle (*Bull. Ép. Sém.*: 488-489; Yon sous presse).

Le commerce phénicien, lointain ou plus localisé, est également célèbre pour les métaux, cuivre de Chypre encore mentionné par Strabon (XIV 6,5) et minerais occidentaux: on se reportera à la carte et au développement proposés par Gras, Rouillard & Teixidor, 1989: 97-102. La réputation antique du bois phénicien demeure à l'époque achéménide, puisque ce sont des cèdres du Liban qui sont livrés pour la reconstruction du temple de Jérusalem, mais aussi pour la toiture des temples d'Apollon à Utique et d'Héraclès à Cadix (*ibid.*: 104). Les cyprès de Chypre et les forêts de l'île sont tout autant réputés, et leur bois utilisé pour la construction navale: des livraisons de bois chypriote à l'Égypte sont mentionnées dès l'époque des lettres d'el-Amarna, et Strabon rappelle que les forêts furent défrichées par tous ceux qui le souhaitaient pour la construction de bateaux (XIV 6,5; voir aussi Pline XVI 203). On transportait aussi de la pierre: l'inventaire récent des objets utilitaires en pierre recueillis dans les niveaux pré-phéniciens de Kition-Kathari révèle la liste des matériaux bruts qui ne sont pas originaires de l'île ainsi que leur lieu d'origine (*Kition* V, Appendice V); de telles identifications pourraient être faites sur la plupart des sites du Proche Orient et permettraient de dresser un tableau très diversifié de la circulation du matériau de pierre. On connaît la pourpre phénicienne comme produit de luxe distribué dans toute la Méditerranée antique, mais d'autres sources semblent avoir existé au Proche Orient: à Chypre, on trouve un 'pêcheur de murex' ou 'teinturier en pourpre' (Masson 1985, 87). De son côté, Ezéchiel rappelle que Tyr recevait d'Edom «des escarboucles, de la pourpre, des broderies, du byssus, du corail et des rubis» (*Ez.* 27,16), c'est-à-dire des marchandises qui parvenaient à ce royaume du désert par le biais du commerce caravanier arabe depuis les côtes de la Mer Rouge et, peut-être, celles du Golfe Arabo-persique. On rejoint là la liste des produits rares et 'exotiques' qui parvenaient en Phénicie par l'intermédiaire des caravanes arabes, celles qui s'approvisionnaient dans le lointain Yémen ou dans les ports de la Mer Rouge,[25] et celles qui arrivaient des cités marchandes d'Arabie orientale:[26] épices, encens, pierres précieuses, mais aussi singes ou autres animaux extraordinaires, tous produits de luxe qui ont contribué au renom des Phéniciens dans le monde grec.

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[23] Il n'y a pas, à ma connaissance, de résultats d'analyses qui auraient livré des résidus de poisson dans les amphores commerciales du Proche Orient, comme cela a été constaté à maintes reprises en Occident.

[24] Qui pourrait démontrer, en 1991, que la majeure partie des troupeaux ovins paissant dans les steppes désertiques d'Arabie Séoudite, de Koweit ou des Émirats Arabes Unis, arrive sur pied de Turquie? La consommation de viande de mouton dans ces mêmes pays est presque entièrement de provenance australienne.

La lamentation par Ezéchiel sur Tyr (ch. 26-27) est souvent citée pour démontrer la richesse commerciale de la capitale phénicienne; elle ne fournit en fait qu'une image fragmentaire d'échanges régionaux ou lointains, beaucoup plus nombreux et complexes, qu'il est difficile, voire impossible, d'apprécier avec précision. Les cales des navires transportaient ces marchandises souvent en vrac, mais aussi dans des conteneurs en céramique: des amphores phéniciennes devaient y côtoyer des vases grecs, de la céramique chypriote, des jarres palestiniennes ou égyptiennes, qui subsistent comme les minces témoins d'une riche activité.

Les indicateurs du commerce

Brièvement évoqué au cours des études précédentes, le problème de la 'quantification' de ces échanges commerciaux paraît insurmontable. Comment évaluer, d'une part, les fluctuations saisonnières dans la circulation des biens périssables à l'intérieur de ce territoire exigu, liée le plus souvent aux aléas de la production: mauvaises ou bonnes récoltes, ou à des événements politico-militaires de portée locale hors de notre perception? Comment percevoir, d'autre part, les changements à moyen ou long terme, les 'variations cycliques' démontrées par l'histoire moderne, lorsque le rôle des accès aux sources d'approvisionnement devient déterminant, tant pour les produits périssables que pour les matières premières?[27] Il faudrait, enfin, pouvoir étudier les modifications temporaires ou définitives des circuits inter-régionaux. Dans tous ces domaines, l'aide des textes est quasiment nulle, sauf dans quelques phases précises de l'histoire grecque qui ne concernent pas le Proche Orient. A l'intérieur de cette région, on a souvent insisté sur le danger qu'il y aurait à utiliser abusivement des textes qui n'ont pas de réelle portée économique (la Bible, par ex.), ou dont les buts avoués ne révèlent aucune préoccupation commerciale. Ainsi en est-il des listes de tributs versés aux souverains néo-assyriens, néo-babyloniens ou achéménides, qu'il serait erroné d'utiliser pour dresser une 'carte' des échanges au Moyen Orient; mais les informations qu'elles fournissent sont parfois indicatives de mouvements de marchandises qu'il ne faut pas sous-estimer.[28] Il convient de se méfier, aussi, des tautologies qu'expriment les appellations de certains produits: de nos jours, on ne définirait pas sans danger des circuits commerciaux à partir de termes comme 'cèdre du Liban,' 'objet damasquiné,' 'thé de Ceylan,' pour ne citer que quelques exemples: les textes classiques sont certainement pleins de ces expressions, qui peuvent nous guider parfois vers des chemins erronés.

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[25] Lemaire 1987, dont certaines conclusions devraient être révisées en fonction des découvertes archéologiques les plus récentes. Malgré son caractère 'sensationnel,' l'ouvrage de Paul Faure, *Parfums et aromates de l'Antiquité*, Fayard 1987, présente un panorama souvent juste.

[26] Récemment, Salles 1987 pour la période hellénistique; Salles 1989 pour la première moitié du 1^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.

Il faut donc revenir, avec prudence, vers les documents archéologiques, et, faute de mieux,[29] vers la céramique — d'autres objets archéologiques nombreux peuvent témoigner d'échanges commerciaux, mais mon propos se limitera volontairement aux tessons de poterie. En abordant le problème, sans espoir de le traiter complètement, il n'est pas inutile de rappeler quelques truismes. Le premier est un exemple archéologique cité par Hopper 1979: 17 (avec bibliographie): la somme totale des exportations corinthiennes à l'époque archaïque, recueillies dans tous les sites de la Méditerranée sur un laps de temps de presque deux siècles, représente, en volume, la cargaison de quelques navires seulement, ce qui réduirait le rôle de Corinthe à cette époque à celui d'une toute petite cité sans ambitions commerciales: on voit combien il serait illusoire de mesurer le volume des échanges et de leurs variations au seul décompte des tessons.[30] Le second est emprunté aux périodes médiévales et est cité par Gill 1988: 178. Les listes de taxes perçues dans les ports de Southampton et de Bristol aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles ne mentionnent jamais de cargaisons de céramique; celle-ci demeure pourtant la base de la connaissance archéologique de ces cités qui, selon les archives disponibles et la poterie recueillie, n'auraient pas été les grands ports importateurs de l'Angleterre médiévale: il y a là la preuve évidente d'une distorsion entre la réalité historique et son reflet archéologique, qu'il faut garder à l'esprit dans l'interprétation des données antiques.

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[27] Pour mémoire, on citera entre d'autres exemples, celui de l'approvisionnement en blé du Pont dans l'Athènes de Démosthène.

[28] Un cas intéressant de ces variations au Proche Orient, au-delà de celles qui affectent les sources d'approvisionnement en métaux, est celui de l'ivoire aux 2^{e} et 1er millénaires avant J.-C.; voir les travaux d'I. Winter ou l'article de D. Collon, 'Ivory', *Iraq* 1977, 219-22. Bibliographies récentes dans J. Gachet, 'Objets en os et en ivoire', et A. Caubet & F. Poplin, 'Les objets en matière dure animale. Étude du matériau', *Ras Shamra-Ougarit*. III, *Le centre de la ville*, sous la direction de M. Yon, Paris, ERC, 1987: 249-306. Le choix entre ivoire d'hippopotame vs. ivoire d'éléphant est lié à la survie des premiers dans le Proche Orient antique, et à l'accès lointain au matériau des seconds, en Afrique orientale et en Inde.

[29] L'expression n'est pas de moi: je l'emprunte à Hopper 1979: 23, en français dans le texte.

La céramique-marchandise

On a souvent considéré que les vases en céramique étaient un objet d'échange en soi, c'est-à-dire qu'on vendait et achetait des pots en terre; vu leur utilité universelle, c'est plus que probable. De là à en faire l'objet exclusif ou essentiel de courants commerciaux, il y a un pas difficile à franchir mais fréquemment accepté. Gill rappelle avec humour certaines affirmations du début du siècle: «we can well imagine how, when in search of a cargo of grain, the [Greek] shipmaster would pack a few specimens [of pots] in order to tempt the wheat merchants of South Russia» (1988: 175), tout à fait conformes à une vision traditionnelle du commerce de pacotille issue de l'histoire coloniale européenne du XIX^e siècle; ce type de raisonnement n'a pas totalement disparu, et on décrit encore en 1988 un commerce 'triangulaire' des Phéniciens, ré-exportateurs de céramiques attiques vers l'Espagne ou l'Éthiopie (Elayi 1988: 68). Derrière ces fantaisies, il existe deux réalités: des céramiques dont on sait qu'elles ont été fabriquées en un lieu donné ont été retrouvées loin de leur point d'origine; mais, comme le rappelle Cartledge, ce déplacement n'est qu'un signe de l'échange, il n'en est pas le moteur: «For if one thing is clear about the economic significance of Greek ceramics, it is that the decorated pottery would not by itself have paid for bulk imports of grain» (1983: 12).

Des tranferts de céramique sont courants dans la Méditerranée orientale pré-achéménide. Les productions chypriotes d'époque archaïque sont présentes dans de nombreux sites de Syrie ou de Palestine: on en trouvera une liste ancienne dans la publication des fouilles suédoises (SCE IV, 2), et les recherches récentes confirment cette diffusion, en particulier en Palestine et en Phénicie du Sud (Tell Keisan Tel Qiri, etc.); il faut souligner le caractère relativement restreint de cette distribution. La céramique phénicienne est abondante à Chypre (Calvet 1984; Bikai 1987), mais elle circule également sur toutes les côtes du Levant (Braemer 1986); on a étudié depuis longtemps les circuits de la Samarian Ware, une catégorie de céramique fine décorée probablement originaire de Palestine du Nord (Amiran 1969: 213-215; Bikai, *op.cit.*; Chambon 1980: 170-171). Des trouvailles de céramique phénicienne ou chypriote ont aussi été faites en Égypte, moins nombreuses il est vrai; de son côté, les poteries égyptiennes, même 'fines,' ne semblent pas avoir circulé. Outre ces échanges internes entre Chypre, la Syrie, la Phénicie, la Palestine et l'Égypte (voir la 1ère partie), la diffusion des poteries égéennes et ioniennes au Proche Orient a fait l'objet de plusieurs études: elles sont nombreuses et variées dès le IXe siècle avant J.-C.,[31] jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient progressivement supplantées par les importations attiques à partir de la fin du VIe siècle (Perreault 1986; récemment, pour la Palestine, Wenning 1990)

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[30] Cela a pourtant été fait pour la Phénicie (Elayi 1988): à partir de prémices aussi fragiles, la suite du raisonnement ne pouvait être que faussée. Mon opinion sur cet ouvrage est développée dans Salles 1991.

Quelques remarques sont nécessaires sur ces céramiques qui circulent. La plupart des vases concernés ici ne sont pas des conteneurs (voir *infra*); il s'agit de bols, assiettes, coupes, petites cruches, etc., qui n'ont pas accompagné des produits périssables et ont donc été distribués pour eux-mêmes. Leur nombre relativement grand et leur variété empêchent qu'on y voie des sortes de 'souvenirs' rapportés par des marchands, voyageurs, soldats, etc.: dans la plupart des cas, une telle circulation paraît dépasser la simple initiative individuelle et refléter de réels circuits de marchandises. D'autre part, la faible quantité totale de ces échanges céramiques quand on les compare aux productions 'autochtones' d'un site, et l'ignorance où nous demeurons de la valeur-prix individuelle de ces objets, semblent exclure que ces vases aient constitué l'un des termes de l'échange, c'est-à-dire qu'on ait troqué des assiettes de Samarie contre du cuivre chypriote ou des coupes White-Painted de Chypre contre l'encens d'Arabie transporté par les Phéniciens: on se retrouverait dans le schéma évoqué plus haut d'un commerce de pacotille, très improbable en Méditerranée orientale si l'on considère la solide organisation des échanges maintes fois évoquée plus haut.

L'interprétation exacte de la diffusion de ces céramiques reste donc difficile. S'agissait-il de vases qui avaient une fonction spéciale, comme les aryballes à parfum corinthiens ou les bilbils à opium de Chypre au Bronze Récent (Merrillees 1968: 179)? C'est impossible à déterminer dans la presque totalité des cas, les formes de ces poteries étant généralement banales et leur utilisation exacte inconnue. S'agissait-il de satisfaire des habitudes d'expatriés?

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[31] Résumé pratique par A.M. Collombier 1987, avec une abondante bibliographie.

Il n'est pas souhaitable de considérer systématiquement des groupes de céramiques importées comme la preuve d'une colonie samaritaine, chypriote, grecque, etc. dans les sites où ils sont trouvés: le débat sur la présence d'une colonie archaïque grecque dans le port syrien d'al-Mina est en ce sens exemplaire — et apparemment vain. Il demeure plausible, cependant, que des marchands, des militaires, des artisans, des fonctionnaires etc., expatriés pour une raison ou une autre, temporairement ou à plus long terme — et la période achéménide est remplie de telles 'affectations' loin de la patrie d'origine —, auraient pu souhaiter conserver quelque chose de leur cadre de vie natif en utilisant les produits de chez eux: ce peut être l'une des raisons de ces circulations de céramiques, mais il ne faut sans doute pas en exagérer la portée. Un autre argument probable est celui de la notoriété passagère ou durable d'un type de poterie, pour des raisons qui nous échappent: utilité? solidité? qualité? beauté? ou plus simplement encore, la force de conviction d'un bon vendeur-bonimenteur, ce qu'on appellerait aujourd'hui le marketing; il ne s'agit pas ici d'abriter notre ignorance derrière des phénomènes de mode inaccessibles, mais seulement de rappeler qu'ils ont dû jouer un rôle dans la diffusion de ces produits de la vie quotidienne. En fait, aucune des justifications invoquées ne paraît être le moteur unique du commerce des vases en céramique, et il faut sans doute chercher des explications multiples: il demeure pourtant très improbable que les blés du Pont aient été achetés avec des vases attiques ou les métaux espagnols avec de la céramique phénicienne.

Si l'on tente de mesurer ce que la période achéménide a apporté de changement dans les échanges de céramique-marchandise en Méditerranée orientale, force est de constater qu'il y a une parfaite continuité avant et après Darius. Les publications citées plus haut constatent toutes un déclin rapide des importations ioniennes et de la circulation des poteries régionales (chypriote, phénicienne, palestinienne) vers le milieu du VI^{e} siècle avant J.-C., sous l'effet de la concurrence active des céramiques attiques. Il suffit de rappeler ici les conclusions de Perreault 1986: 171, sur l'évolution des importations attiques au Proche Orient: «600-530: accroissement graduel en Syrie du Nord et à Chypre, beaucoup plus rapide en Égypte; 530-480/470: forte augmentation dans toutes les régions, à l'exception de l'Égypte où elles se maintiennent; 480/470-450/440: baisse en Syrie du Nord, à Chypre et peut-être en Palestine, moins nette en Égypte; 450-440-IV^{e} siècle: reprise et essor dans tout le Proche Orient.» Ce schéma est confirmé par les fouilles les plus récentes à Chypre ou en Palestine. Le changement le plus important intervient donc avant la conquête perse de la Méditerranée orientale, du fait de conditions propres à la Grèce archaïque et sans relation évidente avec la situation régionale du Proche Orient où la stabilisation relative du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée s'était faite à la fin du VIII^{e}-début du VII^{e} siècle; le déclin de la circulation des céramiques régionales et ioniennes ne paraît lié à aucun phénomène politique précis, mais à des politiques mercantilistes qu'il serait trop long d'exposer ici. L'établissement de la domination achéménide sur la Phénicie, Chypre et la Palestine ne modifie en rien ce qui était apparu au milieu du VI^e^ siècle, et il est tout à fait symptomatique que la conquête du Levant, les tensions et conflits en Asie Mineure, la préparation et le déroulement de la première guerre médique n'ont en rien affecté, du moins dans l'apparence archéologique, les échanges de céramique-marchandise d'origine attique. Les faibles fluctuations perceptibles aux V^e^ et IV^e^ siècles n'ont pas de portée significative, et les raisons doivent en être cherchées dans l'histoire grecque, pas dans celle du Proche Orient: au même moment, en effet, les vases-conteneurs continuent à circuler avec la même intensité (*infra*). La véritable rupture s'établit à la fin du IV^e^ siècle, de manière très nette pour les céramiques-conteneurs comme on le verra plus loin, mais aussi pour les poteries de type attique désormais fabriquées dans des ateliers régionaux éloignés des centres grecs:[32] que les raisons de cet autre changement majeur dans l'évolution du Proche Orient s'appellent hellénisation et/ou arrivée d'Alexandre est un problème hors de propos ici. En termes de quantités de tessons de céramiques importées recueillies sur les sites du Levant ou de Chypre, la phase de la domination achéménide n'est pas perceptible.

La céramique de luxe

Bien qu'il n'affecte pas directement le thème de la continuité, il faut se pencher quelques instants sur ce concept largement répandu dans la littérature historique et archéologique d'hier et, parfois, encore tenace. En préliminaire, je m'interrogerai sur une donnée régionale simpliste: avant 600 avant J.-C., en dates arbitraires, les habitants du Levant étaient consommateurs de céramiques 'courantes', soit produites dans leurs propres ateliers à Chypre, en Phénicie ou à Samarie pour les catégories fines, soit importées de l'Égée et de l'Asie Mineure, poteries dont on s'accorde à reconnaître la qualité sans prétendre pourtant les qualifier de produits 'de luxe'. Brusquement, à partir de 550-500 avant J.-C., ces mêmes consommateurs abandonnent les achats courants et se tournent exclusivement vers des céramiques de luxe, attiques: les ateliers locaux 'dégénèrent'. Les structures des sociétés proche-orientales auraient-elles à ce point changé que les produits de luxe importés auraient totalement éclipsé les fabrications courantes 'nationales'? Ces sociétés se seraient-elles suffisamment enrichies pour que tous puissent accéder à une consommation de luxe? Imagine-t-on que, demain, un pays non-européen abandonne ses productions propres et n'importe plus que du Sèvres ou du Wedgwood? Ces questions sont excessives, bien sûr, mais elles encadrent un peu le sens qu'il faut accorder au terme 'céramique de luxe.'

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[32] L'exemple salaminien est étudié par Jehasse 1978. D'autres exemples sont cités dans *Kition-Bamboula* IV.

C'est une notion qui pourrait se définir par sa rareté. Ce n'est pas le cas au Proche Orient, puisque la céramique attique constitue l'essentiel de la céramique non-commune ou locale dans la plupart des sites du Levant à partir du V^e siècle: elle domine toutes les importations et n'est pas rare au regard des autres productions.[33] Le luxe n'est pas non plus beauté: il est impossible, dans le contexte proche-oriental, de mesurer la valeur artistique accordée à ces vases par leurs acheteurs, et l'idée d'un 'modèle culturel' est difficilement défendable, même dans les cas les plus extrêmes comme ceux des royautés philhellènes de Sidon, de Salamine ou de Marion; en tout état de cause, une telle conception hellénocentriste n'expliquerait pas la vogue soudaine de cette céramique dès le milieu du VI^e siècle, avant que ne se manifeste l'antagonisme gréco-perse à Chypre ou au Levant et que ne s'affirme la puissance d'Athènes. Il est possible que le confort d'utilisation créé par le vernis noir soit l'une des raisons qui ont provoqué la vogue de ces céramiques en Orient (par ex., Courbin 1982: 204): mais ceci n'a pas de rapport nécessaire avec l'idée d'un produit de luxe. En définitive, la notion d'objet de luxe devrait résider dans son prix élevé, que nous ignorons totalement au Proche Orient. Des études récentes paraissent démontrer que les vases attiques étaient bon marché en Grèce,[34] ce qui ne préjuge pas de leur prix plus élevé sur des marchés lointains. Pour l'époque romaine, Morel insiste: «Une céramique n'est pas exportée parce qu'elle est 'belle' mais parce que, grâce à un prix particulièrement bas, elle peut rivaliser sur des marchés éloignés avec les productions locales ... C'est bien souvent parce qu'une céramique était bon marché que son commerce était profitable» (1983: 67). Sans doute l'affirmation n'est-elle pas transposable sans nuances pour la période grecque et pour l'interprétation des marchés du Proche Orient aux VI-IV^e siècle avant J.-C., mais il paraît à peu près certain que la grande diffusion de la céramique attique dans cette région ne pourrait pas s'expliquer si ces vases avaient été des produits d'un coût exorbitant.

Qu'elle ait été par contre un article apprécié paraît confirmé par la multiplication rapide des 'imitations' fabriquées localement; ne dirions-nous pas plutôt de nos jours 'contre-façons,' terme qui exprime mieux la forte concurrence inséparable d'un produit raffiné et répandu?[35] Les copies de produits importés permettent de pallier les irrégularités probables d'approvisionnement, et surtout de proposer un article de moindre coût de revient, qui, vendu au même prix que l'original, procure un bénéfice accru.[36] En ce sens, je ne fais pas miennes les appréciations portées par la Swedish Cyprus Expedition et reprises par M. Yon (1984: 236-237) sur le 'déclin' de la production céramique chypriote, qui deviendrait un sous-produit des fabrications grecques à partir du IV^e siècle avant J.-C.: «ces objets d'importation [attique] étaient d'une qualité technique supérieure: ils ont facilement pris la place laissée par une production locale traditionnelle devenue de plus en plus médiocre.» Derrière le rôle des négociants 'au long cours,' qui procurent à Chypre les modèles grecs, il faut souligner avec force celui des marchands locaux qui diffusent les 'contre-façons' chypriotes dans toute la Méditerranée orientale.[37] Si l'inspiration artistique y a perdu, la rentabilité commerciale y a certainement beaucoup gagné.

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[33] Elle représente un tiers des trouvailles des égouts de la ville classique à Kition, *Kition-Bamboula* II.

[34] Gill 1988: 176, citant les travaux de Vickers et de Johnston. Est-ce que la notion généralement admise de céramique de luxe = prix élevé ne vient pas de l'affirmation qu'elle constituait le terme de l'échange? Vendue contre des produits aussi chers (?) que le blé ou les métaux, elle devait être nécessairement d'un prix très élevé, donc de luxe. On se trouve là en plein raisonnement circulaire.

[35] Il faudrait tenter d'évoquer, pour l'époque grecque, tout le cortège de sous-entendus culturels qu'implique ce terme.

Ce qui ressort de ce survol rapide, c'est la part très limitée qu'a jouée la céramique-marchandise, pâle reflet d'échanges commerciaux portant sur une infinité d'autres denrées sûrement plus rentables; il n'apparaît pas que les pots en terre aient constitué l'un des termes de l'échange dans les transactions qui portaient sur les céréales, l'huile ou le vin.

Les vases-conteneurs

Là aussi, il faut rester modeste: pour quelques marchandises transportées dans des amphores, combien d'autres n'étaient-elles pas emballées dans des paniers ou des sacs, conservées dans des conteneurs en bois, ou tout simplement jetées en vrac dans les cales des navires qui sillonnaient la Méditerranée? Le spectacle des quais de n'importe quel port oriental est évocateur à ce sujet. Toutefois, les trop rares exemples cités plus haut peuvent fournir quelques enseignements si l'on sait se garder d'interprétations hâtives. Le premier serait d'établir une relation fixe entre le contenant et le contenu: elle est inconnue dans l'écrasante majorité des cas et relève le plus souvent de l'hypothèse, comme j'ai essayé de le montrer. Mais ces vases-conteneurs existent et, lorsqu'ils circulent, ils indiquent des transports de marchandises.

Il est hors de question, d'autre part, d'appuyer quelque conclusion que ce soit à propos du volume des échanges sur des comptages de tessons ou de fragments de céramique: aucun rapport ne peut être raisonnablement établi entre le nombre supposé de vases-conteneurs préservés et la quantité transportée d'un produit quelconque.[38] Par voie de conséquence, les variations du nombre de fragments céramiques recueillis niveau par niveau dans un site archéologique ne sont pas forcément représentatives de possibles fluctuations des échanges au cours d'une période donnée: ce serait une grave erreur que de conclure à une augmentation des importations d'huile, par exemple, parce que le nombre de tessons d'amphores à anses en panier augmente dans tel ou tel niveau. Faut-il donc exclure toute possibilité de 'mesurer' les variations dans le volume des échanges de marchandises à partir de leurs conteneurs? Une réponse objective doit être affirmative. On peut cependant constater l'apparition ou la disparition de certains types de vases-conteneurs, leur proportion relative par rapport au reste de la céramique du site, leur présence ou absence dans tel ou tel site, et en tirer quelques prudentes hypothèses.

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[36] Un tel raisonnement peut paraître 'moderne,' et gratuit par rapport à ce que nous savons des sociétés anciennes. Mais ces réflexes sont les ressorts essentiels de l'activité commerciale, hier comme aujourd'hui, et les Orientaux n'étaient-ils pas reconnus par les Grecs comme de redoutables commerçants?

[37] Sur le rôle de Chypre comme centre de distribution des céramiques hellénistiques vers la Méditerranée orientale, voir *Kition-Bamboula* IV.

Ainsi, dans le Proche Orient de la première moitié du 1^er^ millénaire, voit-on apparaître des formes nouvelles de vases-conteneurs vers la fin du VIII^e^ siècle avant J.-C: amphores à anses en panier et amphores de type phénicien qui remplacent la jarre cananéenne traditionnelle, 'mortiers' peut-être associés avec d'autres récipients de stockage à grains. Ces vases se maintiennent sans évolution morphologique sensible pendant tout le VII^e^ siècle et une partie du VI^e^; on les rencontre en quantités notables dans la plupart des sites de la Méditerranée orientale, preuve qu'ils circulent, et ils paraissent constituer une part non négligeable des vases-récipients ou conteneurs locaux.[39] A partir du milieu du VI^e^ siècle, les formes évoluent: allongement des amphores à anses en panier et réduction des anses, haute base annulaire des 'mortiers' lourds désormais baptisés 'bols perses,' diversification des jarres phéniciennes et chypriotes; mais il n'y a pas de modification radicale dans leur morphologie générale. Dans le courant du IV^e^ siècle, ces récipients paraissent diminuer en quantité relative: on les trouve en moindre abondance sur les sites où ils étaient nombreux dans les niveaux antérieurs; les formes ne subissent pas de changement important. Au III^e^ siècle enfin, on ne trouve plus du tout d'amphores à anses en panier ou de 'bols perses' dans les sites du Proche Orient, sauf résiduellement; les jarres de type phénicien sont moins nombreuses et plus diversifiées, le type dominant de conteneur devenant l'amphore grecque. En résumé, de nouveaux types de vases-conteneurs se développent à partir du VII^e^ siècle, continuent à être couramment utilisés jusqu'au V^e^ siècle, et disparaissent progressivement vers la fin du IV^e^ siècle-début du III^e^. Il est difficile d'aller plus loin.

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[38] Sauf dans les rares cas d'épaves bien conservées: Cap Calydonia, Antibes, Giens, etc.; mais une seule cargaison n'est qu'une partie infinitésimale de l'ensemble du commerce.

[39] Généralement appelés ainsi parce qu'on ne sait pas leur attribuer une origine extérieure et qu'ils constituent la masse de céramique la plus importante du site, leur détermination 'locale' restant le plus souvent à démontrer.

En admettant le postulat qui consiste à lier ces vases-conteneurs avec les échanges commerciaux en Méditerranée orientale, sans chercher pourtant à les mesurer précisément, on pourrait traduire ces constatations en termes historiques: des circuits commerciaux nouveaux, et plus actifs(?), se mettent en place au Proche Orient au moment de la conquête néo-assyrienne (fin du VIII^{e} siècle) et se développent continûment pendant tout le temps qui précède la conquête achéménide (deuxième moitié du VI^{e} siècle); celle-ci ne paraît pas provoquer de bouleversement dans les réseaux d'échanges ni modifier leur intensité; un changement important intervient progressivement dans les dernières décennies de l'empire achéménide et paraît s'accélérer à la période d'Alexandre. L'interprétation historique de ces constatations relève évidemment d'une autre discussion.

Marchands et politiques

Si la conquête, le changement de pouvoir politique et la domination achéménides sur le Levant et Chypre n'ont pas affecté le volume apparent des échanges inter-régionaux et internationaux, on peut s'interroger sur le rôle qu'auraient pu jouer les Perses dans l'organisation d'un commerce florissant au moment de leur arrivée. Le problème n'est pas d'évoquer la part semble-t-il très faible que pouvaient constituer les profits commerciaux dans la formation du tribut: il s'agissait en fait d'une question relevant des tributaires eux-mêmes, où le pouvoir satrapique n'avait pas à intervenir tant que les greniers royaux étaient pleins et les tributs versés. Mais peut-on envisager que des intermédiaires perses se soient infiltrés dans les systèmes d'organisation du commerce, à titre individuel ou plus officiellement, pour en contrôler une partie ou du moins en tirer bénéfice?

Les textes littéraires grecs relatifs à Chypre paraissent indiquer qu'à l'époque classique, comme dans les siècles précédents, le grand commerce était un privilège royal (SCE IV 2: 500); seul le pouvoir central était autorisé à écouler les surplus de la production nationale quand ils existaient. Autorisé mais pas nécessairement capable, et l'existence d'une catégorie de marchands est attestée depuis longtemps, des gens d'ailleurs proches du roi; une lettre d'el-Amarna adressée par le roi d'Alashiya-Chypre au pharaon d'Egypte exprime bien cette situation: «Mon frère, laisse aller mes messagers ... Ces hommes sont mes marchands ... Que personne ne s'approche de mes marchands ou de mon navire pour exiger quelque chose en ton nom» (EA, 39, 10-20). Vers le milieu du 1er millénaire, ce sont peut-être des marchands, mêlés de mercenaires(?), qui ont signé plus de quarante graffiti en langue syllabaire chypriote sur les murs du temple de Séti I^{er}, à Abydos, où se tenait un oracle d'Osiris (Masson 1961); le plus ancien est daté de la fin du VI^{e}/début du V^{e} siècle. Timocritos de Salamine et Abdaios de Kition, l'un enterré à Ephèse et l'autre à Athènes au V^e^ siècle, étaient-ils des commerçants? (Nicolaou 1986: 425). Cela est plus clair au siècle suivant, lorsqu'un Salaminien est honoré à Athènes pour une livraison de blé (*ibid.* 427) et la communauté kitienne du Pirée autorisée à ériger un sanctuaire en l'honneur d'Aphrodite (SCE IV 2: 501; Yon, sous presse): il s'agit bien de marchands. Au IV^e^ siècle, le kitien Antipatros prête de l'argent pour une cargaison expédiée d'Athènes vers le Pont, et il semble clair que les produits transportés ne sont pas athéniens.[40] Aucun de ces textes ne fait état du moindre lien avec le pouvoir royal chypriote, et ces personnages privés appartiennent clairement à une catégorie professionnelle spécialisée; aucun Perse n'est présent parmi les marchands ou armateurs évoqués par les sources grecques, et les affaires paraissent exclusivement gréco-chypriotes.[41]

Pourtant, une interférence du pouvoir achéménide dans les échanges commerciaux pourrait être attestée à Chypre, même si elle s'avère modeste et au second degré. Parmi les fonctions administratives relevées dans les inscriptions phéniciennes de Kition, l'une est celle du *rab sarsourim*, 'chef des agents commerciaux' (trad. Guzzo Amadasi 1982: 388) ou 'chef des courtiers de la cour' (trad. Sznycer 1985: 82; voir aussi Yon 1989: 370). Le titre et la charge sont héréditaires, puisque le rédacteur de l'épitaphe cite six générations de 'chefs des agents commerciaux' dans sa famille: il s'agit certainement d'une position officielle proche du pouvoir royal — Sznycer évoque même la cour du roi. Deux ancêtres sont désignés comme *Parsay*, dont le fondateur de la famille vers 475 avant J.-C., «à l'époque précisément où s'établit à Kition la dynastie de Baalmilk I, soutenue par les Perses» (Yon 1989: 370). Le terme *Parsay* serait le surnom d'un Phénicien de Kition qui aurait travaillé pendant un certain temps à la cour du Grand Roi et aurait reçu le sobriquet à son retour; le caractère héréditaire de la fonction témoignerait de la main-mise d'une grande famille phénicienne sur le négoce de la cité (Yon *ibid.*). Guzzo Amadasi met également en doute la possibilité d'un personnage d'origine iranienne, mais suggère qu'il pourrait «entretenir des rapports avec les pouvoirs de l'empire, chargé peut-être de la surveillance du commerce avec Kition»: il s'agirait d'une charge conférée à une famille locale par le pouvoir achéménide (1982: 388). La fonction n'est attestée nulle part ailleurs, et sa traduction est fondée sur des analogies avec un terme voisin en hébreu; on a évoqué l'hypothèse d'une guilde ou corporation, dont le dédicant serait le responsable (Guzzo Amadasi dans *Kition* III, 98), et il paraît clair que la charge était liée au grand commerce kitien. Le terme *Parsay* signifie-t-il alors que le pouvoir achéménide s'était infiltré dans ce négoce? On sait que la présence perse à Chypre fut pratiquement nulle et la défense du territoire ou la levée du tribut confiée aux royaumes chypriotes eux-mêmes (Petit: 1991): l'existence d'une réelle administration perse à Kition dont le 'chef des agents commerciaux' aurait été l'un des responsables est très improbable. Le nom Parsay est connu dans d'autres contextes phéniciens, à Sidon et Abydos, sans être associé à une fonction particulière: il pourrait signaler des familles locales — les noms sont toujours phéniciens — proches du pouvoir central ou satrapique. Un point mérite d'être souligné: le surnom apparaît conjointement à Kition et à Sidon, cette dernière cité étant probablement la capitale satrapique dont dépendait l'île de Chypre; si ce n'est pas un hasard, on pourrait y voir une tentative du pouvoir satrapique pour contrôler, surveiller, ou taxer le grand négoce kitien. Que cette volonté soit inspirée par la cour du Grand Roi ou une initiative personnelle du satrape de Sidon est une autre question, probablement insoluble.

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[40] Démosthène, *Contre Lacritos* §32-33 (Yon, sous presse). R. Descat me signale que la cargaison de laine, de peaux de chèvres et de vin que mentionne le texte appartient probablement à un autre navire: il y a, semble-t-il, une ténébreuse affaire de prêts.

[41] Quelle que soit l'interprétation politique ou économique que l'on donne à ces 'affaires' — rapports entre Athènes et le monde extérieur; par ex. Humphreys 1978: 169-174.

C'est une image assez semblable qui ressort des textes décrivant le milieu asiatique d'Égypte, lui aussi sous domination achéménide, bien connu à travers les communautés juives et araméennes d'Éléphantine (Grelot 1972). Les rares passages présentant ou relatant des échanges commerciaux, locaux ou plus lointains, ne font intervenir que des individus privés; le négoce ne semble pas ressortir des attributions du satrape. Ses responsabilités économiques étaient de veiller à ce que soient remplis les magasins royaux et distribuées les rations aux garnisons (*id.*: textes 60 [280-283], 54 et 55 [266-275]), et de faire parvenir redevances et tributs au pouvoir central (*id.*: textes 71 et 72 [320-323]).[42] Par contre, une 'lettre d'affaires' relative au paiement d'un transport de grains sur le Nil fait intervenir un expéditeur et un commanditaire qui portent des noms iraniens et des égyptiens mariniers destinataires de la lettre: le commentateur suggère que les Iraniens «appartiennent soit à l'administration soit au corps des officiers» (*id.*: texte 109, [503-505]). On aurait là l'exemple d'une participation perse au commerce local, hors de toute intervention du satrape.

Les marchands phéniciens n'ont laissé aucun témoignage sur eux-mêmes et nos informations proviennent seulement de sources extérieures, exceptionnellement archéologiques (dans les colonies occidentales), le plus souvent textuelles, partielles, et peut-être partiales. C'est sans nul doute le cas de la Bible, qui associe de manière presque systématique les termes Cananéens et commerce (Elat 1979: 529). Il paraît clair que le privilège du grand négoce échappe assez tôt, dès le début du 1er millénaire, au privilège royal: c'est le roi Hiram de Tyr qui s'associe avec Salomon pour construire le temple de

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[42] Bien qu'aucun texte ne fasse expressément état d'un mode d'acheminement de ces redevances depuis l'Égypte jusqu'à Babylone ou Suse, le commentateur évoque des caravanes (*id.*: 322) et exclut toute circumnavigation de l'Arabie (Salles 1988b).

Jérusalem, mais ce sont des Tyriens qui participent à sa reconstruction au VI^{e} siècle. Au temps des prophètes, les habitants de la Phénicie sont vilipendés comme commerçants: «marchands de Sidon, dont les commis parcouraient la mer aux eaux immenses,» «Tyr [...] dont les trafiquants étaient princes et les marchands des grands de la terre» (*Isaïe*, oracle sur Tyr et Sidon, 23); «Tyr, la ville installée au bord de la mer, le courtier des peuples dans des îles sans nombre,» «lorsque tu débarquais tes marchandises pour rassasier tant de peuples» (*Ézéchiel*, lamentation sur Tyr, 26-28). Mais la participation des Phéniciens au négoce local, en particulier en Palestine, était aussi importante que leurs aventures lointaines: à l'époque achéménide, ce sont les Tyriens et les Sidoniens qui fournissent et transportent le bois de cèdre nécessaire à la reconstruction du temple de Jérusalem, les Israélites n'intervenant que comme acheteurs (*Esdras*, 3,7); ce sont ces mêmes Tyriens habitant près de la capitale hébreu, qui «faisaient entrer du poisson et des marchandises de tout genre pour les vendre aux Judéens le jour du sabbat» (*Néhémie*, 13,16): les Israélites semblent partager le commerce de détail avec les Phéniciens.[43] Mais la liberté d'action et l'autonomie de ces artisans du négoce paraît totale, et on ne trouve aucune trace d'une velléité de contrôle de la part du pouvoir perse: le fidèle gouverneur du Grand Roi Néhémie impose un moratoire des dettes pour résoudre la crise sociale du royaume de Juda et s'interdit de pressurer le peuple en percevant l'impôt, mais il n'intervient pas dans la vie économique du pays: le pouvoir satrapique ne se révèle que dans la perception du tribut et l'approvisionnement des garnisons.[44]

L'image du marchand phénicien que nous donnent les textes grecs est rarement flatteuse. Une image apparemment tenace est celle du camelot-bateleur, le marchand de pacotille évoqué plus haut, telle que la rapporte Hérodote (cité par Gras, Rouillard & Teixidor 1989: 106-108). La tradition remonte probablement à Homère, c'est-à-dire à une période où le commerce phénicien de longue distance commençait à peine à naître, sans doute improvisé et inorganisé; elle s'est perpétuée jusqu'au temps d'Hérodote, et les moralistes athéniens de l'âge classique expriment une opinion généralement peu favorable à l'égard des *emporoi* et des *nauklēroi* étrangers (Velissaropoulos 1977, 70); marins, armateurs, courtiers, marchands et banquiers phéniciens sont raillés dans le théâtre sous les traits du *palinkapēlos* — 'l'intermédiaire' — et apparaissent à maintes reprises dans les discours des orateurs (Baslez 1987: 271-273). On retrouve là certains traits soulignés dans les textes bibliques. Mais au-delà de comportements qui ont pu agacer, ce qu'on peut deviner de l'organisation du commerce phénicien en Méditerranée orientale impose une vision différente: Xénophon lui-même souligne le rôle que doivent jouer les commerçants et armateurs étrangers dans le développement de la cité (*Poroi* 3). Certains décrets honorifiques athéniens, les archives de Zénon plus tard, une inscription délienne, font apparaître des activités commerciales à grande échelle, menées par des groupes familiaux, dans le cadre des institutions de la cité (Velissaropoulos 1977: 71; Baslez 1987: 275). Bien qu'elle demeure inconnue, l'organisation du commerce phénicien en Méditerranée orientale semble avoir largement dépassé l'initiative individuelle ou même familiale; on a évoqué plus haut l'hypothèse d'une 'guilde' à Kition, et il faut mentionner les associations à la fois religieuses et commerciales de Délos, aux époques hellénistique ancienne et romaine: les Hiéronautes de Tyr (IVe siècle avant J.-C.), les Héracléistes de Tyr ou les Posidoniastes de Bérytos (Bruneau 1970: 621-630; Baslez 1987). L'association de l'*emporion* et d'un sanctuaire paraît une donnée importante du commerce phénicien, bien établie désormais par l'archéologie dès le VIIe siècle avant J.-C. (Gras, Rouillard & Teixidor 1989: 108-111), et il serait important de pouvoir établir une relation entre ces groupes de marchands-fidèles et leurs cités-mères. Quoiqu'il en soit, aucun de ces témoignages n'établit la moindre relation entre l'administration de l'empire perse et l'activité commerciale des Phéniciens: ils paraissent jouir d'une totale liberté d'action en Méditerranée orientale, sans intervention du pouvoir politique.

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[43] Que les Israélites participent au commerce de détail est maintes fois attesté dans la Bible, qui menace les marchands peu scrupuleux: lorsque le prophète Amos s'insurge contre les fraudeurs — «nous diminuerons la mesure, nous augmenterons le sicle, nous fausserons les balances pour tromper,» c'est bien du peuple juif qu'il s'agit (*Amos* 8,5).

[44] Voir la première partie de l'article, sur le blé, et les ouvrages cités de Briant 1988c, et Tuplin 1987a.

Il est difficile de conclure un survol qui laisse tant de questions ouvertes, tant pour l'histoire de l'économie antique que pour l'interprétation des rapports du pouvoir central achéménide avec les sujets de ses provinces. L'intention première était de dépasser la vision simpliste de relations commerciales linéaires entre la Grèce et le Proche Orient d'une part,[45] entre la Phénicie et ses établissements occidentaux d'autre part: on connaissait assez bien (?) les liens qui unissaient entre eux ces ensembles deux par deux, mais on ignorait le plus souvent ce qui se passait à l'intérieur de chacun des ensembles, tout particulièrement celui que constitue le fond de la Méditerranée orientale. L'étude des céramiques les plus courantes, les vases-conteneurs, et celle des sources écrites disponibles laissent entrevoir une circulation intense des produits les plus variés à l'intérieur d'un périmètre schématiquement délimité par la côte levantine, Chypre et l'Égypte. Mais les limites de l'analyse présentée ici sont manifestes: l'utilisation des textes a été très sélective, loin d'une exhaustivité souhaitable, et un choix a été fait des produits les plus prestigieux en Méditerranée orientale, l'olivier et la vigne. Une exploitation plus raisonnée et systématique des documents archéologiques — autres types céramiques et tous objets non-céramiques — et des sources écrites les plus diverses devrait permettre de compléter et enrichir un tableau dont il faut absolument souligner le caractère préliminaire et incomplet.

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[45] L''hellénocentrisme' souvent reproché consisterait à ne voir l'histoire de ces échanges qu'à travers les céramiques égéennes et grecques, les phénomènes de 'colonisation' (par ex. al-Mina) ou les emporia grecs (Naukratis). C'est délibérement que je n'ai pas abordé ces thèmes.

Tout fragmentaires qu'ils soient, les premiers résultats sont encourageants. L'image qui émerge est un kaléidoscope de circuits inter-régionaux et de navigations en tous sens[46] que, sans renier l'existence et l'importance des échanges à longue distance, j'ai qualifié de mouvement brownien. Cette nouvelle définition (provisoire) des échanges commerciaux en Méditerranée orientale remet en cause le modèle des 'ports of trade' défini par Polanyi, pour qui Ougarit ou Tyr étaient des exemples achevés de ses théories. Il est vrai que celles-ci restent au cœur du débat sur l''anthropologie' de l'économie antique[47], et servent plus souvent à être combattues qu'à donner naissance à des modèles de substitution[48]; aussi serait-il vain, en tout cas prématuré, de chercher à construire un nouveau schéma théorique à partir de ces observations préliminaires: et une théorie issue de la physique moléculaire peut-elle vraiment devenir un modèle anthropologique? Il convient, dans l'immédiat, de préciser la définition en multipliant les études d'exemples.

En ce qui concerne l'histoire achéménide, on doit se contenter de quelques constations élémentaires. On n'a constaté aucune modification du volume des échanges inter-régionaux en Méditerranée orientale et de la variété des circuits commerciaux. Mais la notion de 'volume' est éminemment aléatoire, puisqu'il est impossible de la quantifier même de manière approximative: on n'en devine qu'une très faible partie, et le seul élément à peu près solide se résume en des proportions relatives. Dans ces conditions, seule la longue durée est perceptible, exceptionnellement des cycles moyens. Par exemple, il est impossible de 'mesurer' l'impact des guerres médiques en terme de baisse hypothétique des activités commerciales au Proche Orient: le court terme, quelques années, est inaccessible dans les trouvailles archéologiques, et à moyen terme, un quart ou un demi-siècle, on ne perçoit pas de changement dans le 'volume' enregistré. Les marchands du Proche Orient sont moins diserts qu'Hérodote, et les témoignages qu'ils ont laissés pourraient nous faire 'manquer' cet événement. On ne peut pas affirmer, non plus, que l'unification politique du

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[46] Mais il serait sûrement erroné de parler de cabotage, dont nous n'avons aucune preuve, ou de 'lignes régulières' entre deux ports donnés.

[47] Pour l'Orient, on se référera utilement à la mise au point de Yoffee 1981, d'où le Proche Orient levantin est absent. Pour ce dernier, l'ouvrage désormais indispensable est Liverani 1990, même s'il n'aborde pas le 1er millénaire av. J.C. Voir aussi, bien sûr, Renfrew 1990.

[48] Par exemple dans l'ouvrage de Silver 1985; il y est par exemple réfuté l'assertion de Polanyi selon laquelle «Trade over the longest distances generally preceded that over shorter distances, just as the farthest colonies were usually founded first...» (pp.130-131).

Proche Orient créée par la conquête achéménide et ses conséquences bénéfiques[49] aient provoqué un accroissement des échanges commerciaux; on pourrait arguer que les politiques d'urbanisme ou de dépenses somptuaires de nombreuses cités d'Asie Mineure ou du Proche Orient sont la manifestation probable d'un enrichissement généralisé, mais il est difficile de démontrer que ce dernier est le seul fait du négoce régional ou international. Le maintien assuré d'un volume d'échanges élevé doit, en tout cas, conduire à revoir des affirmations excessives sur la pression tributaire; la levée de l'impôt royal n'a nullement perturbé la prospérité des marchands du Proche Orient[50].

La rupture, puisque, dans ce domaine, la période achéménide est synonyme de continuité, intervient avec l'effondrement de l'empire. En fait, des changements commencent à se mettre en place dans le courant du IV^e^ siècle avant J.-C. Ils ne portent pas sur la nature des produits échangés, qui semblent se diversifier, ni sur les circuits régionaux ou plus lointains, bien qu'on assiste à une multiplication des centres producteurs, pour le vin en particulier, et donc à un développement de la concurrence: ils sont dûs, plutôt, à l'émergence d'une véritable politique commerciale gréco-égéenne[51], qui supplante peu à peu l'ancienne primauté orientale héritée des bouleversements néo-assyriens et que les Achéménides s'étaient contentés de gérer.

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[49] Par exemple, l'essor des réseaux routiers, voir Briant 1991b.

[50] Le tribut a peut-être, parfois, consolidé cette prospérité: voir les observations de Briant 1988c: 178 et note 18, sur une tranformation partielle du tribut en nature en espèces monnayées: «... il était tentant pour un satrape de transformer son stock de blé en or et en argent...»: la nouvelle masse monétaire pouvait alors facilement se répandre dans les circuits commerciaux sous forme de commandes.

[51] Je suis en contradiction, une fois de plus, avec les théories de Polanyi et de ses partisans, qui dénient la possibilité de 'politiques économiques' volontaristes dans l'Antiquité. Je ne prétends pas qu'elles émanaient de l'État — cela reste à démontrer dans des cités phéniciennes où les marchands jouaient sans doute un rôle politique important. Mais elles ne peuvent pas ne pas avoir été concertées: rappelant ce qui a été dit au début de cet article sur les choix qu'impose la viticulture (note 6), je doute qu'un propriétaire thasien ait pu, à partir du V^e^ siècle, décider seul de tourner sa production familiale de vin vers des exportations massives, pour prendre un exemple au hasard — voir les nombreuses réglementations thasiennes sur le vin étudiées par Salviat 1986. Il y avait nécessairement une 'volonté commune,' comme celle qui s'est manifestée à la même époque par l'amélioration des 'structures de crédit' en Grèce et sans doute dans le Proche Orient (cf. la participation de Chypriotes et de Phéniciens au commerce de l'argent, Baslez 1987: 279-280). Qui étaient les promoteurs de telles 'politiques' est un autre problème.

CONTINUITÉS À SUSE AU I^{ER} MILLÉNAIRE B.C.

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Il est facile d'appliquer à Suse la vision traditionnelle de la période achéménide en Orient, telle qu'elle est résumée par les organisateurs de cette rencontre, que je résume à mon tour: une phase de conclusion de la civilisation mésopotamienne (ici élamite) qui précède une époque de nouveaux développements dans lesquels les traditions en décadence acquièrent un nouvel élan grâce aux contacts avec le monde grec.

Ce n'est pas cette vision que je proposerai, encore que celle-ci conserve de sa force, car elle découle logiquement de la documentation textuelle et archéologique disponible, et surtout des lacunes de l'une et de l'autre. Nos connaissances de la Suse achéménide seront rapidement évoquées car je les ai présentées dans le VI^{e} Workshop (Boucharlat 1990a). Le résumé donné ici fixe le cadre et permet de mentionner des publications récentes utiles. Quant aux lacunes, elles ont une valeur au moins égale à celle de la documentation dans la formation de notre vision (§I). S'agissant de continuité — ou de rupture — il faudra définir Suse avant les Achéménides, à l'époque néo-élamite finale, Néo-élamite II des archéologues, ou III des épigraphistes (§II) et comparer la ville à celle de l'époque achéménide (§III). Le dernier point évoqué au cours de la Rencontre d'Ann Arbor, la continuité de l'époque achéménide à l'époque séleucide n'est pas repris ici, car c'est un sujet à lui seul; il constituerait un exemple intéressant de continuité de la culture élamite malgré, ou plutôt avec, l'intermède achéménide.

Ce qui apparaîtra, ce sont les pesanteurs à deux niveaux: les fortes traditions d'une grande ville et le résultat des échanges qu'elle entretient depuis longtemps avec les régions voisines, qui sont à leur tour dans un jeu d'influences avec d'autres pays.

En bref, l'impact de la royauté achéménide à Suse est immense, mais il est d'abord visuel, car la ville est transformée. Cette culture perse-achéménide imposée à Suse est déjà le résultat d'une fusion perse-élamite/anshanite dans le Fars et peut-être dans les Montagnes Bakhtiaris; elle s'applique à une région de culture suso-élamite qui est en contact avec les Perses depuis plusieurs décennies. Sans être symétrique, la situation à partir de la fin du IV^{e} siècle offre des points de comparaison: Suse ne découvre pas le monde grec par les soldats, les fonctionnaires et les colons, même si une partie de la population va changer son mode de vie. L'hellénisation, très limitée par ailleurs, est patente car les témoins sont très reconnaissables pour nous, de la même façon que l'énormité des installations royales achéménides masquait une autre réalité de la vieille cité élamite.

I. *Suse achéménide. Un résumé et l'apport de publications récentes.*

La mainmise de Cyrus sur Suse est probablement en relation avec la prise de Babylone en 539 (Zadok 1976: 61-62). Un roi ou un prince élamite a pu rester en place comme vassal sous son règne et même jusqu'à Darius. En témoignent les rebellions que ce dernier a du affronter au début de son règne, parmi lesquelles celles des prétendants au trône d'Elam, selon l'inscription de Bisutun (Miroschedji 1982: 61-62; Carter & Stolper 1984: 54). Sur le plan archéologique, comme l'a montré Miroschedji, c'est seulement avec Darius que commence l'époque achéménide à Suse (infra §III). Les vestiges matériels de l'époque achéménide se réduisent principalement aux manifestations royales, et avant tout à l'architecture palatiale.

1. *Urbanisme*. Le choix de Suse comme capitale d'empire a, comme résultat visible, la définition d'un vaste périmètre, non fortifié, à intérieur duquel les installations royales occupent les parties nord et nord-est, une citadelle, probablement l'ouest (Perrot 1981; 1985), enfin, beaucoup moins sûrement et en tout cas bien après Darius, un autre palais l'extrémité sud (Boucharlat 1985). Ces travaux ont détruit, parfois totalement, les restes antérieurs, soit par nivellement, soit par creusement de très profondes fondations (plus de 10 m).

Il est remarquable que dans les zones non royales à l'intérieur de l'enceinte, on ne connaisse pas de construction d'époque achéménide. Toutefois des bâtiments ou des constructions modestes de cette époque ont pu être détruits par les premiers fouilleurs (J. de Morgan, R. de Mecquenem) sans laisser de trace, ou dégagés par les suivants sans faire l'objet de publication, mais en établissant des notes (R. Ghirshman; voir Stève & Gasche 1990: 28-32). Enfin, des zones immenses restent à explorer, mais le secteur Ville Royale II fouillé par P. de Miroschedji (1987) ne laisse pas espérer des installations remarquables. Le problème de la ville vide reste sans réponse (Perrot 1985; Boucharlat 1985; 1990a: 153-155 et fig. 1).

A l'extérieur de l'enceinte, très peu de constructions achéménides sont connues; elles sont royales, comme le palais du Chaour, mais il ne faut pas compter parmi elles le soi-disant temple de l'Ayadana, une construction, probablement privée, d'époque séleucide (Boucharlat 1984; Stronach 1985).

2. *Architecture et décoration*. L'organisation des palais de Suse, le plan des différents bâtiments, la décoration murale peinte ou en briques émaillées, ou plus rarement en bas-reliefs de pierre ont contribué, avec Persépolis, à la définition de l'art achéménide dans son ensemble.

3. *Textes*. Presque tous ceux qui sont connus sont d'origine royale. Ils sont écrits dans les trois langues officielles de l'empire. Contrairement à Persépolis,

Suse n'a pas livré d'archive. A côté des chartes de fondations, textes officiels et royaux, mentionnons cinq contrats privés en accadien, qui souvent comportent des empreintes de sceaux (Durand 1981: no. 78, 93-94; Joannès 1990a; Rutten in Ghirshman 1954a; pour les sceaux Amiet 1973b). Ajoutons encore un texte des Murashû daté de Suse (Donbaz 1989). Les sources secondaires, comme les textes grecs et latins sont précieux, mais rares concernant Suse, de même que les mentions de Suse dans les textes bibliques, comme le Livre d'Esther (Perrot 1989)

4. *Quartiers d'habitations et secteurs d'artisans* sont totalement inconnus. La même observation vaut pour Persépolis.

5. *Sépultures.* On ne connait pas de cimetière. Deux sépultures 'princières' dans des sarcophages en bronze ont été fouillées au début du siècle. Un sarcophage était vide, l'autre contenait un riche mobilier (Morgan 1905). Par ailleurs des tombes en jarres et d'autres en pleine terre sont de date incertaine, néo-babylonienne ou achéménide. L'une d'elles est achéménide, selon un collier trouvé à l'intérieur (Stronach 1978: 177 n. 56 et Pl. 161a). L'absence de publication est très regrettable (mention seulement par Mecquenem 1938: 326).

6. *Mobilier.* La glyptique est pauvre, une trentaine de sceaux. (Amiet 1972a: no. 2202-2230; 1973a: 26-29). La vaisselle en métal est réduite à quelques unités. Celle en pierre subsiste sous la forme de pauvres fragments, sans provenance, qui viennent d'être publiés (Amiet 1990). La poterie achéménide commence tout juste à être connue (Miroschedji 1987).

7. *La pauvreté des vestiges achéménides à Suse* reste à expliquer. Les facteurs suivants, pris isolement ou même groupés, ne justifient pas cette rareté:

a) ni la ville ni les palais n'ont été détruits intentionnellement sous Alexandre ou au cours de l'époque séleucide (Boucharlat 1990b).
b) le recouvrement des vestiges achéménides par des constructions postérieures est partiel; seules les plus importantes qui ont de profondes fondations ont pu percer les couches achéménides et détruire les bâtiments que celles-ci contenaient.
c) la chronologie des séries d'objets néo-élamites, achéménides et séleucides est maintenant mieux établie; les erreurs de datation ne peuvent plus expliquer la pauvreté des objets attribuables à l'époque achéménide.
d) les premiers fouilleurs de Suse s'intéressaient peu aux objets modestes, encore moins s'ils dataient des périodes récentes (post-élamites). Cette explication ne tient pas non plus puisque, malgré cette attitude, des centaines de documents séleucides et parthes sont parvenus jusqu'à nous. De même, les fouilles récentes et leur interprétation ont montré que le

matériel néo-élamite était moins rare qu'on ne le pensait et le déclin de Suse et de sa région moins profond; l'idée qui prévalait jusqu'à présent était celle d'un abandon quasi-total de Suse après le sac d'Assurbanipal. Le hiatus ainsi créé augmentait évidemment la rupture que l'on supposait entre l'époque néo-élamite et celle des Achéménides.

II. *Suse au VII^e-VI^e siècle: période néo-élamite (finale) ou période pré-achéménide?*

L'importance que l'on accorde au sac de Suse par Assurbanipal en 639 est déterminante pour définir Suse et la Susiane au VI^e siècle. Cet événement, tragique sans aucun doute, mais peut-être pas aussi catastrophique que ne le laissent croire certains textes (cf. le Prisme du Louvre), conditionne en effet la chronologie et l'existence politique de l'état néo-élamite. Il faut souligner que cette date fatidique ne représente ni une rupture complète, ni la mort politique de l'Elam, comme on l'a écrit trop longtemps. Cette date n'a pas ou peu d'incidences sur la culture matérielle, qui constitue la période néo-élamite II entre 725 et 520 (Miroschedji 1981a); elle justifie toutefois une périodisation politique, selon M.J. Stève (1986: 10), entre les périodes néo-élamite II (750-653) et III, elle-même subdivisée en IIIA (653-605) et IIIB (605-539). Il suit en cela F. Vallat (1984) qui distingue la période des 'rois d'Anshan et de Suse' jusqu'en 646 et celle de 'la monarchie élamite de Susiane' jusqu'en 539 ou même 520.

Depuis une vingtaine d'années, la réévaluation des données textuelles et de la documentation archéologique de Suse principalement, mais aussi du pays d'Anshan, ainsi que quelques autres découvertes ont permis de reconsidérer les siècles obscurs qui précèdent l'époque achéménide à Suse (Amiet 1967; 1972b; 1973a; 1973b; 1988; Bollweg 1988; Briant 1984b; Carter & Stolper 1984; Miroschedji 1981a; 1981b; 1981c; 1982; 1985; 1987; Stève 1986; Stolper 1988b; Sumner 1986; Vallat 1980; 1984; Zadok 1976).

1. Sur le plan historique, ces recherches confirment que la défaite de l'Elam face aux Assyriens a provoqué ou aggravé une désintégration territoriale de l'ancien Elam. Il s'en suit des modifications dans le panthéon qui devient plus élamite. En même temps, apparaissent les premiers Iraniens qui sont sans doute à l'origine des changements dans la langue (Vallat 1984; Stève 1986). Plus positivement, les recherches ont montré que vers 625 un royaume néo-élamite s'était reconstitué dans la région de Suse, et un royaume perse au pays d'Anshan (Briant 1984b, Miroschedji 1985; Bollweg 1988). Dans quelle mesure et pendant combien de temps la Susiane fut-elle soumise aux Babyloniens (cf. Carter & Stolper 1984: 54; Stève 1986: 16) n'a que peu d'importance ici: un royaume néo-élamite existe à Suse et dure jusqu'à Cyrus II; des

rois sont connus, y compris au VI^{e} siècle; les derniers ont peut-être même été laissés en place comme vassaux par Cyrus, jusqu'à ce que Darius décide d'installer là sa capitale (Miroschedji 1982). Les Susiens élamites de cette époque sont en contact avec le monde extérieur, comme en témoigne la mention des grandes puissances du moment dans les tablettes de Suse et celles de Ninive; l'économie est active ce qu'illustre la variété des documents connus, lettres, documents juridiques, contrats, inscriptions sur sceaux (cf. Vallat 1984: n. 55).

Les royaumes néo-élamites paraissent subir les changements politiques de la première moitié du I^{er} millénaire plus qu'ils n'y participent; cela reflète sans doute notre connaissance très partielle et non la réalité: l'intervention d'Assurbanipal montre bien que l'Elam restait un ennemi dangereux.

2. Sur le plan archéologique, cette période néo-élamite récente ne commence pas vers 625. Le néo-élamite II de P. de Miroschedji doit être remonté à la fin du VIII^{e} siècle autour du règne du roi Shutruk-Nahhunte (716-699). La stratigraphie et les objets datables par comparaison avec des séries bien connues en Mésopotamie autorisent cette chronologie qui, en un sens, ignore la date de 639. L'impression qui prévaut toutefois est celle d'une période de déclin, par rapport au II^{e} millénaire, à Suse, et surtout en Susiane, où le mouvement de dépeuplement que l'on observait depuis la fin du II^{e} millénaire ne semble pas s'inverser dans la première moitié du I^{er} millénaire, bien au contraire (Carter 1971; Miroschedji 1981c). Cependant il ne faut pas sous-estimer l'émergence d'autres villes qui paraissent importantes à cette époque comme Madaktu et Idalu.

Le mode d'occupation de la Susiane à cette époque est défini comme celui de pasteurs nomades ou semi-nomades; il continue pendant l'époque achéménide jusqu'à l'époque séleucide (Adams 1962; Wenke 1976; Miroschedji 1981c). Le phénomène de dépeuplement apparaît parallèlement dans le pays d'Anshan, le Fars, tandis qu'entre ces deux régions, on connaît une ou plusieurs principautés, dont celle des souverains qui font sculpter des bas-reliefs dans la région d'Izeh/Malamir. Les listes royales sont difficiles à établir, en particulier à cause des cas d'homonymies (Stolper 1988b), mais le problème est plus général, car il tient à la pauvreté de nos sources.

Absence de pouvoir central, dépeuplement et nomadisme sont les caractéristiques qui valent pour toute la première moitié du I^{er} millénaire. Les conséquences de cette situation sont évidemment capitales pour comprendre l'époque achéménide; des tentatives ont été faites en ce sens, non pour Suse, mais pour Anshan (Sumner 1986; également Miroschedji 1985).

3. L'identité ethnique des occupants de l'ancien Elam est un problème que les études déjà mentionnées ont abordé, mais là encore plus pour Anshan que pour Suse. Pourtant des éléments perses sont parfaitement discernables dans

certains textes élamites des 298 tablettes dites de l'Acropole, le petit lot de 7 tablettes trouvées 'sous l'Apadana,' et quelques autres sans provenance; les unes et les autres ont été publiées par Scheil au début du siècle. Il faut y ajouter deux tablettes du Village perse-achéménide fouillé par Ghirshman, rattachées chacune à l'une des deux séries qui ont été traditionnellement datées les premières de la fin du VII^{e} siècle, les secondes de la première moitié du VI^{e} ou même de l'époque de Cyrus selon Cameron (1948). Provenance et datation sont bien présentées par Amiet (1973b: 3-6); le problème de la datation est repris par Stève (1986: 20) qui les attribue toutes au Néo-Elamite IIIB (ca 605-539). F. Vallat (1984: 4 n. 24) les place également entre 600 et 540, contemporaines des quelques 25 tablettes en élamite dites de Ninive, provenant sans doute de Malamir (Vallat 1988), comme la plaque de bronze de Persépolis et l'inscription de Kidin-Hutran à Arjan.

Les éléments perses apparaissent sous forme d'anthroponymes et de toponymes; ces Perses semblent être fournisseurs de textiles et d'outils en métal, sans que l'on sache précisément localiser leurs installations, 'les faubourgs de Suse' selon Ghirshman (1954a), plus généralement la région de Suse. Plusieurs de ces tablettes portent l'empreinte d'un sceau, dont le style et l'iconographie trahissent différentes origines (élamites et mésopotamiennes), mais l'une d'entre elle porte une inscription faite par un homme au nom perse (Amiet 1966: fig. 435). Une telle indication n'est pas tout à fait sure et on peut penser à des noms élamites persisés dans certaines régions où ceux-ci dominent (Miroschedji 1985, 285-287).

4. La culture néo-élamite. La culture matérielle néo-élamite est schématiquement le produit de trois facteurs: 1) le fond (médio-)élamite, 2) la pénétration d'éléments perses, 3) les influences d'autres d'origines mésopotamienne, iranienne ou plus lointaines comme l'Urartu ou même l'Asie Mineure.

4.1. La part de l'héritage médio-élamite dans la culture néo-élamite est si forte que la distinction entre le matériel des deux périodes a été longtemps difficile, qu'il s'agisse d'architecture ou de glyptique (Amiet 1967; 1973b).

Sans atteindre la richesse des établissements médio-élamites (Suse, Haft tepe, Choga Zanbil), Suse néo-élamite a porté un ou plusieurs palais, peut-être sur le tell de l'Apadana, d'après le contenu des tablettes qui y ont été retrouvées. Il a été occupé à une période aussi récente que le règne de Cyrus le Grand (Ghirshman 1966; Amiet 1973b: 25). Le temple construit par Shutruk-Nahhunte sur le tell de l'Acropole à la fin du VIII^{e} siècle est orné de briques émaillées et de carreaux émaillés fixés par des pommeaux figurines.

Les inhumations sont faites dans des caveaux à utilisations multiples. Les nombreux exemples inventoriés sont malheureusement mal publiés, à l'exception remarquable d'un caveau de la Ville Royale (Miroschedji 1981a: 24-28).

A la même époque, les inhumations en pleine terre sont bien attestées; la fosse est parfois soulignée ou recouverte par une rangée de briques.

La sculpture et les bas-reliefs néo-élamites montrent des caractéristiques élamites évidentes (Amiet 1966: passim).

La poterie enfin ne marque pas de rupture vers 1000 avant J.C., depuis l'époque médio-élamite vers l'époque néo-élamite I; celle du néo-élamite II est également en continuité (Miroschedji 1981a).

4.2. Des exemples de l'élément perse ont été déjà mentionnés. Deux autres objets offrent un cas intéressant: une sculpture de tête princière (Amiet 1967: Pl. VI) et un bas-relief représentant une gazelle (Amiet 1966: fig. 432) qui montrent tous deux des caractères que l'on retrouve dans l'art achéménide. Ce sont des œuvres de Suse de l'époque néo-élamite, sans doute influencées par l'art perse pré-achéménide. Dans ces conditions, comment faire la part dans l'art achéménide de l'héritage perse direct de celle de l'héritage mixte élamito-perse dont ces deux objets témoignent?

4.3. Les autres éléments extérieurs qui contribuent à la formation de l'art et de la culture néo-élamite sont très divers. La part mésopotamienne, plus particulièrement néo-babylonienne est très forte, ce qui illustre l'histoire politique des VIII^{e} au VI^{e} siècles. La glyptique en est un bon exemple avec des thèmes comme celui des génies combattant des animaux ou des monstres, ou s'affrontant devant l'arbre sacré, qui sont finement gravés avec un dessin très pur (Amiet 1973b). De plus loin, l'influence de la glyptique néo-assyrienne est illustrée par des scènes de chasse ou des représentations de char.

Les contacts avec le Zagros — et particulièrement avec le Luristan — ne peuvent être illustrés que par un objet seulement, mais bien par des séries de bronzes. Il est vrai que le phénomène n'est pas nouveau et remonte à des siècles en arrière. Ces contacts existent également, on le sait, entre le Luristan et la Babylonie.

Plus au nord, l'Urartu est également une région qui n'est pas étrangère aux Néo-Elamites; on le voit par un pommeau figurant un protome animal, comme l'avait observé E. Porada (1965: 116; Amiet 1967: 40). Plus marquante est la ressemblance notée par Amiet entre le plan du petit temple carré de Suse, Acropole et celui des temples d'Urartu, comme celui d'Altintepe (Amiet 1966: fig. 380); leur descendance serait les tours de Naqsh-i Rustam et de Pasargades. Bien mieux, Amiet (1973b: 10) a proposé de voir dans une tête de griffon en bronze de Suse (Amiet 1966: fig. 360) non pas une influence de l'Urartu mais, par l'intermédiaire de ce pays, un apport peut-être ionien. Vu de Suse, Urartu ou Ionie, il s'agit dans les deux cas d'une influence lointaine, originaire du nord. Dans une région voisine, la découverte de la tombe d'Arjan, près de Behbehan, confirme la capacité de l'art néo-élamite à intégrer les apports extérieurs que l'on vient de mentionner; cela vaut quelle que que soit la datation retenue pour la tombe, la fin du VIII^{e} siècle selon l'archéologue, (Alizadeh 1985: 67-69), ou plutôt entre la fin du VII^{e} siècle et 525, selon l'épigraphiste (Vallat 1984), suivi par E. Carter (ce volume).

Au milieu du VI^{e} siècle, il y a dans le bas pays élamite un royaume bien vivant; il est de caractère élamite, en contact direct avec des communautés perses et, comme dans les siècles antérieurs, en relation assez étroite avec la Mésopotamie. L'activité des populations a permis de maintenir ou de créer des relations avec des régions plus lointaines. En bref la culture néo-élamite est déjà le produit de traits locaux et d'influences diverses. Bien avant la période achéménide, le pays néo-élamite offre déjà les conditions d'ouverture au Proche Orient.

III. *Traits élamites à Suse achéménide*

Ce qui vient d'être dit montre que ce serait forcer la documentation que de rechercher les éléments exclusivement (néo-)élamites dans les réalisations achéménides. On voit qu'il est alors difficile de reconnaître chez les Achéménides la part de l'héritage élamite, déjà 'persisé,' de la part perse issue de la période pré-achéménide du Plateau.

Pourtant l'Elam, en tant que culture et entité politique, est reconnue par les Achéménides. Les exemples suivants montrent qu'il est difficile de distinguer l'héritage de l'Elam d'Anshan de celui de l'Elam de la plaine de Suse.

1. *Politique*: la reconnaissance de l'Elam est illustrée par plusieurs décisions royales:

— sous Cyrus, mais pas au-delà, reprise de la titulature de 'roi d'Anshan,' (Miroschedji 1985: 296-297), même s'il s'agit là plus, ou autant, d'une référence à l'Elam d'Anshan, qu'à celui de la Susiane;

— la création d'une satrapie d'Elam distincte du pays perse; celle-ci apparaît dans toutes les inscriptions, toujours en bonne place, mais cela est vrai aussi de la Babylonie;

— l'adoption de l'élamite comme l'une des langues officielles, parfois la première; la langue renvoie aussi bien à la Susiane qu'à Anshan. Certes l'accadien est aussi une des trois langues adoptées, mais la Mésopotamie était aussi très importante, pour des raisons différentes. Anshan ou Suse, quelle région ou quel ancien royaume a déterminé la décision royale? A cet égard, il est étonnant de relever le contraste entre les milliers de tablettes de Persépolis inscrites en élamite (PF) et les quelques pauvres documents de Suse, où ce sont toutefois les inscriptions royales qui montrent l'utilisation de la vieille langue locale;

— le choix de Suse comme l'une des capitales d'empire, qui est plus significatif. Si Babylone a également été promue à ce rang, elle ne paraît pas avoir eu la même importance. De plus, tandis que Babylone était une grande ville et un symbole au moment de sa prise par Cyrus, Suse était surtout une gloire passée, au point que sa conquête est passée presque inaperçue d'après les textes dont nous disposons.

2. *Réalisations royales*: l'examen de l'héritage reçu par les Achéménides montre l'ambiguïté de l'apport élamite, qui est loin d'être pur. Cet héritage n'est toutefois pas nié par les Grands Rois.

Dans la plaine, c'est bien à Suse et non dans les environs ou dans les autres villes du pays néo-élamite (Madaktu, Idalu, etc.) que Darius décide de bâtir sa capitale au prix d'énormes efforts. Dans le Fars, en l'absence d'une ville élamite encore active ou encore visible, Cyrus, puis Darius, choisissent de nouveaux emplacements. Dans le cas du Fars, on n'y voit pas une rupture ou une continuité, mais presque une nécessité.

Le plan du palais de Suse offre des similitudes avec celui de Persépolis (Apadana, portes monumentales) mais aussi des différences que l'on a voulu mettre au compte de l'héritage élamite. Ghirshman (1965) a comparé le plan et la technique de construction de certaines parties du palais à ceux de bâtiments élamites. Cette hypothèse est à nuancer car certains traits évoqués par Ghirshman, et surtout d'autres éléments du plan, relèvent de traditions plus largement mésopotamiennes, comme l'utilisation des salles à saillants (un élément également attesté à l'époque médio-élamite), les pièces longues en enfilade, l'organisation autour des cours (Amiet 1974a), ce qui n'exclut pas un héritage de l'élamite du II^e^ millénaire. L'organisation du palais autour de cours disposées en enfilades et pourvues de longs magasins parallèles est connue en Assyrie (Ninive) et à Babylone (Amiet 1967: 41). Même la disposition de pavillons saillant sur l'ensemble du complexe a été imaginée par les Assyriens (Nimrud, Khorsabad). Chez les Achéménides, cela devient l'Apadana, extension grandiose du pavillon dont les dimensions demanderont l'introduction d'une technique de support, iranienne quant à elle, les rangées de colonnes.

Le mode de construction du palais de Suse, en particulier le système très élaboré de fondation, ne semblait pas avoir d'antécédents ni à Suse, ni en Mésopotamie, pas plus que dans le Zagros. Or, comme me l'a très aimablement signalé H.T. Wright au cours du Workshop, on trouve dans le Khuzistan quelques exemples de fondations profondes remplies de galets. Un établissement est daté de l'époque néo-élamite II (près de Choga Mish), un autre de l'époque néo-élamite en général (Tepe Bormi, près de Ram Hormuz); quant au troisième, dans le Deh Luran, il est d'époque achéménide. Ces exemples sont importants car ils montrent que la technique n'est pas étrangère à la Susiane à la fin du VI^e^ siècle et qu'elle n'est pas limitée aux grandes constructions royales des Achéménides.

Le décor architectural pose un problème plus complexe. La peinture murale attestée à Pasargades, Persépolis et à Suse à l'Apadana, mais surtout au Palais du Chaour (Boucharlat & Labrousse 1979: 67-69) est une technique millénaire dont les antécédents immédiats sont à rechercher en Assyrie et en Urartu plutôt que sur place à Suse ou dans le Fars. En revanche, le décor de briques émaillées, largement utilisé par les Achéménides à Suse mais aussi à Persépolis, est une technique mésopotamienne et élamite. Sur place, il est peu probable que le décor du palais du XII^{e} siècle situé sur l'Apadana ait été encore visible au VI^{e} siècle (Ghirshman 1966: 11), mais des exemples néo-élamites (Amiet 1976: 13-18) pouvaient être connus. Faut-il rappeler que cette technique de revêtement n'est pas propre à l'Elam? Les Babyloniens également en ont fait également un très large usage.

Dans la sculpture, on sait que la robe dite perse était portée aussi par les Elamites; cela ne relève pas du hasard et les témoins en sont trop nombreux (Calmeyer 1988).

3. *Religion et pratiques funéraires*: La religion est un domaine difficile à évaluer à l'époque achéménide, en particulier à Suse faute de renseignements à ce sujet. Relevons seulement, dans les tablettes des fortifications de Persépolis, les mentions de divinités élamites comme Humban et Napirisha plus fréquentes que celles de Ahura Mazda (Miroschedji 1985: 302-303); mais c'est bien Ahura Mazda qui est invoqué dans les textes de fondation de Suse et de Persépolis. Que Cyrus et Darius aient été zoroastriens ou non n'importe pas ici. Autre élément à relever, l'importance que Darius et ses successeurs maintiennent ou redonnent à Naqsh-i Rustam, haut-lieu élamite.

En ce qui concerne les sépultures, il est certain que les tombes royales de Persépolis représentent un changement radical par rapport aux pratiques funéraires des Elamites du Fars. A Suse, les deux sarcophages en bronze, d'époque achéménide tardive (350-330), constituent un mode d'inhumation qui ne paraît pas attesté à l'époque néo-élamite; en revanche leur dépôt dans un caveau en briques crues (Morgan 1905: 38) relève bien de la tradition susienne, même s'il était généralement à usage collectif.

Les autres tombes susiennes du milieu du I^{er} millénaire (non publiées) sont qualifiées de néo-babyloniennes ou achéménides. L'ambiguïté relève-t-elle du manque de connaissance du matériel ou bien d'une continuité de celui-ci (et des pratiques funéraires) d'une période à l'autre?

4. *Mobilier*: dans des manifestations plus quotidiennes, la culture élamite est intégrée intentionnellement à celle des Perses-Achéménides; c'est particulièrement vrai de la glyptique, qui est une des formes d'expression de la continuité. C'est ce que montrent non seulement les sceaux et empreintes de Suse, mais aussi ceux de Persépolis. Amiet (1973b) a donné l'inventaire des

empreintes et sceaux néo-élamites qui peuvent être comparés à ceux d'époque achéménide, ou même confondus avec ceux-ci, qu'ils proviennent de Suse, pour quelques uns, et surtout de Persépolis. Les plus anciens peuvent être les modèles des plus récents, tant sur le plan du style que de l'iconographie. On trouve également des exemplaires néo-élamites tout simplement réutilisés à l'époque achéménide.

C'est seulement sous Darius que se crée un style achéménide, qui coexiste un temps avec le style néo-élamite. Quant à la glyptique dite gréco-perse, Amiet (1973b: 26) a montré qu'elle avait une origine, parmi d'autres, en Urartu et qu'elle était le résultat de traditions diverses. Sans affirmer que le style gréco-perse s'est formé avant l'époque achéménide, on peut dire qu'il se constitue à la fin du VI^e siècle sans que le phénomène ait une relation exclusive avec la mise en place de l'empire. La glyptique est une bonne illustration de l'internationalisation de l'art, phénomène qui précède largement la mise en place de l'empire achéménide.

La reconnaissance récente de la poterie achéménide de Suse (Miroschedji 1981a; 1987) indique que celle-ci n'est pas constituée avant le V^e siècle. Elle ne montre pas une influence perse-iranienne, à la différence de la poterie achéménide d'autres régions du Khuzistan. Toutefois, elle ne me paraît pas en rupture complète avec la poterie néo-élamite II, ce dont témoignerait notre difficulté à la reconnaître; ce point de vue, il est vrai, n'est pas partagé par les spécialistes de la période néo-élamite (Miroschedji 1981a; E. Carter: intervention dans cette Rencontre). Le changement, quelle que soit son importance, se produit entre 500 et 450, rappelons-le, et non sous Cyrus.

Par les témoins de la vie quotidienne, économique et domestique, on observe des changements plutôt qu'une rupture à l'époque achéménide. Les données, encore rares provenant du sud-est du Khuzistan, laissent la même impression. Le Fars n'apporte aucun élément à cet égard, tant les données sur l'époque pré-achéménide sont presque inexistantes. Ces changements interviennent au plus tôt sous Darius, après 500, et non dès Cyrus. Les débuts de l'empire sont marqués par une indéniable continuité. Quant aux réalisations royales, elles bénéficient d'un important héritage néo-élamite, plus important qu'on ne le croit si on ne restreint pas l'art de cette période aux seuls composants élamites.

L'empire achéménide est évidemment beaucoup plus qu'un simple épisode dans la vie de Suse, mais dans notre vision la rupture est certainement exagérée par l'existence des grandes constructions royales et par l'hypothèse traditionnelle d'un VI^e siècle de déclin. En réévaluant nos données et considérant une durée plus longue que les siècles encadrant la période achéménide, on pressent à quel point les traditions suso-élamites de la capitale reste fortes, à condition de considérer ces traditions comme le résultat d'un ensemble de traits locaux et d'apports extérieurs très variés. L'assimilation progressive de ces influences est un processus qui a commencé bien avant Cyrus et Darius; de même, il se poursuit pendant les deux siècles de l'époque achéménide, évidemment modifié et amplifié par les dimensions et la nouvelle organisation de l'empire.

Note. Depuis la remise de cet article est paru l'important article de P. de Miroschedji, «La fin de l'Élam: essai d'analyse et d'interprétation», *IrAnt* 25 (1990) 47-95. Dans ce gros article, sont traités successivement la démographie, son évolution décroissante jusqu'à l'époque achéménide, la société, avec les disparités ethniques, la politique, marquée par la lente désintégration de l'ancien royaume dans le Khuzistan et le Fars. Parmi de nombreux enseignements qu'on peut tirer de cet article, je retiens trois éléments intéressant directement Suse et sa région: a) la ville de l'époque néo-élamite a été surestimée, sans doute à cause de l'importance réelle de Suse au cours de millénaires antérieurs et à l'époque achéménide, ainsi qu'en raison des fouilles extensives qui y ont été faites; b) à l'époque néo-élamite, Suse n'est plus la capitale du bas-pays, mais avant tout un centre traditionnel et religieux; l'importance des régions orientales du Khuzistan doit être réévaluée; c) la plaine de Ram Hurmuz et les premiers contreforts du Zagros, où se trouvait Hidalu une autre capitale néo-élamite, sont des régions productives; en même temps elles servaient de base de repli en cas de menaces venue de Mésopotamie. En définitive, lorsqu'on étudie la dualité ou l'opposition Suse et Elam, plaine et montagne, il ne suffit pas de prendre en compte deux termes, la plaine de Susiane et le Fars, mais trois, celui-ci étant la partie montagneuse du Khuzistan, qui est aussi l'Elam, différent de la Susiane et bien distinct du Fars et d'Anshan. Lorsque Darius choisit Suse pour en faire une capitale de l'empire achémide, il prend en considération le prestige de la vieille cité plus que son importance politique, ainsi que sa situation en bordure de la plaine mésopotamienne.

ACHAEMENID MESOPOTAMIA: TRADITIONS AND INNOVATIONS

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In 539 B.C. Babylonia became a satrapy of the Achaemenid empire, and the Persian rule in Mesopotamia continued for two centuries. The aim of this paper is to trace what changes occurred in social and economic structures of the country as well as in ideology as a result of the Persian rule.

The Persian king Cyrus II nominally retained the Babylonian kingdom and preserved its traditional methods of administration and social institutions. The Persian conquest also did not cause any interruption in the normal functioning of law and economy. Even the most highly placed Babylonian officials retained their positions in the administrative machinery.

But in 535 B.C. Cyrus made Mesopotamia and Across-the-River (i.e. the regions lying west of the Euphrates as far as the Phoenician city states) into a single province and appointed an Iranian, Gubaru by name, as its governor. Babylonian documents provide abundant information about his administrative functions. As seen from these documents, the supreme power in Babylonia belonged to the Persian satrap, and his competence was very large and not restricted simply to the administrative functions of a governor. In particular, his authority spread to embrace the activities of Babylonian temples which previously, for many centuries, had enjoyed self-government. For instance, he was regularly informed about the number of dead and runaway temple slaves (see Scheil 1914: 165ff.; cf. Clay 1921: 466f.); the persons who had stolen or plundered temple property were sent to Babylon for Gubaru's investigation and punishment (AnOr 8: 43, etc.). Gubaru's punishment also included the temple shepherds if they failed to provide the fixed quota of sheep and cattle for sacrifices for a specified period of time (YOS 7: 127, 160, etc.). One of the Babylonian texts referring to the activity of Ushtanu, appointed to the post of the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River around March 520 B.C., mentions a document which was compiled 'at the order' of Ushtanu, of the high priest of Sippar and of the manager of the temple Ebabbar in Sippar (BRM I: 101). This document contained the stipulations concerning putting out temple fields on lease. Apparently, analogous stipulations were obligatory also for other temples of the country.

Sometime after 486 B.C. the enormous satrapy of Babylonia and Across-the-River, comprising almost all the territory of the former Neo-Babylonian empire, was split in two (Stolper 1989a: 288ff.). In the Herodotus list (III 91-92) of the satrapies of the Achaemenid empire these countries appear as different provinces, namely Babylonia and 'the rest of Assyria' which constituted the ninth satrapy, while the lands beyond the Euphrates formed the fifth satrapy.

Important political changes in the status of Babylonia occurred in the reign of Xerxes. When the Babylonians revolted twice, in 484 and 482 B.C., the Babylonian kingdom, which up to that time was considered in theory as a separate one, was turned into an ordinary satrapy.

The administrative structures of the Achaemenid empire most of all resembled the Neo-Assyrian structures. The Persians borrowed some elements of this structure from the Assyrians almost certainly through the Medes.

The governor of the country was called *bēl pehāti* or simply *pehātu*. It is precisely the title which was borne by Gubaru and Ushtanu, the Persian governors of Babylonia and Across-the-River in the second half of the sixth century. Gubaru, the Persian governor of Babylonia (*māt Akkadī*) in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., also bore the same title. However, this title was borne not only by governors of the whole of Babylonia but sometimes by governors of relatively small administrative districts, into which the Babylonian satrapy was divided. These districts were headed by Iranian or local officials who usually bore the Babylonian title *paqdu*. The governors of cities were also called *paqdu* or *šākin ṭēmi* ('chief of order,' i.e. 'chancellor').

The title *šaknu* which earlier designated Assyrian governors in Babylonia, was in the Achaemenid period usually applied to the overseers of various professional, military or ethnic groups who were dependent on the royal administration. However, the governors of the city of Nippur were sometimes also called *šaknu* in the Persian time (cf. Stolper 1988a: 141).

Although after the Persian conquest of Babylonia local administrative traditions were not interrupted, gradually significant changes took place both in the administrative system itself and in the terms used to designate officials. These changes were apparently connected with important administrative reforms of Darius I as a result of which an essentially new administrative system was created.

A considerable number of Old Iranian administrative, legal and other terms appeared gradually in Babylonian documents. These terms reflected to a certain degree the changes which occurred in the administrative and social structure of the country. Among these Iranian administrative terms the word *ahšadrapannu* should be mentioned in the first place. This is the Babylonian transcription of the Old Persian title *xšaçapāvan-* which the Greeks rendered as *satrapēs* (see PBS 2/I: 2, 21, etc.; cf. Stolper 1985: 94). Babylonian texts also mention two Iranian words which designated governors of cities. One of them is *umarzanapāta* (CT 22: 73) which is the Babylonian transcription of the Old Persian *vardana-pāti*, 'chief of the city' (see AHw: 1447). Another Iranian title is *u/appa/udētu* (BV 116; VAS 6: 128, etc.; cf. AHw: 1424).

Babylonian tablets mention also Iranian terms designating various administrative officials such as *arazapanata* ('messenger.' see Dandamayev 1990: 60f.), *ustarbaru* which denoted members of security police (Eilers 1940: 81ff.) and *uštiāmu* ('translator-scribes,' see Stolper 1985: 22).

Five legal and business documents dated to the reign of Darius I mention an Iranian, Bagā'saru, by name, who is designated as *rab-kāṣiri* (a Babylonian title) or *ganzabaru*, 'treasurer' (an Iranian title, Dar. 105, 296, 527, 534, 542). At least, for eighteen years, from 518 to 500 B.C., he was the royal treasurer at Babylon.

The word *gitepatu* renders Old Persian **gaiθāpati-* with the original meaning 'overseer of cattle.' To judge from the context of BE 10: 101, which deals with a payment of royal tax in silver in Nippur in 419 B.C., at the end of the fifth century B.C. the word was still used to designate a financial official who assayed silver being paid as tax to the royal treasury, and thus this term had already lost its original meaning (Torrey 1943: 299ff.). Finally, the Old Iranian title *hamarakara* ('bookkeeper,' 'accountant') frequently appears in Babylonian texts (see CAD H: 59f.).

In contrast to the administrative system partly created by the Persians, Babylonian private law did not change substantially under the Achaemenids, and traditional formulae continued to be used though many public institutions gradually received some Iranian influence. In particular, as a result of the administrative reform of Darius I some changes occurred also in Babylonian private law. Besides, many Persians and other Iranians participated more and more in Babylonian business life.

The supreme judicial power in the country belonged to the satrap and decisions on the most important cases were made by royal judges. The centuries-old rivalry between the royal court and popular assemblies of Babylonian cities under the Achaemenids ended ultimately in the defeat of the assemblies, and only property disputes and private offences of a local nature were now subject to their jurisdiction.

Judges of Iranian origin (most probably, Persians) appear in Babylonia during the reign of Darius I (e.g. Ummadātu, son of Udunātu, see TCL 12: 193, etc.). In many documents of the Murashu archive from Nippur dating to the second half of the fifth century B.C., judges of Iranian origin are frequently referred to (see Eilers 1940: 6 and note 3).

Beginning with the reign of Darius I, a number of Iranian legal terms are attested in Babylonian documents. Among them, the word *dāta* should be considered in the first place. This is the Old Persian *dāta-*, 'law.' Sometimes it is attested in the phrase meaning 'in accordance with royal law' (Dar. 53, etc.). A derivation from *dāta* is *dātabara* (the second part of the word is also Iranian, i.e. 'bearer of law') which, in all probability, had the meaning 'judge.' In Babylonian documents of the second half of the fifth century B.C. and later periods four individuals bearing this little are referred to, and one of them had the Iranian name Zamaspa, while other bore typical Babylonian names (cf. CAD D: 122). The next two legal terms are also Iranian. One of them is *iprasakku-* ('investigator,' see W.P. Schmid apud Hinz 1970: 434). The second term is *mitiprāsu*, 'interrogator' (ROMCT 2: 36; cf. Zadok 1983: 218).

One of the reforms of Darius I established a new system of state taxes. According to this reform, all satrapies were obliged to pay monetary taxes in silver, the amount being determined on the basis of the area of cultivated land and its fertility as calculated in accordance with the mean perennial yield. For this purpose the land was precisely measured and classified according to the kind of crops produced.

Some Late Babylonian field plans have been preserved, which contain information about seed capacity, the kind of crop, the number of date palms, and the legal status of the land (Nemet-Nejat 1982). Such plans appear to begin only in the third regnal year of Darius I. It seems that they are cadastral documents connected with the reforms of Darius. If so, the reforms can be dated around the year 519 B.C. (cf. Descat 1985: 105).

Two Iranian terms designating royal taxes are attested in Babylonian documents. One of them is *uppajātu* which meant a royal impost paid in commodities (see Stolper 1977: 254ff.). The second term is *bāru*. In the Murashu documents it occurs regularly for designating a certain kind of taxes for the king incumbent on the fief allotments. This is an Old Persian word from *bār-*, 'to bear,' — however, its exact meaning is unknown (cf. Hinz 1975a: 63).

Until recent time the common opinion of scholars has been that after the reforms of Darius, money coming in as state taxes found its way into the royal treasuries, was withdrawn from circulation for many decades and for this reason there was insufficient silver for trade in Babylonia. However, now Stolper and some other scholars are inclined to reject such an opinion indicating that Babylonian documents show no shortage of silver in the country (Stolper 1985: 143ff.).

Land constituted the main source of royal taxes. In the Persian period, radical changes occurred in the system of agrarian relations. Part of the land was taken away from the indigenous population and distributed in large tracts as hereditary property to members of the royal family, to the Persian nobility and to high ranking officials. All these estates were not liable to impost.

Part of the land really belonged to the king, and the total area of royal lands under the Achaemenids had increased much as compared with the preceding period. These lands were usually put out on lease as well as royal canals (TuM2/3: 147, etc.). In the Chaldean period, the royal economy did not occupy a large share of the economy of the country. Despite the fact that the Achaemenid kings possessed a large amount of land in Babylonia, the royal economy did not play the leading role in the country in Persian times. This role belonged to the private and temple households. In the first millennium B.C. an enormous royal economy would have been an anomalous phenomenon.

The redistribution of land effected by the Achaemenids resulted in the appearance of different types of fiefs which belonged, in particular, to royal soldiers. These fiefs were allotted from state land. However, it is rather difficult to determine in detail all aspects of the military reform of Darius, since we know very little about the principles of recruiting soldiers in Babylonia during the Chaldean period.

A number of Babylonian documents have been preserved dated to the reign of Darius I, which record the conscription of soldiers who were obliged to supply military equipment and food from their own resources (Dar. 164, 253, etc.). However, such a form of conscription existed also in Chaldean times, and in this respect nothing changed, at least, under the early Achaemenids. But despite preservation of some elements in the system of military service, considerable alterations occurred in it in the Persian period.

It is well known that in Babylonia under the Achaemenids there existed different types of holdings designated as bow-fief, charioteer's fief, cavalry fief, and so on. These fiefs were granted by the royal administration with the obligation to carry out military service as bowmen, charioteers and cavalrymen. These soldiers consisted of Babylonians, Carians, Lydians, Sakai, and representatives of many other nations of the Persian empire.

The totality of the various fiefs was called *haṭru*. The institution of *haṭru* has been studied in detail by Cardascia and Stolper (Cardascia 1972: 150f.; Stolper 1985: 71ff.). Along with *haṭru*s of soldiers, there existed also *haṭru*s of various kinds of artisans united by their professions (carpenters, tanners, boatmen, etc.) who were subject to state corvée duties, as well as of officials and even merchants. Naturally, these groups existed alongside artisans, merchants, etc. who were not dependent on the royal administration.

Holders of fiefs could also put up other persons by hiring them in order to perform military service instead of themselves (Camb. 13, 292; Dar. 156, etc.).

Significant changes took place in temple policies in Babylonia during the Achaemenid period. First of all, in contrast to the Chaldean kings, the Achaemenids ceased paying annual tithes to the Babylonian temples, although they retained the tithe as an obligatory tax for their subjects. Furthermore, the kings of the Chaldean dynasty rarely interfered in temple affairs, and temple contributions to the state revenue were insignificant. Under the Achaemenids, the Babylonian temples were obliged to pay in kind considerable taxes of sheep and cattle, barley, dates etc., as well as to supply the provisions of government officials. The supervision of temple property was also transferred to the hands of royal officials, who often arranged inspection of this property (see in more detail Dandamaev 1979: 589ff.).

The Persian administration was not interested in the internal intellectual life of Babylonia, and local culture preserved its traditions. The Achaemenid period, particularly from the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., was the most creative time for Babylonian mathematical astronomy. But all its successes, as well as some changes in religious ideology, were due to internal native evolution. Babylonian culture, which had become conservative already many centuries before the Persian conquest, was not much affected by the cultures of other nations of the empire.

The Achaemenids did not make any attempts to impose their religion, culture and language upon the conquered countries. It is important to note that dogmatism concerning the beliefs of others was alien to ancient religions, and full religious liberty was typical of ancient societies. Although the Persian kings considered their own gods the most powerful ones, they also believed in the deities of the vanquished peoples, worshipped them and offered them sacrifices trying to gain their favours (see Bickerman 1976: 93ff.).

Thus, processes of cultural and ideological transformations occurring in Babylonia during the Achaemenid period were due to internal development and were not much affected by Persian rule.

Under the Achaemenids, Mesopotamia became accessible to immigration, and many aliens (Egyptians, Medes, Sakai, Carians, etc.) began to settle in the country for various reasons. Although at the beginning of their sojourn in Babylonia the foreigners maintained their national identity and traditional cultures, they were gradually assimilated into the local population. Even the Persians, who belonged to the ruling nation, were integrated into the life of their new surroundings. Within several centuries, all the groups of national minorities, except the Jews, completely disappeared in Mesopotamia.

In some cases aliens, settled in considerable numbers in separate settlements, established their own self-government. These self-governing bodies of ethnic minorities existing alongside the popular assemblies of Babylonian cities constituted a rudimentary stage of the *politeumata* which emerged in the hellenistic period.

PERSIANS AS MEDES

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Greek use of the terms 'Mede' and 'Medism' in reference to the Achaemenid empire and to the disposition to side with that empire is a phenomenon familiar to all students of antiquity — so familiar, indeed, that it has attracted little specific study and the bibliography of relevant articles comprises just three items, Myres 1936, Jonkers 1948 and Graf 1984.[1] Myres believed that the phenomenon originated at the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries, the era of Lydo-Median conflict prior to the fixing of a common border along the Halys in (traditionally) 585 BC., the word 'medism' being coined to describe the tendency of some Greeks in Asia Minor to favour the Iranian enemies of their own Lydian suzerains. Once established, the usage continued when the Persians descended in 546, because Greeks were unaware of, or uninterested in, the distinction between Medes and Persians. This interpretation is still to be found relatively recently in La Bua 1977, Francis 1980: 57 and Briant 1984b. Jonkers' view really only differs in not supposing that 'medism' was a current concept prior to Cyrus' time: it was only with the appearance of Iranian conquerors in western Anatolia that the issue of political alignment with or against them became important, but since the Iranians with whom Greeks were traditionally familiar, if only at a distance and by hearsay, were Medes, it was in 'Median' terms that the new political issue was formulated. David Graf's special contribution has been to focus attention more seriously upon the familiar but sometimes neglected fact that the 'Median' terminology did not become irrevocably established in Greek usage. Hence the following thesis. The Greeks (and other Near Eastern peoples) initially described their Achaemenid enemies as 'Medes' not only because real Medes were something they were familiar with and they lazily but understandably, failed to draw the proper distinctions but because there was positive encouragement not to draw distinctions. If Greeks and others behaved as though Cyrus' overthrow of Astyages was simply an internal squabble within the Median kingdom, a change of individual ruler not an alteration in the basic identity of the state, then it was because that was very much the real situation. Only with the advent of Darius did a decisive shift away from the Median heritage to a self-consciously Persian state occur and it was in response to this historic break in continuity that some of their subjects started to describe the Iranian ruling power in different terms.

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[1] The topic has interested me since the publication of Graf's paper. I made use of an incompletely digested collection of relevant material at the 1989 Workshop in an attempt to draw some conclusions about the advance of Greek knowledge of Persis in the fifth century. That attempt was, as a small amount of further thought subsequently made clear, ill-founded. I am glad to take the opportunity provided by the 1990 Workshop theme of continuity to pursue the matter more thoroughly. Work by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg on Herodotus' usage, which was mentioned in general terms (see Introduction, p. 6, eds.) at the 1989 Workshop, remains unpublished and I have conceived and carried out my own analysis quite independently of it.

The principal elements of Graf's case are thus: (i) the initial disposition to describe the Persian empire as 'Median' is most clearly visible in the Greek world, but can also be detected in Egypt and Israel; (ii) there is a change in Greek and Jewish usage away from Median terminology; (iii) that change can be related chronologically and causally to the politico-ethnic transformation allegedly wrought by Darius; and (iv) that transformation, crudely a shift from the 'Median' empire of Cyrus (and Cambyses) to the Persian one of the son of Hystaspes, is independently visible. I shall deal with each point in turn, paying special attention to providing as accurate a description as possible of the contemporary evidence of Greek usage down to the time of Alexander.

A.

Graf's introduction of non-Greek sources into the question in effect makes the important claim that we are not dealing with something whose explanation will be peculiar to Greek experience of the new world power, and therefore perhaps encourages the idea that substantial changes within that world power play some part in the story. I fear however that the relevant evidence is not quite as propitious as Graf would have us believe.

In the case of Israel we move from references to 'Medes' or 'Media and Elam' in *Isaiah* 13.17, 21.2 and *Jeremiah* 51.1, 28 (texts which may or may not have been written after 539, but which may at any rate be presumed to post-date the overthrow of Astyages) to talk of 'Persia' or 'Medes and Persians' in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* and in the fantasies of *Esther* and *Daniel.* This may establish the existence of a change in terminology, but leaves a very wide chronological gap in which it could have occurred. The appearance of Elam may actually compromise the simple truth of the proposition that "even after Cyrus' subjection of Media, he was regarded [by Jews] as the royal successor, not destroyer, of the Median Kingdom" (Graf 1984: 21), but in any case the surviving evidence cannot establish that Persian terminology was not in fact used by Jews from a very early stage after 539. I doubt that we can legitimately use the suggestion which is sometimes advanced of a connection between 'Darius the Mede' in Daniel and Cyrus (Ackroyd 1970: 57; Dandamaev 1985: 13) as grounds for 'reconstructing' an early Jewish tendency to describe Cyrus as a Median king.

In the case of Egypt the view is advanced that native Egyptian usage always referred to the Iranian conquerors as Medes. If that is true it does not get us very far; it simply shows that Egyptians reacted initially like Greeks but, being more inherently conservative (not least in the matter of ethnonyms), did not change with the times. It fails to cast any light on the date/circumstances in which the Egyptians ought to have changed terminology if they had not been conservative. But perhaps it is not true anyway. There is actually next to no evidence of 'Median' terminology from the Achaemenid era itself (RES 3022 is an exception, but I do not know how we can be sure that it reflects primarily Egyptian rather than Minnaean usage). Talk of 'Persian' weight in AP 26.21 (412 BC) may, of course, be regarded as the terminology of the conqueror and 'Ataparan the Mede' in BP 5.17 is literally from Media, but I wonder whether a little more importance should not be attached to (i) the formulation of the titles of Atiyawahy (Posener 1936: nos. 24-30) and Ariyawrata (Posener 1936: nos. 31, 33-34) as '... of Persia' and (ii) the use of 'Persia' in the narrative portions of Posener 1936: nos. 8-10. These texts were composed by Egyptians, even if dictated by Persians. There was nothing to stop the composer translating 'Persia' as 'Media' if it was simply a matter of linguistic usage and if 'Media' is what unvarying native linguistic usage dictated. If, on the other hand, use of 'Mede'/'Media' was liable to be particularly associated with (hostile) perception of the Persians *qua* conquering power (cf. its persistent use in the Demotic Chronicle, and Greek usage as surveyed below), its avoidance in the documents just mentioned is understandable. One might also bring into the argument the later Coptic name of Giza, viz. +PERSES or +PERSIOI. In Tuplin 1987a: 189 I questioned the view that this name reflected the existence of an important Achaemenid period installation there, but one of the reasons advanced, that "we should expect an Egyptian name coined in the sixth/fifth century ... to be based on the ethnic 'Mede'," now strikes me as debatable.

Other non-Greek languages seem to have nothing helpful to offer. 'Media' in the possibly Achaemenid tribute document in Wiseman 1967 is meant to be taken in the strict sense, just as it is in Persian royal inscriptions. The '[King of Persians] and Medes, Lord of Kings' named at Byblos (Graf 1984: 28) is being given a double-ethnic title comparable with that sometimes used during the reign of Xerxes in Babylonian date-formulae (Zadok 1985: s.v. Madaja; Parsu) and is of a piece with the 'Persian/Median army' of DB and the references to 'Persia, Media and other lands' in DB §§11-14 (where however the Akkadian version sometimes adds a specific allusion to Babylon and Elam as well). Designation of individual Iranians in Babylonian documents (of various sixth and fifth century dates) as 'Persian' or 'Median' is, we must presume, always intended to be taken literally (Zadok 1977: 107f; add e.g. CT 55.43). The same applies to 'Autophradates the Persian satrap' named in Lycian on the Payava Sarcophagus (first quarter, fourth century) and the 'Mede' who appears in an Akkadian document at Persepolis (PT 85). The use of *PRSY* (i.e. 'Persian') as a personal name in Phoenician contexts at Sidon (RES 1203), Kition (2 individuals four generations apart in KAI 34,3 and perhaps another in a lost text mentioned by Guzzo Amadasi 1978) and Abydos (*KAI* 49,10) — a use which may be reflected in Greek form in the case of such persons as the Stoic philosopher Persaios of Kition (so Guzzo Amadasi 1978) — is interesting but ultimately not very informative in the present context.

B.

I turn now to Greek usage, which I shall try to survey in chronological order, in four groups: 546-480, 480-431, 431-400, 400-323. (The dating of some texts in relation to these boundaries is, of course, debatable). The second group is, naturally, dominated by Herodotus. I propose, however, to leave consideration of the *Histories*, the largest and most coherent single corpus of examples of both terminologies, until the very end, so that the relative bulk of the discussion which it provokes does not swamp the general picture.

(a) *546-480*. In this period we have not only the famous Xenophanes fragment, "How old were you when the Mede came" (18 Diehl = 22 Diels-Kranz), but also Theognis 756-764 (esp. 764), which calls on his companions to drink and enjoy conversation with no fear of Μήδων πόλεμος (variously dated all the way from 530 to the late 480s), the ostrakon cast in Athens in the 480s against 'Kallias the Mede' and Ibycus' reference (context unknown) to 'Kyaras [?Cyrus], general of the Medes' (320 Page). All show that, viewed as conquerors of Ionia or a threat to mainland Greece, the foreigners were seen as Medes. On the other side of the coin we have only two items. One is the Gadatas letter (ML 12) with its reference to Apollo telling the 'Persians' the truth. This is a dubitable instance because the inscription is at best a late copy which could have changed the terminology of the pre-486 Greek original (Darius himself, of course, would hardly have formulated the idea in 'Median' terminology) and at worst a total (late) forgery. The other item is Hecataeus 1 F284, which speaks of the Περσικὸς κύπασσις being worn by the Kissians (Elamites). Here too we may be the victim of terminological change by the source of the quotation (Athenaeus), though there is no particular reason to suppose so. A more serious problem is that the passage may not be an example of 'Persian terminology' in the sense with which we are here concerned. Hecataeus may have meant literally 'Persian' as opposed to Median. If so, however, we can at least concur with Graf's own observation that all of 1 FF281-5 show us a Greek registering intimate knowledge of Persian customs. At least as early as the end of the sixth century, therefore, when Greeks contemplated the Iranian enemy as individuals with social characteristics they were capable of seeing Persians, even if as a collective threat from the east they counted as Medes. And, on a matter of purely geographical fact, the existence of a distinction between Persia and Media was no secret.

(b) *480-431*. The victory over Xerxes gave rise to a number of celebratory epigrams which tended to be ascribed to Simonides. Opinions differ about that ascription in one case or another, but there are a good dozen texts which we can reasonably accept as genuinely dating from the years immediately after 480/79, whoever their author was. One text mentions both Persians and Medes (Simonides 90D = XI Page = Hansen 1983: 131 = ML 24) — one of the relatively rare examples in classical Greek sources of 'Medes and Persians' terminology of the sort found in the Bible.[2] Another (Simonides 104D = XIV Page) survives in two versions, one with Μήδοις, one with Πέρσαις: the former is probably correct, and eight further items can be adduced with solely Median terminology.[3] On the other hand we have two 'Persian' items — the dedication on the altar of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataeae (Simonides 107D = XV Page) and one of the epigrams on display in the Athenian Agora (Simonides 88D = XX (b) Page = ML 26) — and perhaps a third Simonides 119 = XVIII Page, which has often been held to be a late fake but is defended by Page.

The preponderance of Median terminology is thus, though not total, clear. Other poetic evocations of the war follow suit,[4] and the same is true of epigrams dealing with later conflict with the Persians[5] and of a text from Idalion mentioning an attack upon the city by 'Medes and Kitians' (ICS 217). In a different vein Timocreon 3 Diehl admits to having made a pact with 'the Mede' and the people of Erythrae speak of those of their fellow-citizens who have fled to the Mede (ML 40.27): here, as with the Kallias ostrakon in the first period, we are dealing with the other specific type of interaction with the Iranian enemy which evokes use of 'Median' terminology, viz. what others would call Medism.

'Persian' terminology is not, however, lacking in the Pentakontaetia. Bacchylides 31.28 (468 BC) describes Sardis as having been captured in 546 by the Περσᾶν στρατός, Phrynichus' *Phoenissai* contains a reference to Persians (3 F8) and a whole play entitled *Persai* is attributed to him (3 F4a). The same title (with an alternative, *Assyrioi*) is also assigned to Chionides, the reputed earliest poet of Old Comedy. (If the Suda is to be believed the play could even theoretically date from before 480). More substantial, of course, is

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[2] Cf. Thuc. I 104,2; Xen. *Anab.* III 2,25; *Adesp.Eleg.* 58 West = *P.Oxy.* 2327 f. 27 ii.

[3] 65 Diehl = XIX(a) Page, 83 Diehl = VI Page, 88 Diehl = XXI Page, 93 Diehl = XXIII Page, 105 Diehl = XVII(a) Page, 108 Diehl = XIII Page, 109 Diehl = XXIV Page, 143 Diehl = V Page. Note also two further celebratory texts using Median terminology which survive in fourth century epigraphic form but may well be copying fifth century originals, viz *SEG* XXXI 561 (inscription on the Plataean ox at Delphi) and *SEG* XXVIII 495 = XXXII 551 = D.S. XI 14,4 (text commemorating the repulse of a 'Median' attack upon Delphi in 480).

[4] Theognis 773-788 (at 775) (Apollo saves Megara from the στρατὸς ὑβριστὴς Μήδων), Pindar *Pyth.* I 78 (Plataeae), Aeschylus 2 Page (Marathon), the 'Bakis' oracle cited in Herodotos IX 43 (Plataeae).

[5] ML 34 = Hansen 1983: 421 (Egypt, 450s), Simonides XL Page (Eion), 103 Diehl = XLV Page (Cyprus), 115 Diehl = XLVI Page (Eurymedon).

Aeschylus' *Persai*. Here, despite the overwhelming tendency for epigrammatic reference to the Persian Wars to speak of 'Medes,' Persian terminology is used almost exclusively. There are just three exceptions. The chorus speaks of Athens having done much damage to 'the Medes at Marathon (236), while Darius names the founder of his own royal line Medos' (765) and warns that there must be no further attack on Greece, "not even if the Median army were much greater in size" (791). The first and third of these conform, of course, to the epigrammatic way of speaking of the subject. they are arguably moments of inadvertence on Aeschylus' part. It is striking that one of them occurs when discussion turns to Marathon, a battle in which he himself fought: he is lapsing into a way of looking at the event natural to him as an Athenian participant, just as at 791 he makes Darius describe a Persian invasion army in terms more appropriate to a Greek point of view. Medos, Darius' royal predecessor, is rather more unexpected and can hardly be simply called inadvertent, since the poet had deliberately to 'invent' him and chose not to conjure into existence an ancestral 'Perses'. The decision must be regarded as a tribute to the continuing strength of the tendency (especially when thinking in the collective and, in a sense, slightly anonymous terms appropriate to eponymous heroes) to see the Persians as Medes. But it must be stressed again that this is happening in a text which overwhelmingly sees Persians as Persians.

It would be nice to know if this was true of another series of texts from this period, works published under the title *Persika* by Dionysius of Miletus, Charon of Lampsacus and Hellanicus of Lesbos and (a somewhat less familiar case, perhaps) Empedocles of Akragas (31A1 = DL VIII 57: it concerned Xerxes' *diabasis* and was burned by the author's sister), but the only quotation from any of these including an ethnonym is Charon 687 F4, where Paktyes is pursued by a Περσικὸς στρατός. I should assume that this was typical and that it was not just a case of *Medika* being avoided as a title, because it was too much associated specifically with 'the Persian Wars', while Median terminology proliferated in the main body of the text. The truth is that whenever a Greek author confronts Persians with any sort of respect for their individuality, rather than just as a faceless politico-military threat, he will use 'correct' terminology, whether he is a playwright or an historian: and what is true of Charon or Aeschylus simply represents a continuation of what was already true of Hecataeus.

(c) *431-400*. The major exhibits here will be Aristophanes and Thucydides.[6] Indeed at the most generous estimate other items are not numerous, and issues of dating and reliability do obtrude. 'Median' terminology is not particularly common. *Ta Medika* appears in the decree of Patrokleidas (quoted in Andocides I 77) and *Medikos polemos* in Pseudo-Herodes *peri politeias* 22 — standard fifth century usage in reference to the 'Persian Wars.'[7] Theopompus' comedy *Medos* may actually belong after 400, and the precise significance of the title is unknown. It could as well have been the name of a slave — cf. *IG* I^3 476.16,30,133,138 — as a reference to the king of Persia. A fragment from his *Theseus* in which somebody says "you will go to the land of the Medes" [Μήδων γαῖαν] (17 Kock) is also opaque, though I suspect that 'flight to the Medes' (in the manner of the Erthryaean decree quoted above) is what is in question. On the other side of the coin we may register Democritus' alleged remark (68 B 118 DK) that it is better to discover a new *aitiologia* than to acquire possession of ἥ Περσῶν βασιλεία, Critias' observation (88 B 31 Diels-Kranz) that the Thessalians invited the Persians to invade Greece because they envied their luxurious life-style and Gorgias' description of Xerxes in his panhellenist *Epitaphios* as 'the Zeus of the Persians' (82 B 5a Diels-Kranz). It is tempting to observe that, although Democritus could be said to avoid Μήδων because he is picturing the Persian kingdom as something enviable (not something threatening), the other two authors reflect the increasing tendency to use 'Persian' even in contexts of suspicion and hostility in which one might expect 'Mede.' But, quite apart from the fact that the first and third passage may strictly belong before and after the Peloponnesian War period respectively, the reliability of the citations of Democritus and Critias could be impugned. That problem does not arise with Timotheus' *Persai*, which certainly bore that title and used Persian terminology (lines 86/7, 167, 186) but the date of composition is notoriously disputed[8]. For other 'Persian' titles we may turn back to Old Comedy and notice Pherecrates' *Persai* and Metagenes' *Thouriopersai*, though both could actually predate the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. In both cases it seems apparent that 'Persian' evokes wealth and luxury. Finally there is Choerilus' *Persika* (Herodian *peri mon.lex.* 13.4, P. Oxy. 1399) or *Perseis* (Stob. XXVII 1), another Persian War poem, and one which we can reasonably place before 400 (for fragments and commentary see Radice Colace 1979). But what are we to make of the *Medika* (and indeed the *Barbarika*) with which he is also credited by P. Oxy. 1399? Is this really a separate work? Personally I suspect not. In any event, of course, both Timotheus and Choerilus continue the trend already established in Phrynichus, Aeschylus and the pre-Herodotean historians of Persia, and it is to their usage that the comic poets were alluding.

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[6] The latter, of course, wrote at least some of the *History* after 404, and some perhaps after 400. But it is fair for simplicity's sake to regard it as the work of a man whose intellectual generation was that of the war era.

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[7] The status of pseudo-Herodes *peri politeias* as a late fifth century document is disputable, of course: see Albini 1968.

[8] The conspectus of suggested dates in Hansen 1984: 135-6 shows a majority in favour of a post-404 date; Hansen himself favours 16 Mounykhion (X) 410/09 for the first performance, and Francis 1980: 53 argues for 410.

A historian who is *not* writing the history of Persia or even just of the Persian Wars, however, behaves differently: at least there are, overall, far more 'Medes' than 'Persians' in Thucydides. On the other hand, the contexts in which these numerous Medes appear are rather limited: Medism (I 95,5; 135,2; III 34,2; 62,1; 63,1; 64,2; 65,1), labels for the 'Persian Wars',[9] references to Marathon (I 18,1; VI 59,4) or to events of the Xerxes invasion[10] or the Eurymedon victory (I 100,1), allusions to one-time Persian domination of later Athenian allies/subjects (I 77,5; III 10,3; 4,5; VI 4,5; 17,7; 76,3-4; 77,1). The message is clear: when viewed globally, the Iranians who threaten Greek freedom are Medes (the only real exception is VI 36,3: the 'Persians' at Thermopylae). It is of a piece with all this that the booty on the Acropolis is σκῦλα Μηδικά (II 13,4) and that the Spartan Lichas complains that the first two Spartan-Persian treaties in 412/11 will institute a Μηδική ἄρχή (VIII 43,3). It is worth contrasting this last passage with II 97,4: when one has in mind the threat of barbarion domination it is a 'Medic empire', but when one is, relatively objectively, comparing the manners of Achaemenid and Thracian kingship the former is ἥ Περσῶν βασιλεία. More generally any named Achaemenid ruler is perceived as a Persian king (I 13,6; 14,2; 16), just as any named individual Persian is labelled (if at all) ἀνὴρ Πέρσης or ὁ Πέρσης (I 109,2; IV 50,1-2; VIII 108,4). Indeed, as soon as one is not thinking of the Iranian enemy as an undifferentiated mass, even if no named individual(s) is/are involved, Median terminology will disappear: thus Themistokles travels to Persia with 'one of οἱ κάτω Πέρσαι' (I 137,3) and the houses of Athens are occupied in 480 by the δυνάτοι τῶν Περσῶν (I 89,3). The language of 'Persians' is also Περσὶς γλῶσσα (I 138,1).[11] One final contrast: in I 130,1 Pausanias' adoption of Persian customs involves, on the one hand, a bodyguard of Medes and Egyptians and personal adoption of Μηδικαὶ σκευαί but, on the other, the maintenance of a τράπεζα Περσική. I suggest that the variation of terminology is dictated, perhaps almost unconsciously, by the contrast between equipment characteristic of a 'Persian' soldier — the thing which threatens Greek liberty — and the (merely) social practices of a Persian aristocrat.

Turning to Aristophanes a similar pattern emerges. The enemy at Marathon and Artemision were Medes (*Knights* 781; *Lysistrata* 1253), the Persian wars are *ta Medika* (*Lysistrata* 653), the campaign of sleep against a character's eyes is compared to that of the Medes (*Wasps* 12), the foundation of the

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[9] *to Mēdikon* (I 23,1); *ta Mēdika* I 14,2; 18,3; 41,2; 69,1; 73,2; 97,2; 142,7; II 16,1; 21,2; VI 82,3; VIII 24,3]; *ho Mēdikos polemos* (I 90,1; 95,7; 97,1; III 10,2); and cf. *meta ton Mēdon* = 'after the Persian War' in III 68,1.

[10] I 18,2; 69,5; 77,6; 86,1; 89,1; 89,2; 92,1; 93,8; 94,2; 98,1; 102,4; 128,4; 132,2; 144,4; II 71,2; 74,2; III 57,3; 58,4-5; 62,5; 63,2; 68,1; V 89; VI 33,6; 82,4; 83,1; VII 21,3.

[11] This is, of course, standard; cf. Hdt. VIII 85; IX 110; Xen. *Anab.* IV 5,34; *Dissoi Logoi* 6.12.

Delian League involves capturing cities from the Medes (*Wasps* 1078f), and treacherous converse with the enemy is engaged in with the Medes (*Peace* 108; *Knights* 478; *Thesmophoriazousai* 337, 365). The only relevant exception to this trend is (as in Thucydides, oddly) a reference to 'Persians' at Thermopylae (*Lysistrata* 1261). On the other hand we also find Persian slippers (*Clouds* 151, *Thesmophoriazousai* 734, *Lysistrata* 229, *Ekklesiazousai* 319), a Persian melody (*Thesmophoriazousai* 1175), a Persian cloak (even though it comes from Ecbatana: *Wasps* 1135f.) and a Persian walking-stick (*Geras* F128 Kock = 142 Kassal/Austin); and the barnyard cock is described as a 'Persian bird' (*Birds* 483, 707, 833; cf. Kratinos 259 Kock = 279 Kassal/Austin).[12] That lucerne is described in *Knights* 606 as 'Median grass' is probably not a counter-example but actually a 'correct' use of the ethnonym, Media (especially Nisaea) being already perceived (as in Herodotus) as having a particular association with horse-rearing, so the 'Medic tapestries' of *Frogs* 938 are perhaps the only clear departure from a trend to perceive the characteristic products/customs of the eastern empire as Persian, not Median. It is the same contrast which goes all the way back to Xenophanes' 'Mede' and Hecataeus' 'Persian' κύπασσις. The choice of terminology in the *Frogs* passage arises from Euripides' contemptuous hostility to Aeschylus, whom he is criticising for filling his tragedies with pretentious monsters of the sort proper to Μηδικὰ παραπετάσματα: he is exploiting an element of racial animosity in selecting the term 'Medic'.

(d) *400-323*. So far as customs, characteristics and products are concerned, Persian terminology is dominant, as always, and the range of matter is wide: language (*Dissoi Logoi* 6,12; Xen. *Anab.* IV 5,34), styles of dress (*Dissoi Logoi* 2,15), belts (Plat. *Hipp.Min.* 368C), paternal behaviour (Arist. *EN* 1160b27), honour for military virtue (Arist. *Pol.* 1324b17), luxury and wealth (Plat. *Alk.* I 112B, 123B), drunkenness (Plat. *Laws* 637D), cowardice (Isocr. IV 145-6), *oikonomia* (Arist. *Oikon.* 1344b30ff), horses (Aeschin. III 164), nuts (Theophr. *HP* III 6,2), citrus fruit (id. *HP* I 11,4; *CP* I 11,1). Ctesias, Deinon and Heraclides wrote *Persika*, like their predecessors; little reliable evidence remains of the terminology they used in their texts, but Deinon probably did write, as Plutarch says, that "Persians call Carians *alektryones* [because of the cock-like crests on their helmets]" — it would be astonishing if he had written anything else — and Heraclides 689 F1 (10,000 Persians called 'Immortals') and 2 (Πέρσαι ἐν δυναστείᾳ) can also count, unless either of them is intended to be used strictly. The fourth century Greek for 'in Persia' (not in a particularly strict sense) is *en Persais*,[13] and when we encounter a slave given an Iranian ethnic as PN the name is Perses or Persis (*IG* ii^2 1553.1, 6f.) instead of the Medos found some 80 years earlier. For equivalent Median terminology there is essentially nothing to show. 'Medic grass' (Theophr. *HP* VIII 7,7) we have already seen to be probably a strict usage; 'Median *manteis*, (Deinon 690 F3) may be intended to be so too. We are left with Μηδική μηλέα used by Theophrastos (*CP* I 18,5; *HP* I 13,4) for citrus fruit, apparently interchangeably with Περσική μηλέα (cited above) and the eleven Μηδικοὶ σίγλοι which appear for a number of years in Athenian treasury records at the start of the century.[14] This is a fairly modest haul and the overall picture is one which reflects no change from previous periods. For that one may look instead to the treatment of historical matters.

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[12] The (? fantasy) *Medos*-bird in *Birds* 277-8 is so-called to distinguish it from the mundane cock. The use of an Iranian ethnonym to denominate a species surely familiar in Greece well before the era of the Persian Empire is odd (even if the choice of 'Persian' rather than 'Median' conforms to expectations). I hope to discuss this matter elsewhere.

The Persian Wars are still *ta Medika*[15] and the Theban behaviour at the time is 'medising' ([Dem.] LIX 95). But we find as many cases of the equivalent Persian terminology. Περσικά and Περσικὸς πόλεμος show up for the first time.[16] The invasion force is a Περσικὸς στόλος (Plat. *Laws* 642D, 692C [Xerxes], 698C [Darius]). It is 'the Persians' who attacked Greece (Plat. *Laws* 698B, [Dem.] XII 7), Persian wealth that was defeated in 480 (Dem. IX 36), the opponents at Salamis (Aeschin. III 181), Plataeae (Plat. *Laches* 191E) and Marathon (id. *Menex.* 239D) were Persians, and Athens' triumph was over Persians (*Dissoi Logoi* 1,8). It is striking how neatly the choice splits between Aristotle/Xenophon (Median) and Plato/orators (Persian); clearly it is a matter of almost stylistic taste, but it looks as though, in a public assembly, you would be more likely to use Persian terminology. When reference is made to historical events other than those of the Persian Wars, there is also more use of Persian terminology than we have seen previously: in the fifth century Eion was captured from Persians (Ephorus 70 F191[6]), Eurymedon won against them (id. 191[9]), Pausanias guilty of betrayal of Greece 'to the Persian' (Lycurg. 128); and in the fourth century Egypt must be recovered by the Persian (Isocr. IV 140; Tod 199.34), while (in a celebratory epigram) Alexander destroyed the cities of the Persians (*AP* 344 = Hiller no.79). More generally, "no Persian ever controlled Lycia" (Isocr. IV 161) and Athens condemns those who propose friendly relations with the Persians (*ibid.* 157). The Great King, if given an ethnic designation at all, is always 'King of the

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[13] Arist. *EN* 1134b26, 1160b27; *Pol.* 1324b11; *Magn.Mor.* 1212a6; Plat. *Laws* 695E; *Minos* 316A.

[14] IG II2 1384,7; 1386,15; 1387,5; 1388,43; 1389,4 1390,4; 1393,23; 1400,19.

[15] Arist. *Pol.* 1274a13, 1303a5,b33, 1304a21, 1341a30; *Metaph.* 1018b16; Ath.Pol. 23,1; 25,1; 41,2; frag.4; Xen. *Por.* V 5) or ὁ Μηδικός πόλεμος (Arist. *Pol.* 1307a4; *Analyt.* 94a36.

[16] *Persika*: Isocr. IV 158; VI 42; VII 75; VIII 37,90; *Persikos polemos*: Isocr. VIII 88; XII 49; XIV 57; XV 233; Plat. *Menex.* 242B.

Persians.'[17] His ἀρχή or tyranny or monarchy or δύναμις are similarly always Persian[18] and the label on the 'Darius Vase' reads *Persai* (Villanueva-Puig 1989). On the other side of the coin 'medism' is still (as ever) the word for supporting the enemy (Isocr. IV 157; Dem. XXIII), and this is doubtless responsible for the repeated references to the 'Median' gold of Arthmios of Zelea (Dem. IX 42; Aeschin. III 258f.; Deinarch. II 24f.). The terminology of the quoted epigram may influence Aeschines' choice of 'Mede' in reference to fighting on the Strymon in III 183. Only Demosthenes XII 21 (Alexander I capturing Median prisoners at Amphipolis) lacks a clear special explanation.

Overall, it is clear enough that somewhere between the era which formed Thucydides' or Aristophanes' way of looking back at the events of 490-479 and indeed at later Greco-Persian conflict until, say, the 460s and the era which formed the viewpoint of fourth century writers, a change has occurred. It is not total. On the one hand, some Median terminology always remains, though there is a very clear sense of simple ossification, and only 'medism' is actually immune to alteration to 'persism' — largely because of a desire to avoid confusion with περσίζειν = speak Persian. The word also becomes pretty rare, and appears to lose any possibility of application to contemporary events. On the other hand, we should not lose sight of the possibility that, in (effectively) comparing the authors of patriotic epigrams, Thucydides or Aristophanes with Isocrates, Plato, Aristotle and various Attic orators, we are not entirely comparing like with like. The vagaries of individual taste seem to be reflected by contrasts between fourth century authors in the designation of 'Persian Wars.' Perhaps the taste of Thucydides cannot stand as representative for all Greeks of his generation; and the attribution of a particular usage to his characters by Aristophanes may in some cases be intended to have characterising overtones. At any rate one must stress again that the range of contexts in which Median terminology is actually used even in the fifth century sources so far surveyed is decidedly limited, and all that is happening by the fourth century is that even that limited range is being increasingly encroached upon.

(e) We may now return at last to Herodotus. The *Histories* contains, of course, plenty of examples of what are meant to be ethnically precise references to 'Persians' and 'Medes.' We are not interested in those. Nor are we particularly interested in the majority of the very numerous ethnically unspecific references to 'Persians': no reader of Herodotus needs to have it proved to him that what I have been calling Persian terminology abounds in his work. What we are concerned with is simply a group of (by my count) slightly over 70 passages using Median terminology. By comparison with the bulk of the *Histories* as a whole this is actually a modest tally. On the other hand the vast majority of the passages is concentrated in the part running from the Ionian revolt to the end of the work (i.e. in substantially less than half of the whole) and this may have assisted in the creation of what is perhaps a somewhat false impression of the prevalence of the usage in Herodotus (and by extension in Greek authors in general). More important than this simple statistical point, however, is the proposition that, as with other texts already surveyed, the contexts in which Median terminology is forthcoming are relatively limited.

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[17] Aeschin. II 149; III 132, 163; Dinarch. I 10,18,32; [Dem.] VII 29; XXVI 7; Dem. XVIII 202; Xen. *Anab.* III 4,8; Arist. *Pol.* 1284b1, 1339a34; *de mir.ausc.* 832a27, 833a5; frag. 674R; Plat. *Alk.* I 120ACE, 121C, 123B; Heracl. 689 F1.

[18] Plat. *Epist.* 332B; *Menex.* 239DE; *Laws* 693AD; Arist. *Pol.* 1313a37, b9; Isocr. III 23; IV 178.

1. The Persian Wars are *ta Medika* in IX 64,2. Comparable with this is the use of 'Mede' in a casual, out-of-context reference to an event of 480 in V 77,3 (the walls on the Akropolis still blackened by fires started by the Mede).

2. The words *medismos* and *medizein* appear frequently (some 30 times). We may add also the phrase τὰ Μήδων ... φρονέοιεν in VIII 34. Only one passage uses the word in a context outside the period from the late 490s onwards in reference to people outside mainland Greece and the immediately adjacent island of Andros: this is IV 144,3 (and the allusion is actually to people who were not medising).

3. A variety of other passages presuppose the same ideologically charged perception of 'Medes' as that which gives rise to 'medism'. (i) τὸ ... ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων [sc. Samian] ποιηθὲν (VI 22.1) refers in effect to an act of Medism. 'The Greeks with the Medes' in IX 17,3 is not unnatural since these are 'medising Greeks.' (ii) People who 'defect' to the Persians as exiles or otherwise are normally said to go ἐς Μήδους (V 104,3; VI 9,2; 67,1; VII 239,1). An arguable exception is Phanes, who gets away from Egypt ἐς Πέρσας (III 4,3). Here, I think the purely geographical sense 'to Persia,' attested elsewhere, predominates. A different sort of exception is provided by Sperthias and Boulis who were not exiles/fugitives but were sent ἐς Μήδους by the Spartans. On the other hand they were not straightforward ambassadors either, since they were despatched ὡς ἀποθανευμένους, 'for execution,' in recompense for Spartan murder of Persian heralds and the passage may exemplify a tendency to reach for the word 'Mede' when the barbarian power's destructive character is specially to the fore. In due course they address their prospective executioner as 'King of the Medes' (VII 136,21). (iii) VIII 46,3: a Naxian military contingent is sent in 480 ἐς Μήδους. (iv) The Athenian exile Dikaios is 'respected παρὰ Μήδοις' (VIII 65,1): normally Herodotus writes of individuals being honoured or the like ἐν Πέρσαις.

4. The Great King is not often given a title which includes an ethnic term. We have already seen one example in 4 (ii) above. Persian ambassadors in III 21,1-3 and Darius himself in IV 91,2 are not unnaturally made to speak of

'the Persian king'. The dream-vision in VII 12 which addresses Xerxes with ὦ Πέρσα is also presumably speaking as a Persian. Nor is it surprising that Herodotus in an ideologically neutral context in III 102,2 speaks of 'the Persian king' despatching people to find the Indian gold-hunting ants. On the other side of the coin, Spartan ambassadors in VIII 114,2 and Queen Tomyris in I 206,1 address Xerxes and Cyrus respectively as 'King of the Medes' when warning them to abandon their current campaigns of aggression, Themistocles (VIII 5,2) and the Athenians (IX 7a,1) refer to Xerxes in the same terms when speaking of his capacity to bribe or otherwise persuade Greeks to abandon resistance to his aggression and join him instead (we are close to 'medism' again here) and (in his own voice) Herodotus remarks that most of the Libyans have not paid any attention to the Median King (IV 197,1) — i.e. have not fallen victim to his attempts to dominate them. The pattern is not quite perfect. For that to be the case Hecataeus (V 36,2) would have to oppose rebellion against the Median king (though doubtless the historical Hecataeus knew better!), and Idanthyrsus would have to follow the example of Tomyris, rather than addressing Darius with ὦ Πέρσα. But it is not being claimed that Median terminology must always be used in given circumstances, only that the overtones present when it is used are of fairly limited sorts.

5. The same goes for the following passages which do not refer to the king specifically but are connected by the shared idea of imperial power and subjection to it. I 163,3: Arganthonios heard that the Mede was growing in power in the Phocaeans' part of the world and so helped them fortify their city. V 104,1: "for the Cypriots also revolted from the Medes." V 109,3: "The Ionians sent us to guard the sea not to hand over our ships and fight the Persians on land. We shall try to do our duty in our appointed place. You must remember what you have suffered as slaves at the hands of the Medes." Herodotus could have written either 'Persians' or 'Medes' twice. As it is the shift from 'Persian' to 'Mede' corresponds to a decided shift from relatively objective statement to an ideologically charged one. VI 22,1; 24,2: two references to the Samians who decided in 494 to sail into exile and live at Zancle rather than be enslaved to the Medes. VI 109,3, "if the Athenians submit to the Medes, it is certain what they will suffer once handed over to Hippias ...," is comparable. VI 112,3: "[The men at Marathon] were the first to put up with the sight of Median dress and of the men who wore it. Up to that time it was a cause of fear to Greeks even to hear the name 'Mede'." In view of the way Herodotus writes in VII 62, 'Median dress' is perhaps intended to be taken *stricto sensu* — Median as opposed to Persian, though adopted by Persians. Not so the Median name, though. But I am inclined to think that what is said about Greek reaction to it should in a sense be taken more literally than it perhaps sometimes is. 'Mede' was the name which expressed a sense of

horror at the depredations of an alien conqueror.[19] VIII 141,1: "the Spartans remembered the oracles which said that they together with the other Dorians were going to be expelled from the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians, and they were much afraid of the Athenians coming to an agreement with the Persian." What sort of oracles these were there is no way of knowing, but everything encourages us to believe that in or around 480 any such predictions would have been expressed in Median terminology. The shift to 'agreement with the Persian' looks like a principally stylistic decision VIII 143,1 ("we of course realise for ourselves that the Mede has many times more power than we do, so it is not necessary to criticise us on that score. But we yearn for freedom and will resist in whatever way we can") and IX 82,3 ("[I wished] to show you the folly of the Mede who, enjoying a life-style such as this, came against us who have such a meagre one with the intention of taking it away") once again present us with the Mede as conqueror.

6. In another group of passages 'Mede' is used in the course of battlefield narratives (where 'Persian' terminology otherwise predominates) when there is occasion to refer to the enemy camp or force. In some cases this seems relatively neutral. Themistocles sends Sikinnos to the Median camp (VIII 75,1); a man (Alexandros) comes from the Median camp at Plataeae (IX 44,2); the disarmed Samians at Mycale are in the Median camp (IX 103,2), despite the fact that the whole of the rest of the narrative styles the Persian army 'Persian.' In other cases the great size of the barbarian army is what is of particular relevance. VI 109,1: "the Athenian generals were in two minds, some not favouring engagement (for they were [too] few in number to engage the Median army), others including Miltiades ordering it." VI 111,3: "the [Athenian] army had an equal front with the Median one, but its middle portion was only a few ranks deep and was the weakest part of the array, whereas each wing was at full strength." The implied contrast in size between Athenian and Median army, is, of course, clear. VII 207: "when the Persian came close to the pass, the Greeks became frightened and discussed retreat. The rest of the Peloponnesians were for going to the Isthmus and defending that, but Leonidas under Locrian and Phocian influence voted to stay put and send messengers to the cities calling for help, since they were too few in number to hold back the Median army." When the issue is the size of the attack, not just its imminence, the terminology thus shifts from Persian to Mede. VII 226,2: "he did not regard the multitude of the Medes as of much account and said that his Trachinian friend was bringing entirely good news, since if the Medes hid the sun [with their arrows] the battle would be in the shade." No special comment

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[19] It was a curiously satisfactory accident, incidentally, that, when it came to looking for Greek eponyms, 'Mede' could be connected with the wicked Medeia, whereas 'Persian' evoked the admirable Perseus.

necessary. But note that this and the preceding passage are the only piece of Median terminology in the Thermopylae narrative (VII 200-233), a passage which contains 14 examples of Persian terminology.

7. Three other passages use 'Mede' of the enemy on the battlefield. Two of them have in common that they allude to the defeated enemy, though whether this is significant I am not sure: VI 120,2, the Spartans visit Marathon after the battle because they want to see the [dead] Medes; and IX 77,2, Artabazos and his Medes in flight from Plataeae. The other passage is more remarkable: "since the battle will happen at dawn, you Athenians ought to take position opposite the Persians, while we [Spartans] take position opposite the Boeotians [and medising Greeks]. The reason is this: you understand the Medes and their way of fighting having fought them at Marathon, but we are inexperienced and unknowledgeable about these people: for no Spartiate has made trial of the Medes, but we are familiar with Boeotians and Thessalians." The speaker moves from Persian to Median terminology when he starts viewing the enemy as an alien type of soldier (and in a historical perspective at that).

8. In one further and final passage, however, it is hard to find any such point in the juxtaposition of the two terminologies. III 136,2: "Aristophilides, king of Taras, removed the stearing-gear from the Median ships and arrested the Persians themselves on a charge of being spies." It is clear that we should not expect the individual 'spies' to be described as anything but Persians. Herodotus' usage would never permit him to allude to a group of 15 ἄνδρες δόκιμοι (III 135,1) as 'Medes'. But it is not clear that there is any particular reason for their ships to be Median (they were actually, of course, Phoenician).

Despite a few exceptions like the passage just mentioned, the general picture for Herodotus is clear. The prevailing usage is to describe the Persians as 'Persian.' When this usage is avoided the context will normally belong in one of a small number of types, and it would be misleading to suggest that 'Mede' was an unrestrictedly available alternative for 'Persian'. This appears to be quite in line with the whole record of the two terminologies from the late sixth century to the end of the Achaemenid period. On the one hand there is a Median terminology which is characteristically (though not obligatorily and not exclusively) used when focusing on the empire as an alien, faceless military and political threat. This is the terminology in which the Greeks of Asia Minor reacted to the initial shock of the descent upon them of the Iranians under Cyrus. Quite apart from the possible effects upon some of them of the tradition of mercenary service in Assyria and Babylonia (Braun 1982; Brown 1984) and other 'cultural' contacts (Boyce 1982: 47f.; Muscarella 1977b; Briant 1984b: 90, 101), they had long been indirectly aware of 'Media' as the power which lay beyond the farthest frontiers of their immediate suzerain, the king of Lydia. It is true that on the conventional view the relations between the two powers had been peaceful for four decades prior to Cyrus' appearance, which might have diminished 'awareness' of the Medes, though this view has been challenged (Cobbe 1967). In any event, however, the last of the Lydian kings, who precipitated catastrophe by his march across the Halys, presumably pictured the enterprise (in which Greek forces will have been involved) as an invasion of Media (apart from anything else it was a fair description geographical speaking), so it was entirely natural that Cyrus' counter-attack should have been seen in Median terms. The fact that his soldiers wore what the Greeks thought of as 'Median' dress and that ethnically Median generals, Harpagos and Mazares, played a prominent role will not be irrelevant either. Once established against the background of the sudden, unexpected and uncompromising appearance of a new foreign overlord (we should never underestimate the sheer violence of the Persian seizure of Ionia; cf. Wiesehöfer 1987: 117f), the terminology struck deep roots. It eventually shows signs of becoming less of a 'living' usage by the fourth century; but there was still enough life in it in and after 480 to generate the concept of *ta Medika* and to ensure that celebratory epigrams chiefly labelled the defeated foe as Medes. This longevity does not really cohere very satisfactorily with the suggestion that Darius' reforms changed the empire from a Median one into a Persian one and that the Greek world observed this and duly changed its terminology. On the contrary, inasmuch as the terminology, when it is attested, so often fits into particular categories of context, and inasmuch as those categories are ones particularly appropriate at the postulated time of its invention, it is much more natural to stress its continuity from the very beginning and its relative imperviousness to changes in the political situation. Even if Darius did 'persianise' the empire, Greek Median terminology was of a sort unlikely to be much affected by such a change. When a decline did eventually set in the cause was arguably of a different sort. The recrudescence of persistent Greco-Persian conflict from 413/12 onwards provides the background, and the crucial point in that the scale and nature of that conflict were rather different from what they had once been. The Persians had lost control of the Greek *poleis* of western Anatolia for more than half a century and now that some attempt was being made by them to alter this situation it was not a question of another massive assault in the manner of 546 or the crushing of the Ionian revolt or Xerxes' invasion or the operation checked at the River Eurymedon. Instead it was a local affair of slippery diplomacy and small-scale military activity as rival satraps sought to meet the king's wishes by exploiting conflict within the Greek world. It was a dangerous situation and in due course the king was successful, but it was not exactly awe-inspriring, and the inclination to speak of 'the Mede,' even when alluding to the Persian Wars, declined. In short, it is a change in Greek perceptions of the enemy *qua* enemy, not a change in the enemy's perception of himself, that will have an effect, if anything will, upon Median terminology.

But the corollary to all this is that, if the Median element in the terminology of surviving classical Greek texts represents a distinctive strand going back to the beginning of Greek exposure and subjection to an Iranian conqueror, then the other, Persian, element in those same texts may be supposed to go back very nearly to the beginning as well — otherwise we might have expected much greater fluidity of use of the two terminologies to be evident in the surviving later record. Certainly the extent and nature of actually surviving contemporary material from the first half-century of Persian rule in the Greek east and Persian threat to the Greeks of Europe cannot justify us in assuming that the Median terminology was dominant then, any more than it is in the pages of Aeschylus or Herodotus. In a nutshell, the problem for Graf's thesis is that the switch in Greek usage from Median to Persian terminology is in some respects too late but in others cannot be proved to be late enough. Indeed, granted that there were good reasons for the initial reaction to Cyrus to be couched in Median terms, it would be very surprising if they remained totally intact for very long. Actual contact with the new masters will have brought into the open fairly rapidly what some people (Lydians at least) must have known all along, that the 'Media' which Croesus invaded was not quite the same as the Media with which his predecessor had made peace and fixed an agreed border. But this brings us to the final part of Graf's thesis, the claim in effect, that Greeks had no option but to regard Cyrus and his empire as Median, because that is how he regarded them himself.

C.

A full-scale investigation of the Achaemenids' Median inheritance would be a substantial exercise and, given the general archaeological and historical elusiveness of the Medes (cf. Muscarella 1987; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988), one liable to produce disturbingly speculative results. But this is perhaps not of crucial importance in the present context. For the issue which we are confronting is a relatively precise one.

The Greek historical tradition (excluding Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*) sees Cyrus as having wrested control of an Asiatic *archē* from the Medes and given it to the Persians. This ethnic shift gets formulated in terms reminiscent of the shift of *archē* from Sparta to Athens in 478 (the principal difference being that in the latter case it was liable to be the allies who were said to take power from one hegemon and give it to another) and there is no doubt the implication that the new order was as distinct from the old as Athenian domination of the Delian League was from Spartan domination of the Hellenic one. Even in *Cyropaedia*, where Cyrus inherits Media peacefully, the whole point of the 'novel' is that Cyrus' way of ruling is quite distinct. The claim which we are now considering is that this consistent Greek perspective is simply wrong.

The real Cyrus simply usurped the Median throne and ruled as king of Media. The Greek version represents, one should logically presume, a manipulation of the facts to suit the persocentric ideology of Darius. Oddly enough, however, Graf declares that "Herodotus' basic account appears trustworthy". Here, then, is a first problem. How do we square the proposition that Cyrus was simply displacing Astyages as King of Media (with the help of disaffected Median elements) with the ethnic component of the story which is so prominent in Herodotus and elsewhere? How are we supposed to know that this component is not part of the "basic account [which] appears trustworthy"? After all one might well say that, just as the Herodotean indications of Median disaffection are matched in the Nabonidus Chronicle (II 2-4), so the perspective of conflict between Persian and Mede is matched by the reports that Cyrus captured Ecbatana and then took the gold, silver and other booty back to Anshan (*ibid.*) and that Astyages was taken in chains to Cyrus' land, i.e. Anshan (*Sippar Cylinder* I 28ff).

The issue, in other words, is not just the extent to which there may be inheritance of Median royal or administrative practices in the Achaemenid empire. Even the Greeks believed that Persians adopted Median dress (though they are vague and perhaps wrong about when they considered this to have happened: cf. Calmeyer 1987b: 11f.) and Herodotus certainly implies a similarity between the structure of imperial control in the Median and Persian empires (I 134; III 89; Vogelsang 1987: 187). This did not prevent them from seeing Cyrus' rebellion as the triumph of Persian over Mede. In the same way we would not perhaps, in the present context, become too obsessed by the implications of linguistically Median traces in the Achaemenid terminology of royal power/ideology and administrative organisation. There is, in any case, room for controversy about Mayrhofer's interpretation of the linguistic data.[20] Moreover some of 'Median' royal protocol may historically derive from Urartu. But none of this is all that important. Even if we grant Median influence (and so far as royal protocol goes, the sort of argument essayed by Kienast 1979 to show that there could be a direct Urartian-Persian tradition, with the titles in question never held by a Median king, will hardly work at all if the new version of pre-Achaemenid Persian history proposed by Miroschedji 1985 is correct), the issue is the Persians' attitude to this influence. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988: 208f. makes the point (against Harmatta 1971b) that similarity of titles does not necessarily prove similarity of structures. We cannot infer that the Median state was bureaucratic just because the Achaemenid Persian one was. This is true; and just as the Achaemenids could (as part of their Elamite inheritance) nurture a bureaucratic apparatus while referring to e.g. a treasure with an (allegedly) Median-form word, so, surely, they could rule a consciously Persian state while adopting grand titles — King of Kings, Great King, King of Lands containing many/all kinds of peoples — whose (allegedly) Median forms may betray proximate inheritance from their erstwhile masters. More generally, you can conquer a foreign land and go and live there or you can conquer a foreign land and treat it as a subject possession while continuing to live at home. Either way you may have an interest in absorbing some of the forms of rule proper to that foreign land as an expression of your control of it and of your rights to whatever its erstwhile rulers possessed. But the two models are nonetheless quite different, and we are, I think, entitled to conclude that it is the latter which fits Cyrus.

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[20] That the situation is not entirely straightforward is apparent even to the non-philologist encountering such facts as (i) that 'satrap' has a 'Persian' form in OP and Elamite [the two 'home' languages] but is derived from the 'Median' form in Akkadian, Biblical and Imperial Aramaic, Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek and Lycian (Schmitt 1976), (ii) that Mithras takes a 'Persian' form in Elamite, but a 'Median' one in OP and other languages, (iii) that Iranian PNs in Babylonia consistently have 'Median' forms, which can hardly reflect a consistent ethnic Median origin (Zadok 1977: 111-12, who notes explicity that this calls Mayrhofer's position into question). The alternative account outlined by Lecoq 1974 and 1983 clearly deserves attention.

(i) Various claims are made in ancient sources and modern scholarship about Cyrus' family/marriage relationship with Astyages. Whatever view we take, even if it is that Cyrus married Astyages' daughter after deposing him (Herrenschmidt 1987: 62f), the issue does not serve to indicate that Cyrus sought to become a wholly Median king. Nor, on another family matter, is it the case that acceptance of the proposition that Cyrus was not an Achaemenid and was posthumously hi-jacked by Darius in an act of self-legitimation requires us to conclude that Cyrus was (or projected himself as) anything but Persian.

(ii) Metzler has suggested (1977: 287) that Cyrus himself devised the notion of the succession of three empires (Assyrian, Median, Persian) which is later found in Herodotus. If this were so, of course, it would show that the Greek conception of *archē* passing from Medes to Persians was shared by Cyrus. It must be conceded, though, that the suggestion is very speculative. The only evidence untainted by the possibility of Darian interference is the reference to Assurbanipal in the final lines of the *Cyrus Cylinder* and this is something which may have a principally local, Babylonian point. Certainly it corresponds with Nabonidus' unusually strong interest in his Assyrian predecessors (Beaulieu 1989: 138ff.). Calmeyer 1987b: 18f. may therefore be correct to envisage the idea of imperial succession as having a rather later Achaemenid origin.

(iii) Ecbatana doubtless became a capital. Herodotus' image of its physical appearance probably reflects Achaemenid grandeur and other classical sources were aware of the place. It attracted Babylonian businessmen after 539 (Zadok 1976; Dandamaev 1986). But was it ever the pre-eminent capital rather than one of the peripatetically visited royal residences (Athen. 513F; Strabo XI 13,5-6 [324C]), eventually four in number, though in Cyrus' time the total would have been three. This latter model will suffice to account for the discovery at Ecbatana of a copy of Cyrus' Edict about the Jews — if indeed that document is not a figment of the imagination — and for Gaumata's death in Media, the date of that event being one at which the nomadic king could be expected to be in that part of his realm. The 'exiling' of Croesus to an estate in Media (Ctesias 688 F9) and Astyages to one in adjacent Hyrcania (Justin I 6,6) might be adduced in this context (on the assumption that the displaced monarchs would be kept near the centre of the kingdom for the purposes of proper surveillance). But Nabonidus was allegedly despatched to Carmania,[21] so the argument certainly does not work straightforwardly. We also cannot adduce Herodotus I 153, where Cyrus returns from Lydia to Ecbatana because (a) he then continues to Persia (I 157) and (b) before the conquest of Babylonia his natural route to Persis would have been via Media. More telling, perhaps are two other points with an Egyptian connection. The suggestion has recently been revived that Bakhtan in the Bentresh stela is to be identified as Ecbatana (Moorschauser 1988). Inasmuch as the stela contains a story about medical assistance which has been considered an Achaemenid period composition standing in some relationship with the story in Herodotus III 1f., it would be possible to infer that Ecbatana was regarded as the capital of Cambyses. The same applies to the Egyptian oracle which allegedly foretold that Cambyses would die at Ecbatana, a prophecy fulfilled contrary to expectation at Syrian Ecbatana (?Hama: Dandamaev 1985: 75; Katzenstein 1989: 73): it might not unreasonably be inferred that Ecbatana was Cambyses' capital, the place where (as Cambyses is represented as saying to himself) 'all his πρήγματα were.' The fact that the pseudo-Smerdis story is played out at Susa would, of course, simply show that it has a different source. I am not sure how much weight to attach to either of these points. The latter, which is at least certainly about Ecbatana, suffers from the problem that the oracle may be a *post eventum* Egyptian invention predicated on Cambyses' actual place of death, in which case Median Ecbatana was bound to appear in the story, whatever its actual historical status.

(iv) The thrust of recent discussion of pre-imperial conditions (Briant 1984b; Miroschedji 1985) has been to stress the existence during the three or four generations prior to the overthrow of Astyages of an Anshanite state with a perfectly clear sense of its own identity, its creation being just one more part of the fall-out from the decline of Assyria, like the rebirth of Elam (cf. Stève 1986) and the formation of a Median state (cf. Helm 1981, but also Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988). It is as king of Anshan that Cyrus comes into conflict with Astyages (Nabonidus Chron. II 1; *Sippar Cylinder* I 29; VAB IV 218f) and this is the only foreign ethnonymic title that Cyrus himself uses in Babylonian documents (*Cyrus Cylinder* [twice]; UET I 58 (no.194]). 'King of Persia' in the passage of the Nabonidus Chronicle which has sometimes optimistically been thought to refer to the conquest of Lydia (II 15) is but a small anachronistic slip by a composer at work in Darius' reign (the same one who was responsible for the Babylonian Chronicle, written in 500/499). 'King of Elam' in the much later *Dynastic Prophecy* (II 17; 2) is a larger slip, but one with a sort of logic, since (a) Anshan had been part of the Elamite kingdom, (b) late documents show a significant presence of Iranian individuals (sometimes specifically labelled 'Persian', never specifically 'Median') within the ambit of the Elamite bureaucracy in pre-Achaemenid times (the precise date is, unfortunately, controversial: cf. Stève 1986 and Hinz 1987 for very different views), (c) Persian rulers adopted Elamite dress at least as early as Cyrus' time (cf. Nabon. Chron. III 25f) and (d) Elamite was the bureaucratic language of Persepolis until the mid fifth century and the first language of DB. The suggestion that the 'Elamites' of Nabonidus Chronicle II 21 are really Persians is however to be rejected: see Beaulieu 1989: 201). Nowhere does any talk of Cyrus 'King of Media' survive. Certainly the reference to the 'City of Media' in Nabonidus' Harran stele (col. II 42),[22] on which Graf lays some stress, is actually a very dubitable sign that Cyrus was perceived as 'King of Media.' If he was, why does the text not use that title? The truth is that, if the passage suggests anything, it is that there was no 'King of Media,' and in any event I cannot see that the text takes precedence over those cited above for the title '(King) of Anshan.' Above all we can hardly neglect — and should indeed privilege — the perspective offered by the *Cyrus Cylinder*. Marduk, we are told, surveyed the world looking for a righteous king, selected Cyrus, king of Anshan, and made the Gutian land and all the Manda hordes [i.e. Medes] bow in submission to his feet.

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[21] Abydenus F6; Berossus F9; Dynastic Prophecy (Grayson 1975: 25; 32-33 ii 17ff.); Dandamaev 1985: 40; Beaulieu 1989: 231.

We can, in fact, reasonably suppose that Cyrus' attitude to Media was essentially like his attitude to other conquered regions. The initial idea of devolving the kingship of Babylonia upon Cambyses (cf. Petschow 1988) and the maintenance of whole defeated kingdoms as single provincial units (certain in the case of Babylon; and hypothesised for Lydia by Petit 1985) disclose a king not given to complex structural alterations. He takes historically established units as he finds them. I do not see any adequate reason for postulating something different in the case of Anshan and Media. In late Elamite documents (Hinz 1987) 'Median' takes precedence over 'Persian' as a label attached to objects ('Median lance,' 'Median alabastron' etc.). But neither here nor anywhere else is there anything to justify a supposition that the Anshanites felt 'psychologically' subordinate or inferior to Medes: they had, after all, defeated them militarily (as it happens in the same late Elamite documents the two things which are labelled 'Persian' are bows and shield). It is possible that Medians had a higher status in the early years of the empire (the lack of known later parallels to Harpagus or Datis is a familiar fact), though even if the alleged *Rangaufstieg* of Media in royal inscriptions is an illusion (Vogelsang 1986), the sudden appearance of 'King of Persia and Media' in the royal titulary in Babylonia in Xerxes' reign deserves attention. It is possible that Ecbatana was more used as a palatial residence by Cyrus and Cambyses than by Darius and his successors. But I have no doubt that they were all primarily Kings of Persia.

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[22] The stele dates from after 543 (Beaulieu 1989: 32).

ANCIENT EPIC CONVENTIONS IN THE BISITUN TEXT

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Within the royal inscriptions of King Darius, fourth ruler of the Achaemenid Empire (522-486 B.C.), there exist significant ancient epic conventions. While the external cuneiform wedges for Darius' imperial texts in Old Persian had been created for the inscription at Bisitun (Windfuhr 1970), the internal textual epic usages of the original spoken version in Old Persian were not new as they contain important verbal images from the distant past (Gershevitch 1979). The conventions found in Darius' royal inscriptions at Persepolis, Naqsh-i Rustam, Susa, the Suez, and Elvend strongly echo many of the epic traditions in Darius' first inscription at Bisitun, oral epic elements that reflect the dim but not hidden past of the Persians long before they settled in Parsa.

The claim that Darius' texts mirror earlier Persian oral epic conventions is founded upon the reflection of similar societal forms and traditions in the epics of other Indo-European speaking peoples, to which the Persians belong, rather than having been borrowed from the Semitic and Elamite speaking ethnic groups the Persians met as they entered Iran and specifically Parsa. The development of epic Indo-European conventions occurred very early, before the Persians had entered Iran when they were still on the west-central Asian Steppes, as early as the fourth and third millennia. Those traditions and their usages can be labeled early Indo-European as they stem directly from those former millennia when the epic conventions among the Indo-European speaking peoples, from the Asian Steppes to eastern European territories, were orally held in common (Gimbutas 1970; Martinet 1986).

In the Bisitun text(s), there are Near Eastern elements, phrases common in Urartian, Assyrian, Elamite, and Neo-Babylonian texts, but this paper focuses upon other elements less well known, the ancient Indo-European epic conventions; oral traditions transmitted and transformed over centuries that became the literary aspects when written. They had their origin in earlier stages of Indo-European speaking societies and, hence, are labeled ancient. Epic refers to those age old conventions long identified, studied, and analysed; for many decades admissable evidence with extensive bibliography (e.g. Dumézil 1924; 1926; 1949: 115-25, 237-54; 1952; 1956a; 1956b; 1958; 1970; 1973: 1-8, 108-29; 1980; 1983: 1-8, 135-44; 1986; 1988: 9-20; Halliday 1933: 1-41; Hanaway 1978: 76-98; Hansen 1978: 7-26; Larson 1974: 1-16; Lincoln 1986; Nagy 1974: 279-302; 1979: 2; Oosten 1985: 12-32; Oquibénine 1985; Polomé 1982: 285-315, 329-52; West 1979: 26-30.).

Basic to the Bisitun text (DB) is the Indo-European tripartite emphasis upon god, king, and the people, a theme found in twelve other texts from Darius' reign: DPd, DPe, DNa, DNb, DSe, DSf, DSm, DSp, DSs, DSt, DZc, and DE (Kent 1953; Herrenschmidt 1978). The god is Ahura Mazda, the king Darius, and the people are the good men, the good subjects (OP *umartiyā-*), and the good people, the good army (OP *ukāra-*). In some cases they are simply men or the army without the prefix *u*, good. Yet to Bisitun alone is a similar theme, in essence a variation, also common throughout Indo-European epic traditions and texts, the long familiar tripartite form of priests, warriors, and herder-cultivators (Dumézil 1958; Benveniste 1973: 227-38; Lincoln 1981). Whether one readily accepts Dumézil's methodologies (Larson 1974: 9-6, 29-49), striking is the evidence in the Bisitun text that reflects his Indo-European societal tripartition. According to Dumézil, the fundamental functions or elements of Indo-European society are three. The first embraces sovereignty and is marked by a priestly stratum of society that maintains both magico-religious and legal order. The second, a military function, is assigned to the warrior stratum, and is concerned with the execution of aggressive and defensive forces. The third function conceptualises fertility and sustenance that embraces the herder-cultivators, the people in general who also serve in the army.

In a literal reading of the Bisitun text (DB), priesthood and sovereignty become inextricably intertwined as legitimate kingship is challenged by a false and wicked priest who pretends to be the rightful king (I. 35-61). The warriors, nobles, and others, are on both sides that of the wicked priest and the rightful king; and, as the military forces of truth and righteousness, the good warriors fight the rebels against justice (I. 35-43, 72-IV. 2). Once truth triumphs in the form of the righteous king over the forces of the lie, then that king reestablishes the kingdom on its firm foundation, restores the sanctuaries destroyed by the wicked priest, returns to the people their pastures and herds, and the household slaves and houses taken from them by the wicked pretender. The righteous and triumphant king reinstates the people on their foundation, and brings back what had been taken away (I. 61-71). In this conflict, both the rebels and Darius' loyalists are the people (*kāra*: I. 33, 66).

While these textual similarities to the Indo-European tripartition are apparent, further analysis of the Bisitun text reveals other basic Indo-European epic conventions that enable us to recover some of the other symbolic articulations of communal thought in archaic and preliterate Persian society; epic forms that provide us with important evidence for piecing together the heroic abstractions of that preliterate culture as we experience them in the lapidary structure of the Bisitun text and in subsequent Old Persian inscriptions.

Analysis of the Bisitun text reveals three distinct aspects: the literal reading of the story as noted above, beneath which rests an historical narration, and then the epic conventions interwoven throughout (Balcer 1987). In examination of the second aspect, the historical narration, we focus upon King Cambyses campaigning in Egypt while his younger brother Bardiya set about in the empire's heartland of Parsa, Media, Babylonia, Elam, and Armenia to rally the nobility against Cambyses and to establish himself as the great Achaemenid king. Upon learning of the rebellion, Cambyses left Egypt and, under circumstances unclear, died in Syria. Darius, meanwhile, had been with the childless Cambyses in Egypt, and, with that king's death, Darius vigorously campaigned against Bardiya, who had one daughter and no sons, as now Darius desired the Achaemenid throne. Following Bardiya's death at the hand of Darius' half-brother Artaphrenes, Darius faced fourteen major rebellions at twenty-eight distinct locations against him, which he successfully quelled after a period of a year and a half. The revolutions had occurred, in part, in support of the vanquished Bardiya and, in part, for ethnic groups to break away from Darius' imperial structure (Herrenschmidt 1982).

By this historical analysis, two layers of literary devices can be detected in the Bisitun text that form the third distinct aspect: first, Darius' attempts to belie the regicide of Bardiya and his usurpation of the throne (and perhaps the regicide of Cambyses also); and second, the epic conventions that the Persians orally held about great ancient heroes now imposed upon Darius. The inspection of the first layer, Darius' alteration of the heroic events is tightly interwoven with the second layer, of ancient oral epic usages and their traditions; hence, together they form that third aspect. Throughout the text, therefore, it is easy to detect the well attested Indo-European epic theme of the opposition of the settled ruler and the independent warrior, the hero-intruder (Jackson 1982). Both the historical analysis and the epic conventions, therefore, must be analysed together. In contrast, the literal version focused not upon Bardiya but a Gaumata who pretended to be the dead Bardiya, a false and wicked priest, a *magos*, who rallied to his side Cambyses' nobles in the central region of the empire. That *magos* Darius overthrew as the embodiment of the Lie.

That a court scribe or group of scribes composed the Bisitun text and its several linguistic variations does not negate the epic conventions in that text as having been derived and developed orally by countless earlier priests and bards over centuries. Virgil, who composed the *Aeneid* in a manner not too dissimilar to our literate Persian court scribe and his Bisitun text, clearly interwove epic convention into his narration and was bound by those conventions in his epic constructions. One must, of course, always remember that the first form of any written epic may differ markedly from its numerous oral predecessors, and also of the conscious manipulation of those epic usages, forms, and traditions by the writer of the extant text.

Throughout both Indo-European epic and the historical analysis of the Bisitun text we note the weakness of a ruler faced with a younger man bent on establishing his reputation. Although the king is at a peak of power and in control, he has some significant flaw, is guilty of some aberration, or is seriously unworthy of his throne. The hero, in contrast, is a powerful warrior of such capacity as to be worthy of kingship (Dumézil 1983). Although he may be crude, strong, braggadocio, even pugnacious, the hero still bears qualities of a successful new leader. The intruding hero signifies bravery, superhuman strength, and success in battle, qualities that usually have little reference to his attitudes toward the community, but rather suggest his personal behaviour and desire for fame. The hero is often of noble birth, often of semi-divine origin, or imbued with divine grace. He is, consequently, highly influential. No one without these heroic qualities could ever hope to be noticed or achieve a reputation to survive his death and to ensure his immortal fame.

In epic, the king is rarely, if ever, totally stable, and the fundamental element of the conflict rests within that instability. Often, the instability is due to important societal forces related to the breakdown of the centralised ruling power. The ruler is also weakened by his intrinsic character, a weak personality, the lack of ability to rule, being easily malleable, and with power essentially derived from the prestige of his office and not from his own ability. His failure to live up to the duties and to the image of his office generate that crisis, therefore, the moment and the means for the hero to enter as that vulnerable condition arises. In epic, nothing could save the king from the consequences of his innate weakness. Even strong kings struggle with the magnitude of the hero's power, for even kings may not have a morally superior character. They can lie, cheat, steal, and even murder without provocation (Dumézil 1973; Dumézil 1988; Oosten 1985: 152-67).

As the historical Bardiya challenged king Cambyses, so Darius challenged king Bardiya. It was impossible to compose an Indo-European epic without this key structural element, even though there may be wide variations on this theme. Epic, therefore, springs from violent social disturbance and turmoil. Primarily the hero desires fame, was born of high birth, and seeks and develops the loyalty of those about him, an issue of utmost importance. Both Bardiya and Darius seek fame in their quest for being right, both claim royal ancestry, and for Darius the loyalty of his six friends is fundamental to his success. Bardiya's supporters are less visible yet fundamental to his gaining control of the Persian heartland. Basic to the struggle was the conflict of values, of righteousness and valour over personalities.

In the two conflicts, the outsider upon intruding generates turmoil within the established community as that outsider proves more powerful than the king. Bardiya intruded upon Cambyses and generated revolution in the heartland, as Darius intruded upon Bardiya in the same region. The key elements of turmoil, the breakdown of tribal organisation and the hero having been from without, are evident at Bisitun. In each case, as in epic, the intruder finds himself in conflict with the established system. He is from a different culture, younger than the ruler, and exceedingly ambitious. Bardiya, Darius claimed, was a false Median *magos*, while Darius was not from Cambyses' Achaemenid Anshan but a collateral branch in Yautiya. In this, the literal story links with the historical and with the epic conventions, as Bardiya, the evil *magos* named Gaumata, served the text as the Trickster of epic and mythology (Detienne & Vernant 1974: 12). In historical terms, Bardiya was Cambyses' younger brother, and Darius, according to Herodotus (III 139,2), was twenty-eight; and both sought the kingship of the Achaemenid empire. The turmoil generated divided Cambyses' empire, forced Cambyses to leave Egypt hurriedly for the east; and upon his death, Darius not only fought Bardiya and his loyalists but numerous other rebellions. As Dandamaev has noted, from the beginning to the end, the death of Bardiya was the work of the quarreling tribal nobles (1976: 144-65). Yet, in each case, the established king must maintain his realm at all costs.

Initially, the intruding hero must first establish his reputation by conquering his enemy, a primary concern for his own fame takes precedence over his responsibility to the society on which he intrudes. His next positive action is also not directed towards that society but towards his small band of followers, clearly not a force large enough to be an army nor to overwhelm an empire, yet of the warrior stratum. Darius' emphasis upon his colleagues, the six fellow conspirators against Bardiya, is strong, as is Darius' claim that he slew Bardiya rather than his half-brother Artaphrenes "with gentlemen friends," correctly noted by Aeschylus (*Persae* 774-7: Dumézil 1970). Elsewhere in the Bisitun text Darius claimed to have slain the other rebels, yet inevitably could not have done so. Such was the epic convention in its emphasis upon the singular valour and success of the hero-intruder. Neither masses of troops nor the tactical decisions of generals but a single combat signalled the fall of the king, yet the rise of the hero-intruder as the new king rarely ended in an unqualified success. Upon Bardiya's death, Darius faced fourteen major revolts. In victory, Darius lauded both his ancestry and his prowess, two traditional epic conventions clearly evident within the Bisitun text. The conflicts are essentially studies in the transfer of power and in the problems of kingship, as all epics concern themselves directly with these problems. They, too, are fundamental throughout the Bisitun text.

As the new kingly figure, the intruder is innocent of disruption, for it was the inabilities of the former king to govern successfully that caused it; therefore, it was he who created the turmoil. After victory and the initial interest in instant fame, the hero-intruder then demonstrates basic characteristics of action. Such qualities are in the realm of ethics and relate to the single figure of the new king, his fellowmen, and ultimately to the greater society. The epic then becomes a tale of the rise and fall of man and the rise and fall of rulers, thus of that larger encompassing society. Bardiya's concerns centred upon seizure of the empire, while Darius stressed his concerns for the third Indo-European social rank, the herder-cultivators, for whom Darius firmly reestablished the kingdom, restored their sanctuaries, and returned their pastures and herds, houses and household slaves. In epic, there is a concern for material goods, to receive rewards as well as the right of a new ruler to increase his importance as a demonstration of his generous nature by the distribution of gifts.

Throughout Indo-European epic, the position of the king is rarely, if ever, portrayed as totally stable. The very essence of the conflict between the hero-intruder and the king requires a degree of instability. That societal turmoil and disruption arose from the social forces, often of the hostile nobles, and the collapse of the central ruling power. In the Bisitun text such instability can be easily detected in Bardiya's claim to power and in Darius' usurpation of his throne, but the initial instability arose with Cambyses in Egypt, a point barely noted in the Bisitun text, yet most fundamental to the course of Achaemenid instability.

Above all, it is the god(s) who represents the force of ultimate moral order and, therefore, causes the hero-intruder as the victorious new king to rise from his personal interests to the final more important duty to his state. That god, the symbol of righteousness and truth, triumphed, and, as the supportive agent behind the successful hero-intruder dominates the heroic epic, there is an emphasis upon the new king's duties to religion. The new system embodies certain moral principles to be exemplified: to stress duty to the community over one's self-interests and to stress religious duties, which go beyond the daily efficient governance of state. The new code of behaviour stresses bravery, loyalty, and the support of the new kingship. Morality is significant; yet equally important are the maintenance of social factors, such as the landed military, the noble and religious concepts of kingship, and the preservation of society (McNamee 1960).

In this process, there appears a higher law than just the maintenance of secular rule. Within the Bisitun text the role of Ahura Mazda exemplifies that moral force: thus, thirty-four times Darius supplicated Ahura Mazda to protect his empire from its enemies, invasion, famine, and deceit. In all, Darius hailed Ahura Mazda seventy-six times. In his funerary inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam (DNb 21-4), Darius further claimed that Ahura Mazda had established the Ordinance of Good Regulations that became manifest in happiness, wisdom, and in the king, an emphasis upon the Indo-European magico-religious and legal order.

For the Bisitun text, as with Homer's *Iliad*, the hero brought about the restitution of his society almost destroyed by war. Usually in epic, the end is tragic for the hero, and even if he survives, he suffers significant personal loss and a gloomy future (Littleton 1970). Yet, in Homer's *Odyssey* and the *Cid*, the hero's society takes on new life, and the final contest ushers in a stable society. The theme of the *Odyssey* is positive: order can be reestablished and civilisation restored (de Vries 1963). This positive image is stressed throughout the Bisitun inscription.

From this study of the ancient epic conventions in the Bisitun text, two additional observations can be made. Reflection upon the epic conventions and the historical kernels throughout the Bisitun text suggests that among the many elements questioned as being unhistorical, some were developed in Darius' attempt to conceal regicide and usurpation, yet others were the ultimate products of epic conventions that significantly altered the historical fact to accommodate those epic usages — not too different from the way Virgil altered Aeneas from the violent hero-intruder against king Latinus. In the Bisitun text, the problems Cambyses faced with his military nobles in Egypt are omitted and the circumstances of his death are unclear. In these epic conventions, Cambyses is tertiary to the conflicting roles of Bardiya and Darius, but essential in order to focus upon Bardiya as the hero-intruder against the established king.

This study also suggests that when we turn to the inscriptions of the succeeding Achaemenid Kings Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, Artaxerxes II, and Artaxerxes III (XPa, XPb, XPc, XPd, XPF, XPH, XPl [Hinz 1969: 45-51], XE, XV, A^{1}Pa, A^{2}Hc, AmH, AsH, A^{3}Pa) we should not condemn them as mere slavish copying without imagination and creativity (Cook 1983: 69), but rather to note positively that they consciously preserve and perpetuate those ancient epic conventions and oral images set out by Darius and his scribes. When we turn to Xerxes' *daeva* text (XPh), originality and a vital force are apparent throughout (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 1-47).

In further reflection of this epic analysis of the Bisitun text it becomes important to question its relationship to the two forms of early Indo-European tripartition, of god, king, and the people, and priests, warriors, and herder-cultivators discussed. As Dumézil's concern is not with isolated events or episodes but with the explicit or implicit system, much in the same manner that we are not concerned with the literal reading of the Bisitun text, we can proceed further and analyse the epic conventions relating to the king and the hero-intruder as reflecting those tripartite functions of sovereignty, force, and nourishment (Littleton 1973). Dumézil maintains that Indo-European epics reflect common underlying ideologies manifest in the nature of social organisation, and that the societies formulating those epics shared a common set of collective representations, characterised by the hierarchical tripartition of social organisation. These, Dumézil maintains, are uniquely Indo-European with no parallels among different linguistic societies, as, in this case, in the ancient Near East.

If we turn, consequently, to Dumézil's fundamental classificatory principles — sovereignty, force, and nourishment — and place them upon our analysis of the ancient epic conventions found within the Bisitun text, we must conclude that that great inscription, lauding Darius' accession to the Achaemenid throne, vividly bears a third similar theme, another variation of the Indo-European tripartition in myth, epic, and saga. This analysis, therefore, requires that we approach the Bisitun text not as literalists but as deconstructionalists to uncover and appreciate the complex development of that text. Our focus then rests upon that literate Persian court scribe steeped in oral Indo-European mythologies, and epic, their forms, traditions, and conventions also resting fundamental to the Zarathustrian *Gāthās* (Duchesne-Guillemin 1958: 33-7, 1970: 34, 137), and raise him into our literary consciousness among the other named and nameless authors of written Indo-European epic.

SAITH DARIUS.
DIALECTIC, NUMBERS, TIME AND SPACE AT BEHISTUN
(DB, Old Persian Version)

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The Achaemenid empire was the last in what scholarship considers the ancient Near East, and the first world-empire. The major indigenous record of that empire is that of Darius I, who usurped the throne. The record of his deeds is eternalised on rock, in three languages (with copies to the provinces in their languages, and writing systems).

Many have doubted the feats recorded in it. Many relied more on outside records, such as Greek historians, most directly touched by the Persian empire. Their records may record whatever they knew, or wanted others to know about the Achaemenids, however strange, barbarian, or familiar, those 'Asians' appeared to them. Nevertheless, Darius' Behistun inscription is the most authentic record of at least his own feats, in his own view.

The following is a tentative analysis of Darius' record at Behistun of the Old Persian version, the final and definitive one after those in Elamite and Akkadian, his Persian story.

In this major inscription, prominently but inaccessibly carved, along with, and under, the monumental relief high on the rock at Behistun on the highway from the Iranian highlands to the Mesopotamian lowlands, Darius I tells of his well-organised, or fortuitously successful, campaigns to crush nine 'liars,' regional and 'imperial' pretenders, 'within just one year,' following similar boasts by others in the Mesopotamian tradition, but 'with the help and by the will of' the Iranian high god, Ahuramazda.

Monumental royal inscriptions are, of course, not simple narratives. They are declarations of 'what ought to be true.' In this inscription the usurper Darius 'spells the truth,' and tries to 'dispell' disbelief. Part of spells, and inscriptions, is a well organised dialectic (see, e.g., Windfuhr 1978 on an inscription by Xerxes). It is shown that this overpowering inscription is indeed a syllogism making Darius' kingship, his deeds, and the thought-word-speech act of the inscription, part of the cosmic truth of Ahuramazda, with the conclusion that this truth, if not the King of Kings, has to be protected.

As in other spells, 1) the dialectic is reinforced, verbally, and structurally: verbally, by the *ostinato* of frequently mentioning Ahuramazda, besides repeated patterns of phrases and paragraphs; structurally, by intersecting symmetric correspondences on various levels. 2) Part of many spells is numerology. In this inscription one observes the dominance of sets of 9 (Luschey 1968: 68-9 following Herzfeld, suggests Mesopotamian influence, especially the relief of Annubanini at Sar-e Pol with 9 leaders). The list of provinces as well is organised by 9 (for a slightly different analysis, see Calmeyer 1987c, with further references). 3) The intersection, at dialectically, structurally, and thematically crucial points, of the number of paragraphs with the number of references to Ahuramazda (for the differences of the Akkadian and Elamite versions from the 'definitive' Old Persian version, see Dandamaev 1976: 243-54) deserves attention, considering the heated debate about the Achaemenids being Zoroastrian. At least, Darius had an Iranian-named god.

Based on the investigation of all three aspects presented here, it is suggested that there were three versions of this Old Persian version of the inscription, prior to its being chiselled. While it has been recognised, almost from the beginning of the study of this inscription, that column V, viz. §§71-76, is an addition recounting events in Darius' second (and third) year, it appears that the original Old Persian version ended with paragraph 67 of column IV, and that paragraphs 68-70, which fill the remaining space of the column, make this column number 92 lines, exactly as column III. As mentioned, the fact that the Old Persian version fits its space so well indicates that these versions must have been worked on prior to the final chiselling of this 'Aryan' version.

Paragraphs 68-69 appear to be added as the result of an afterthought. They acknowledge the contribution of the 6 helpers of Darius in overthrowing the so-called Gaumata, the Magian. This addition was ordered, possibly under pressure from those helpers and confidants in the crime. In turn, paragraph 70 proudly tells the reader, or hearer, that this inscription was Aryan, which had never existed before. While there is an Elamite version of 70, there is no Akkadian one. This paragraph, too, appears like an afterthought by an Aryan ursurper, and by then — after struggles in 'just one year' — ruler over many peoples, sufficiently confident after his successes, by the will, and with the help, of his confident Aryan god, Ahuramazda.

In a royal inscription of this magnitude and importance, that aims to spell the truth that all was accomplished within just one year, a feat unparalleled by his predecessors, one would expect at least implicit references to the 'year.' Such reinforcement of the 'truth' appears, indeed, present in this inscription, unnoticed so far: the number of lines of what this reader of the Behistun inscription considers the original version of the Old Persian inscription, ending with §67, is 365 1/4. Also, the number of the paragraph where the boast of 'one year' is first mentioned, and which begins the summary and conclusion of the inscription, is 52, an ominous number considering the weeks of the year. Even so, whether this 'numerology' is simply a matter of coincidence remains to be seen. But then, much in this relief and inscription is influenced by Mesopotamian tradition, as so well argued by Luschey (1968: 84-7).

Another suspect aspect of the inscription is the *timing* of Darius' battles. Much has been written about them (see, e.g., Hallock 1969b). It appears strange that Darius' and his father's decisive battles are proclaimed to have occurred in the cross of the four cardinal months of the year, i.e., the equinoxes and solstices, whereas the decisive battles of his other allies fall in an oblique cross of months, as discussed below. In any case, it is suggested that patterns of rhetoric, numbering, and timing clearly dominate this inscription. They show a reasoned compromise between, and co-existence with, the real and the idealised truth of time and space.

Therefore, any efforts at finding the true time-table and the true sequence of events may be bound to be futile. These patterns show that this record of a new world order is more than just a plain narrative. It stands to reason to assume that it follows long-standing traditions of 'spelling.' After all, Mesopotamian and Egyptian science, including astronomy, were highly developed (see, e.g., Olmstead 1948: 199 sqq.). This suggests that other records of this kind (perhaps including Herodotus) should be investigated for similar multiple interlocking patterns of 'spelling.'

I. *Overall Structure and Dialectic*

DB §§1-67 shows a clear dialectic, in three parts: 1. Introduction: Darius proclaims the lawful nature of his kingship; 2. Deeds: an account of his major deeds, in three sections, a. Gaumata, b. Babylon and Media, c. elsewhere and Babylon; 3. Conclusion: also in three sections, calling a. for protection of the kingdom, b. the protection of the truth of the account, and c. the protection of the inscription. All this is predicated by Ahuramazda's will. As mentioned, structurally and dialectically, additions are not only §§71-76, which is obvious and well known, and §70, which does not have an Akkadian translation, but also §§68-69, as shown below.

Overall, the dialectic appears to be the statement of the truth of Darius' kingship through Ahuramazda, the statement of the success of his deeds through Ahuramazda, the statement of the truth of the inscription. Dialectically, this could be interpreted as follows:

1. Premise: The truth of kingship: Ahuramazda made me the King of Kings. This is who I was, and am now, with the help of Ahuramazda (and a few friends).
2. Middle term: The deeds: Ahuramazda made me do this. This is what I did with the help of Ahuramazda (and a few friends).
3. Conclusion: The truth of deeds: Ahuramazda made what I did part of cosmic truth. It was done by the will of Ahuramazda; it has become true, and now is true (omitting many [more] feats that might not be believable either). Therefore, the account of this cosmic truth, must be made known to all.

Therefore, this inscription with its account, now true, has to be protected for posterity to learn about me, my kingdom, and what I did.

Or, in short, (because Ahuramazda is the god of Truth, and) 1. because it is true that I am king now through him, whatever 2. I did, and 3. say, must also be true.

Therefore, on threat of punishment by Ahuramazda, eliminate rivals as I did, and do not conceal what I did, and say.

Symmetric Patterns

The asserted truth of Darius' account, and dialectic, is reinforced by overall patterns and symmetric bonds. Overall, there is a three-fold pattern: 3 main parts, while parts 2 and 3 have 3 sections, each. The three main parts are symmetrically interconnected:

Part 1, on the lawfulness of king and inscriber, corresponds to part 3, on the truth and 'lie.' (Darius is not a liar.)

Part 2, the account of the deeds, has internal symmetry between sections 2 and 3:

Babylon in sub-section 2.3.b. corresponds to Babylon in sub-section 2.3.b.. Subsection 2.2.b., viz. Media, together with 'the other provinces' in subsection 2.3.a., comprise the Iranian provinces of the empire (the non-Iranian provinces like Egypt are left out).

1		INSCRIBER: LAWFUL KING		
		§1- 5	Darius is king by AM	
		§6- 9	People obey my Law by AM	
2		HIS DEEDS: FIGHT LIARS		
	1	§10-14	Slaying of Gaumata, the LIAR	
	2a	§15-20	Elam	[Babylon] Elam
	b	§21-34	Media	[Armenia] Media
	3a	§35-48	Others: Parthia > Margiana, Persia > Arachosia	
	b	§49-51	Babylon	
3		INSCRIPTION: CONCLUSION		
	1	§52-55	1 year, they were liars, protect yourself/country	
	2	§56-62	1 year, IS not a lie, do not conceal IS	
	3	§63-67	AM aid, I not a liar, do not destroy IS	

ADD §68-70 Darius' 6 Helpers/Inscription in Aryan

ADD §71-76 Elam/Scythia, venerate Ahuramazda

Subsection 2.2.a is in itself symmetric, Elam embracing Babylon. Similarly, in subsection 2.2.b, Darius' battles with Phraortes in Media embrace the battles by Dadarshi and Vaumisa in Armenia and Assyria. In subsection 2.3.a, there are two west-east patterns: Parthia to Margiana, and Persia to Arachosia.

There is a further symmetric tie between 2.1 and 3.1: Gaumata, the liar, corresponds to the liars in section 1 of the Conclusion.

Finally, there is an overall symmetric tie between section 1 of part 1, the lawfulness of Darius' kingship by Ahuramazda, and section 3 of part 3, explaining the reason for his being made king by Ahuramazda, viz. his righteousness, having eradicated the lie.

II. *Numerology*

1. Ahuramazda

As mentioned, it appears that numbers play an important part in this inscription. Among the most prominent are the following. After the very first paragraph, 'I am Darius,' each paragraph of the Old Persian version begins, of course, with 'Saith Darius.' Darius occurs 76 times in 76 paragraphs. But Darius is matched by Ahuramazda. The frequent mention of Ahuramazda is apparently not random; where and how often the name occurs appears to be an integral part of the structural dialectic of the inscription. Thus, by the end of §67, the final paragraph of the original version, Ahuramazda has been mentioned exactly 67 times. That this pattern was recognized by those who added §§71-76 (but not by those who added earlier 68 to 70)is shown by the fact that, by the end of §76, Ahurmazda is mentioned exactly 76 times.

The coincidence of the number of mentions of Ahuramazda and the number of paragraphs thus appears to mark important points in the inscription. The following shows the correspondence between the number of mentions with major structural points:

paragraph	AM	
		INTRODUCTION
9	8	end Introduction
		DEEDS
14	14	end section on Gaumata
20	19	end section Darius against Nidintu-Bel, Babylon
[29	29	Vaumisa at Izala, Assyria]
51	51	end section on battles
		CONCLUSION
52	52	begin section 1:
54	54	"they were liars"

56	55	begin section 3.2: "is not a lie"
62	62	end section 3.2
63	63	begin section 3.3: "I was not a liar"
67	67	end of original version
76	76	end of final version

There is no such correspondence in §70, the last paragraph of the pre-final version, with 68 times only AM.

2. The number 9

The number 9 appears frequently, either directly mentioned, or implicit in the organisation of events and locations. Its significance may be related to Darius' claim to have been the 9th king. It may have been also motivated, at least in part, by the 9 prisoners depicted on the relief of Annubanini at Sar-i Pol, as mentioned (Luschey 1968: 68-9, and fig. 3). And both may be informed by astrological or similar secret knowledge, such as the 7 planets the 2 lunar nodes.

2a. Kingship line

Darius is the 6th of his lineage, and claims to be the 9th king.

The first part of the inscription, in which he establishes his kingship and rule over the 23 provinces ends with a triple affirmation of Darius' investiture by Ahuramazda, in paragraph 9.

2b. Rebellious provinces

According to §21, 9 provinces are said to have become rebellious:

1. Persia
2. Elam
3. Media
4. Assyria
5. Egypt
6. Parthia
7. Margiana
8. Sattagydia
9. Scythia

2c. Prisoners

In §52, Darius summarises saying that he fought 19 battles, and took 9 kings prisoners, the sequence of which does not exactly follow the one above:

1. Gaumata, the Magian
2. Açina, an Elamite
3. Nidintu-Bel, a Babylonian
4. Martiya, a Susian
5. Phraortes, a Mede
6. Chiçantakhma, a Sagartian
7. Frada, a Margian
8. Vahyazdata, a Persian
9. Arakha, an Armenian

2d. Victors

9 leaders oppose the rebels, not all of whom won decisive battles:

1. Darius/Babylon (§19)
2. Vidarna/Media (§25)
3. Dadarshi 1/Armenia (§28)
4. Vaumisa/Armenia (§29)
5. Vishtaspa/Parthia (§36)
6. Dadarshi 2/Margiana (§38)
7. Artavardiya/Persia (§42)
8. Vivana/Arachosia (§47)
9. Vindafarnah/Babylonia (§50)

2e. Battles

The 19 battles appear to be organised into 9 sets when considering decisive wins only:

1.	I.17	Açina slain in Elam
2.	I.20	Darius defeats and slays N-B in Babylonia
3.	I.23	Martiya slain in Elam
4.	I.34	This done in Media
5.	III.37	This done in Parthia
6.	III.39	This done in Bactria
7.	III.44	This done in Persia
8.	III.48	This done in Arachosia
9.	IV.51	This done in Babylonia

2f. Provinces belonging to Darius

The 23 provinces listed in §12 appear to be grouped into 9 sets: their sequence is only partially based on geographic proximity. It includes a number of geographic 'jumps.' Taking these 'jumps' as a clue, one arrives at 9 sets, consisting of 1 set of 1, 2 sets of 2, and 6 sets of 3 provinces, if Parsa, as the dominant province, is considered a single set. Moreover, overall, there appears a symmetric pattern in terms of geographical relation to Parsa: 4 sets with 11 provinces to the west, and 4 sets with 11 provinces to the east of Parsa:

SET	NO.					
1	1	Parsa				
West						
2	2	Huvja	3	Babirush	4	Athura
3	5	Arabaya	6	Mudraya		
4	7	'Drayahya'	8	Sparda	9	Yauna
5	10	Mada	11	Armina	12	Katpatuka
East						
6	13	Parthava	14	Zranka	15	Haraiva
7	16	Huvarazmi	17	Bakhtrish	18	Suguda
8	19	Gandara	20	Saka	21	Thatagush
9	22	Harauvatish	23	Maka		

(as mentioned, for a slightly different 9-fold division, see Calmeyer 1987c).

III. *Chronology and the calendar*

Beginning with paragraph 52, Darius boasts repeatedly that he accomplished all within one year. He provides months and days for the revolt, the enthronement, the assassination of Gaumata, and for 17 of the 19 'battles' fought. But by arranging the events not chronologically but roughly according to geography (and, dialectically, in symmetric correspondence, as shown above), he has accomplished not only all those deeds, but also the distortion of the actual sequence of events, and the exact period of time during which they were accomplished, even though he claims to have done so within a single year. Darius' dating is suspected of being idealised, just as are his victories. All in all, there is said to have occurred 1 crucial slaying, i.e., of Gaumata by Darius, and 9 decisive victories, 2 by Darius, and 7 by his allies, including 1 by his father and 6 by the others.

The Months

The identification of the months in which the events are said to have occurred is suspect. This becomes apparent when the truly important events, those relating to Gaumata, on the one hand, and the decisive and true, rather than at best temporary, victories, on the other hand, are sifted out from the rubble of dates. There appear distinct cross-like patterns when plotted around the circle of the calendar.

1. Gaumata

According to Darius' account in DB, the timing of Gaumata's rise and fall involves the following events: 1. Gaumata's revolt, 2. his assumption of kingship, and 3. assassination by Darius and friends. Each are assigned exact dates.

Plotting these on the circle of the calendar, the 3 events occurred in a cross-like pattern:

XII 14 G.'s revolt
IV 9 G.'s assuming kingship
VII 10 G.'s assassination

It appears that this pattern is contrived. It is reminiscent of astrological thinking. It involves Gaumata's passage from his ascendence just before the spring equinox, to his culmination at the summer solstice, to his descendent, and demise, just after the fall equinox. This pattern is confined to the southern, or summer, half of the circle of the calendar.

Gaumata's descendent is claimed to have occurred in the 7th month of the year. And Darius and his consorts were 7. It may be that the listing of those consorts of his in §§68-9, all Persians, and the addition of paragraph 70 (7 × 10), which identifies the Aryan-ness of the inscription, were added with the intention of highlighting the number 7; see Calmeyer 1987: 233-5.

That month, Bagayadi, during which Gaumata's assassination is said to have occurred, was devoted to the god Baga. And, very appropriately, Darius' account of it, and related matters, were chiselled into Mt. Bagastana (in addition to the fact that this rock is located on the highway, halfway between the Iranian highlands and the Mesopotamian lowlands). Of course, it is not known whether this rock had been dedicated to Baga before, or after, the inscription was executed. But it must have been a sacred place (e.g. Luschey 1968: 66).

And if the god Baga did indeed, at that time, imply Mithra, the god of contract and covenant, and the god wielding a mace with a bull-shaped head (as later in Zoroastrianism), Darius' first success, i.e. the success of the 7, would really have been due to the help of Mithra. Yet, it is Ahuramazda whom Darius acknowledges as his main support. After all, Darius won his first major battle (probably also his last one, in person, as surmised by Hallock 1969b) in the 10th month of Anamaka, named for the 'unmentionable' high god, possibly Ahuramazda. If so, a certain pattern of thought appears: in the 7th month of Baga (Mithra?) Darius together with his 6 accomplices committed regicide, killing Gaumata, a 'bull' of a man (Boyce 1982: 80, n.7a), just as in at least later Mithraism Mithra slays the bull, thereby initiating a new cosmic order. As discussed by Boyce (1982: 87), the man's name was probably Spentadata, and the 7 may symbolically represent Spenta Manyu and the 6 Holy Immortals of Zoroastrianism, as suggested by Shahbazi (1976: 73); but they may also represent the 7 planets shaking the cosmic order. There are, of course, other sets of 7 which could be invoked for such speculation. His first decisive win in Anamaka must have appeared to Darius as a sign of Ahuramazda's forgiving support for the evolving new order.

Nevertheless, the slaying of Gaumata was the all-important event. According to Darius, it occurred on the 10th of Bagayadi. That is 3 days after the fall festival (Zor. **Mithrakana*, celebrated on the 7th day of the 7th month; Boyce 1982: 87-88). Presumably, the festival commemorating the slaying of that 'Magian,' fell on that 10th day.

In any case, the placement of these 3 events related to Gaumata at 3 crucial points of the southern half of the circle of the year is idealised, to say the least.

2. Darius and his father

Focusing on the decisive events, Darius claims 3 decisive victories for himself, viz. the slaying of Gaumata, his final victory over Nidintu-Bel in Babylon, and his other victory, that over Phraortes in Media (but see Hallock 1969b), and one decisive victory for his father, viz. the victory over the forces of Phraortes in Parthia. Again, plotting these 4 victories on the circle of the year, there appears a cross, as these victories are said to have occurred exactly in the four cardinal months (see figure DARIUS):

	I	IV	VII	X
	Adukanaisha	Garmapada	Bagayadi	Anamaka
(Zor.	Frawartinam	Tishtrya	Mithra	Dadwah)
	(Aries	Cancer	Libra	Capricorn):

		DB	mo. day	
1.	West	I. 13	VII.10	D slays Gaumata in Media
2.	South	I. 19	X. 2	D defeats N-B in Babylonia
3.	East	II. 31	I. 25	D defeats Phraortes in Media
4.	North	III.36	IV. 1	Hystaspes defeats adherents of Phraortes in Parthia

That is, there is a square which begins in the month of the fall equinox, and continues to the winter solstice, to the spring equinox, to the summer solstice.

Calendrically, or astrologically, the 3 main successes claimed by Darius appear to be the symmetric counterpart of the events related to Gaumata, Darius' first and main obstacle. Darius' 3 main feats are said to have occurred just after the fall equinox, just after the winter solstice, and after the spring equinox. That is, whereas Gaumata's ascendence, culmination, and descendent are said to have occured in the southern or summer half of the year, Darius' ascendence, and his decisive victories over Babylon and Media, the most important provinces of the empire, besides Persia, are said to have occurred during the northern or winter half of the year. Darius' *in profundis*, is followed by his rise. Darius' third and decisive win is said to have been that over

Phraortes, and thus Media, after the spring equinox. Whoever may have won that battle, that is the time of Darius' true ascendence.

It should be noted that Darius credits his father with the mopping up of the adherents of Phraortes at the summer solstice. In view of the culmination of Gaumata at the same time in the previous year, this would seem to represent a son's acknowledgement of his father's help in bringing him to culmination. Of course, other battles had to be fought by his other allies, including that by Artavardiya against Vahyazdata in Persia, on IV.5, just after Darius' father had won in Parthia. But Media was crucial, and his father's win, at least in Darius' view, must have been the decisive event in ascertaining his kinship.

Arta- means 'truth, order, justice,' etc. It may be that those designing the artistry of this inscription made the best use of the name of this, and of the other, allies of Darius for the elaboration of the cosmic significance of all of this, possibly even working on the names of the so-called pretenders.

The timing, as related by Darius in this inscription may be true, or at least partially so. Nevertheless, the dialectic of opposing Gaumata's and Darius' calendrical circles suggests that at least some fidgeting with months and dates must be involved, *in maximam gloriam regis et Dei.*

3. Darius' allies

The location of the decisive victories of Darius' allies in the calendar is likewise suspect. One, that by Artavardiya over Vahyazdata in Persia, is said to have occurred IV.5, i.e., in the cardinal month Garmapada. Given the patterns observed so far, this victory in Persia, the heartland of all, must be seen, together with that by Darius' father in Parthia, as bringing about Darius' culmination.

Darius' other allies won a total of 5 dated decisive victories, in 5 different months (see figure ALLIES):

	VIII	IX	II	III	| XII
	Varkazana	/Açiyadiya	Thuravahara	/Thaigarchi	| Viyakhna
(Zor.	Apam	/Atar	Arta	/Harvatat	| Aramati)
	(Scorpio	/Sagittarius	Taurus	/Gemini	| Pisces)

	DB	mo.	day	
1.	II. 30	II.	30	Vaumisa defeats Phr.'s forces in Armenia
2.	II. 28	III.	9	Dadarshi defeats Phr.'s forces in Armenia
3.	IV. 50	VIII.	22	Intaphernes defeats Arakha in Babylonia
4.	III. 38	IX.	23	Dadarshi of Bactria defeats the Margian forces
5.	III. 46	XII.	7	Vivana defeats forces of Vahyazdata in Arachosia

Not only the months, but also the exact days, when the battles are said to have occurred, appear to be contrived. Battles 1 and 2, although in two different months, are only 10 days apart. Similarly, battles 4 and 5, although in two different months, are only some 31 days apart. It so happens that the *middle* points, or days, of these two periods of 10 and 20 days, viz. Thaigarchi 4/5 and Açiyadiya 8, are 183 degrees apart, and are thus almost exactly opposed to each other diametrically on the circle of the calendar, so that the line connecting them goes almost exactly through the centre of the circle. This does not seem to be coincidence, especially in view of the location of battle 3. Viyakhna 7 is some 89 degrees from Açiyadiya 8, and some 88 degrees from Thaigarchi 4/5; that is, it is almost exactly perpendicular to the axis between the other four battles.

These calculations are, of course, based on the identity of days with degrees, which cannot be exactly right in view of the 365/6 days of a year. Therefore, it can be assumed that what appears as slight deviations by 3 from an ideal 180 and 90 degrees are actually due to a circle with 360 + 5 or 6 extra days (which, divided in half are, of course, 3 + 2 and 3 + 3).

It must be the latter on which the compilers of the dates given in Behistun inscription based their calculations. At best, they adjusted the actual dates to this scheme of numinous numerical and temporal significance and symmetry, in addition to their scheme of spatial significance, and symmetric correlations, in terms of geography, as shown above. It may well be that, like the exact days given for the victories of Darius' allies, the exact days offered for his own feats have an as yet unrecognised significance.

Overall, then, 1) the basic scheme is the complementary calendrical distribution of the events related to the cardinal players, Gaumata and Darius, and the resulting 'cross,' determined by the four cardinal months. 2) The 'cross' of his allies (including Vindafarnah, whom he later had executed) is shifted by some 25 degrees. Of course, their victories form only a triangle, as no battle or victory is reported for the fourth quadrant of this 'cross.' This triangle, then, would appear to be secondary, but necessarily complementary, supporting, symbolically, the claimed cardinal feats of Darius. In fact, this axis Gemini-Sagittarius is an ancient one, probably related to speculations about the precession of the equinoxes, and the upheaval of the cosmic order.

It should be noted that this axis is also the one which determines the arrangement of the implements on the sacrificial table in the Zoroastrian *yasna*-service, to this day, probably symbolising the distortion of the cosmic order by the forces of the 'lie' and the diversion of the cosmic axis by some 30 degrees by the forces of Ahriman (see Windfuhr, forthcoming). Whatever relationship to ritual, including Zoroastrian ritual, may be implied, it appears that calendrical considerations have played a major part in the timing of this inscription.

Finally, it should be noted that by -522/1 Aries had not yet fully become the first month of the zodiac. The equations with our modern zodiac above are thus to be taken with caution. Nevertheless, the overall relations of the months remain the same.

IV. *Paragraphs, lines, and year*

The number of paragraphs and lines in DB is as follows:

column	I	II	III	IV	V
lines	96	98	92	92	36
total	194		184	:378	:414
para	19	16	15	20	6
total	35		35		6

There is a certain symmetry in the 70-paragraph version, even though the two additions, viz. §§68-9 and §70, do not follow the patterns of mention of Ahuramazda (see above): DB [I + II] and DB [III + IV] have exactly 35 paragraphs each. And, in spite of the widely varying length of the paragraphs, the central line 189 (half of the total of 378 lines) falls exactly in §35, or 5 x 7, a symmetry which may have had some significance to its authors.

The original version, viz. §§1-67 (see discussion above), is not as balanced in terms of paragraphs. However, *line 360* (IV 66.74) contains the invocation to protect the inscription. More importantly, the original version has a total of *365 1/4 lines*, ending in a curse against those who may destroy the inscription, and sculptures, as follows, IV 79-80/365-6: ".... *Auramazdla nikatuv* 'may Ahuramazda destroy.' The beginning of §68 fills the rest of the line. The numbers 365/366 would seem to correspond to the number of days in a year, very appropriate for an inscription which boasts that all was achieved within one year, with the help of Ahuramazda.

Implicit reference to the year may also be implied in §52, the beginning of the Conclusion, which begins with the boast that all was achieved in one year. Not only has Ahuramazda been mentioned at this stage exactly 52 times (see above), but 52 may also imply reference to the 52 weeks of the year.

Both 365 1/4 and 52 imply, of course, an idealised year, fitting the idealisation of events found in this inscription, in which Darius did his utmost to distort, and to confuse, the sequence and timing of events, in spite of offering seemingly exact dates (for only 17 of the battles), by arranging them roughly according to geography and, dialectically, in symmetric order.

In view of the above, one is inclined to speculate whether the addition of the 12 lines of §§68-70 to the original version, viz. 378 = 366 + 12, implies a corrective reference, i.e., 1 year + 12 days. '1 year' must imply an idealised year since, as Hallock suggests, the year in question included an intercalated month. The same idealised year, then, must also underlie the distribution of the months, discussed above, and the reconstructed true period of battles in DB I-IV, whether it is 12, 13 (Kent 1953: 160-3) or 14 (Hallock 1969b) months + 12 days.

The 6 paragraphs of column V number exactly 36 lines. Since line 36 has just one word, *martahya*, whereas line 35 seems to have sufficient space for it, it appears that the objective was to have 36 lines. As mentioned above, the authors of column V (but not of §70) must have known about the patterns of the coincidence of the number of mentions of Ahuramazda and the number of paragraphs, which is 76. They may also have known about the chronological symbolism of the number of lines, as 36 may be interpreted as 3 × 12, implying the 36 months of the total of 3 years in which the feats described in columns I-IV (first year) and V (second and third year) are said to have occurred.

Finally, it should be recalled that the suggestion that §§68-69 and §70 are additions to the original Old Persian version, prior to its being properly spaced out in the final one, is based on structural-dialectic analysis as well as numerological observations. These 3 paragraphs were, of course, already an integral part of the composition of the four columns of the original Old Persian version of the inscription, as they fill out, precisely, the well-conceived rectangle of column IV, side by side with the other three, underneath the relief, the latter representing the first phase of DB, in which Darius has his foot on the slain Gaumata, and faces, sternly, the losers in this cosmic event. There may thus be in DB references yet undiscovered.

Cosmic orientation

To make just one more observation on what may, again, be simply coincidence. According to Luschey's 'Lageskizze' (1968: 65, Fig.2), the relief of Behistun faces almost due west. This may be simply due to the orientation of the rock on this highway between the Iranian highlands and the Mesopotamian lowlands, and there may be no reason to see any significance in this siting towards the western lowlands, ordered by the new ruler of the newly established new order, by the will of Ahuramazda. But the relief, and the later inscriptions, and additions, were ordered by that new ruler. His successes, even though quite within the traditionally claimed single year after regicide and usurpation of the throne, must have appeared to him, quite understandably, cosmic, a cosmic revolution. The exact date, Darius claims that his cosmic revolution occurred was the 10th day of the 7th month, as mentioned. The 7th month is Bagayadi, the month of the fall equinox. In the circle of the calendar, this is the month of the west, of harvest. It may thus be that the western orientation of the rock of Behistun was perceived by Darius, or whoever among his circle had knowledge about cosmic visions and about their earthly symbolism, as especially symbolic for the new cosmic order, and for the relief commemorating the month of the new order.

Cosmic orientation has been much discussed. Greek temples have been said to be oriented to the east, so were churches, Mithraea, and mosques, etc. But careful research has shown that that is not, or only partially, so: while there appear to have been periods within certain cultural traditions during which orientation tended to be reasonably stably east (see, e.g., Herbert 1984; Lentz & Schlosser 1969). It is the interior arrangements in any one such sanctuary which is crucial, not the external orientation of the building, or monument as a whole.

As suggested above, Darius' Behistun inscription may imply references to the year of his success in establishing a new order. Its cosmic orientation may also imply evidence for the truth of the dates mentioned in it. But Behistun is external, and a quite naturally oriented rock, not a building created by humans playing with sacred geometry.

Darius claims to have assassinated Gaumata on the 10th of the 7th month of Bagayadi. It so happens that the relief, depicting the most crucial event in the change of the cosmic order, Darius, his foot on Gaumata, is oriented not exactly due west, but 10 degrees off due west, if Luschey's 'Lageplan' is accurate, which it no doubt is. This would seem to correspond exactly to the 10th day of that month in the circle of the calendar.

This correlation between the orientation of the relief and the day of the assassination may be too much to accept as accidental. Temples can be built with a particular orientation in mind. Greek temples are not all east- or west-oriented, as Herbert (1969) shows. She suggests that the 'inner' orientation plays a crucial role. Nor are Mithraea (Lentz 1975). A preliminary study of site-plans of Iranian so-called fire-temples and palaces, with a site plan which indicates orientation (many do not), by this student shows a predelection for south and south-east. Here, it is the west. The relief could have been placed at another spot with another orientation. But it was not.

In conclusion, there is much in Darius' main inscription which suggests considerable cosmic speculation, in words, numbers, geometry, and geography. This leads to another observation. Luschey (1968: 92) observed that Darius with his two attendants, like victors in other Middle Eastern iconography, comes from the left in terms of facing the relief. Since the relief as a whole faces west, this means that the figure of Darius faces south. Luschey also acknowledges E.F. Schmidt's observation that the lifted hand of Darius, and his raised head facing Ahuramazda's figure, suggests that the king is in a position of prayer, rather than shielding off some evil force. It may be that this particular orientation, as traditionally Mesopotamian as it may be, is also reminiscent of the orientation of a Zoroastrian high priest, who faces south during the *yasna*-ceremony. This ceremony requires at least one partner-priest who faces north, which is the direction from where the forces of evil are said to come. The figure of Ahuramazda in this relief also faces north.

The *yasna* is the fundamental Zoroastrian rite of cosmic healing, (re-)enacting and (re-)establishing the cosmic order. Therefore, it just may be that this relief represents in stone the fundamental ritual of creating a new cosmic order.

It may not have been Zoroastrian as we know it (as the Zoroastrianism as we know it, is based essentially on the documents sanctioned, preserved, and propagated until modern times in the version devised by the Fars-dominated Sasanian priestly cast, the only ones we have), but at least it was Ahuramazdian. The relief, with its inscriptions, encodes cosmic time and measure. The basic proportions of the relief, the first phase without the inscriptions, appear to reflect one of the major expressions in Iranian kingship of the knowledge of sacred geometry, the proportion 1: 2 (if this student's re-measurements, based on my own and others' photographs, or Luschey's 3 by some 5.5 m, are at least approximately correct).

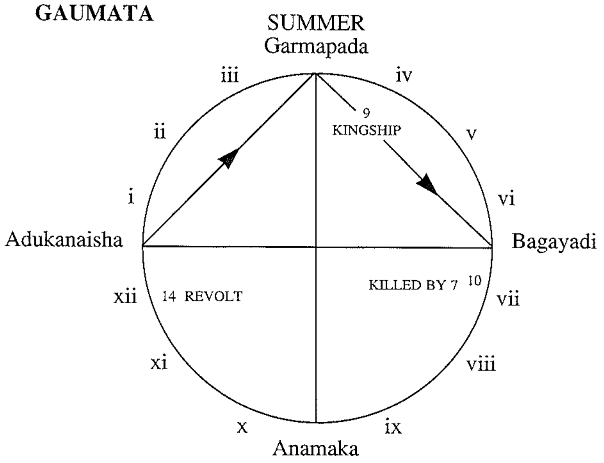
Moreover, the head-dress of the figure of Ahuramazda, viz. the *polos*, with its star-like crown, of ancient Near Eastern origins, is nothing else but what the Greek term *polos* implies, viz. the representation of the cosmic orbs, and axes of the zodiac and celestial equator, around which the worlds turn, from one age to the next, after cosmic disturbance. *Polos* is, of course, cognate with Iranian *hvarnah*, the imperial glory, so splendidly celebrated in the *Shahnamah* by Firdausi of the 11th cent. A.D.

In conclusion, similar to the later depictions in Persepolis with its cross of cosmic orientation (Lentz & Schlosser 1969), Behistun appears to be truly informed by sacred knowledge, part of which came to be later known as the Hermetic tradition, which was at least partially continued by the Masonic sages.

Only a very few selected points could be addressed in the preceding notes. Such traditions of knowledge have long been disregarded by scholarship as being fanciful ruminations of a non-scholarly kind. It behoves us to take a less detached approach to the fancies and aspirations of earlier ages, of victors and sages.

In any case, and quite prosaically, the preceding notes may have shown that the focus, and fixation, of DB in terms of cosmic time, measure, and geography is the date of the slaying of Gaumata, the 10th day after fall equinox, in the month of Bagayadi, 10 degrees off due west. This version of Darius' message, engraved with its attention to cosmic orientation on the rock of Behistun for eternity, was probably not meant for anyone actually to read. It was meant to inspire awe in the beholder at a distance. Anahita is not far from it, at Kangavar.

GAUMATA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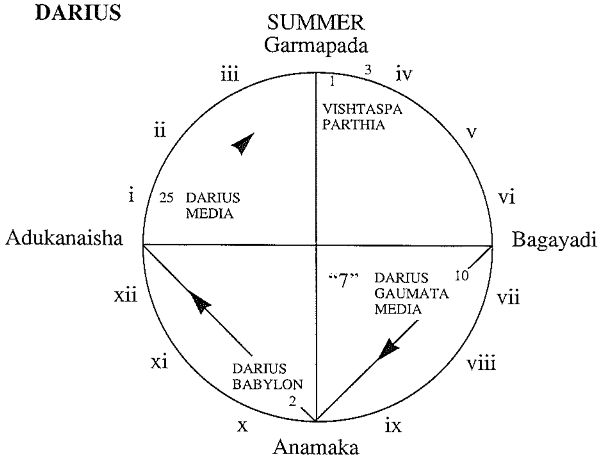
Anamaka

DARIUS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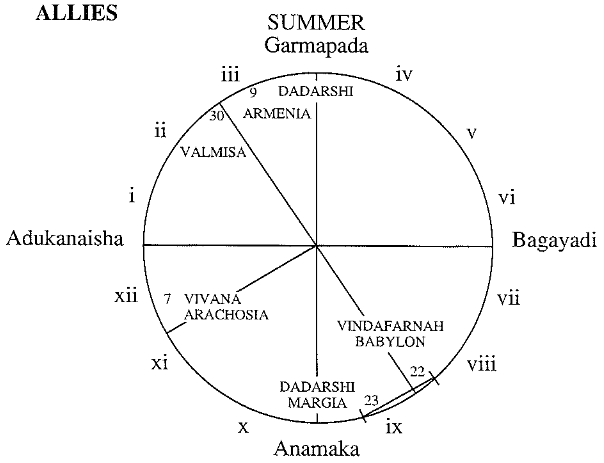
ALLIES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Anamaka

SOURCES GRÉCO-HELLÉNISTIQUES, INSTITUTIONS PERSES ET INSTITUTIONS MACÉDONIENNES: CONTINUITÉS, CHANGEMENTS ET BRICOLAGES.

Pierre Briant — Toulouse

1. *Remarques introductives*

J'ai tout lieu de craindre que les liens existant entre mon intervention et la thématique générale de notre Workshop soient considérés par les participants comme fort lâches, voire lointains. Il y est en effet au moins autant question de la Macédoine que de l'empire achéménide: certains développements sont même exclusivement consacrés à l'analyse d'institutions proprement macédoniennes. La raison de mon choix n'est pas simplement la conjonction de deux de mes centres d'intérêt, le royaume macédonien et l'empire achéménide. La thématique résulte aussi d'une réflexion d'ordre méthodologique, que je voudrais exposer aussi précisément que possible.

Dans le cadre général des continuités/ruptures, on s'interroge souvent, et à juste titre, sur les différents composants des institutions des royaumes hellénistiques, et sur leurs origines, perses ou macédoniennes, et l'on s'interroge du même coup sur les modalités et l'ampleur des inter-réactions entre les unes et les autres. Logiquement, la période de la conquête d'Alexandre et celle des diadoques représentent une phase décisive, au cours de laquelle se sont mises en place les nouvelles institutions, non sans contradictions. Mais, une telle problématique suppose la mise au clair d'un problème préalable, d'ordre méthodologique, qui procède de la composition du corpus documentaire. Il est patent en effet que les historiens anciens d'Alexandre constituent une part importante de ce corpus. Or, ces textes sont utilisés tout aussi bien par les historiens de l'empire achéménide que par ceux qui s'intéressent aux institutions macédoniennes.

D'où le problème: quels sont les critères d'analyse qui peuvent faire conclure que tel élément est un trait typiquement macédonien transféré par Alexandre dans les pays conquis, ou bien un trait typiquement achéménide copié par Alexandre lors de la conquête et éventuellement emprunté par ses successeurs?[1] L'organisation de la cour macédonienne avant Philippe et

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[1] Voir déjà Briant 1988b: 257, n. 5 à propos des textes sur les entrées royales, dont beaucoup datent de l'époque hellénistique. Je mentionne qu'une tablette babylonienne de l'époque d'Artaxerxès II (publiée par Joannès 1988) montre sans ambiguïté l'existence de levées spéciales décidées lors des entrées officielles du roi à Suse. L'existence de ce texte cunéiforme achéménide lève tous les doutes. On mentionnera également un texte cunéiforme d'époque séleucide qui rappelle de très près le cérémonial des entrées royales «achéménido-hellénistiques» (Sherwin-White

Alexandre est si mal connue qu'il est tentant d'inscrire au compte des influences achéménides des institutions macédoniennes connues uniquement par des textes de l'époque d'Alexandre ou de celle de ses successeurs: mais il faut se défier des généralisations en la matière.[2] Dans certains cas, une coutume identique ou comparable peut se retrouver et chez les Argéades et chez les Achéménides, sans qu'on doive en conclure nécessairement à une influence achéménide. Deux exemples parmi d'autres pour illustrer ce propos:

* Tout d'abord les dons royaux, bien attestés chez les Perses. On sait également que l'un des privilèges du roi macédonien était de «distribuer *kausia* et *chlamydes* de pourpre,» en quoi on voyait «le don royal par excellence (*dōrea basilikōtatē*)»; les hommes ainsi décorés deviennent des *philoi* du roi (Plutarque *Eum.* 8.12). Il ne serait pas difficile de faire des rapprochements avec les pratiques achéménides. L'expression «don royal par excellence» se retrouve chez Arrien (*Anab.* I 5,4), sous une forme à peine différente, pour qualifier les dons faits par Alexandre au roi Langaros: «Il reçut de grands honneurs de la part d'Alexandre, et en particulier ce qu'un roi de Macédoine considérait commes les plus beaux cadeaux (*kai dōra elaben hosa megista para basilei tōn Makedonōn nomizetai*)». On retrouve également des expressions identiques ou comparables chez des auteurs grecs traitant de la *polydōria* des Grands Rois (cf. Hérodote III 84,160; IX 109; Xénophon *Cyr.* VIII 2,7; *Anab.* I 2,27, I 8,29; Ctésias *Persika* 32; Elien *VH* VII 8). De tout cela, on ne concluera pas nécessairement à des influences achéménides, mais plutôt à des convergences (cf. également *RTP*: 56-60). La pratique du don royal est très répandue dans de nombreuses sociétés antiques (cf. e.g. Masson & Yoyotte 1988; également Briant 1987a: 2-6), en particulier le don de vêtements. Il en est de même du don de terres et de villes, bien attesté chez les Achéménides (Briant 1985), mais connu également en Macédoine (cf. Funck 1976; Hatzopoulos 1988). Ce qui, dans le cas d'Eumène, apparaît comme spécifique de la Macédoine, c'est le don de chapeaux — jamais attesté à ma connaissance chez les Perses.[3]

1983: 267-268). Le cérémonial macédonien, auquel fait référence Athénée (XI 467c), paraît original, quand bien même on y retrouve l'obligation (fréquente ailleurs également) de venir accueillir le roi en dehors des remparts (cf. Kalléris 1954: 142).

[2] Cf. l'intéressante discussion menée par Kalléris (1954: 162-169) sur les origines de la fonction aulique d'*édéatros*, confiée par Alexandre à Ptolémée. Selon l'auteur, la fonction est d'origine macédonienne et non d'origine achéménide, bien que quelques textes anciens (cf. p. 165, n. 1) proposent une interprétation différente. Kalléris (p. 168) écrit à ce propos: «Les grammairiens et les lexicographes d'époque byzantine, n'arrivant pas à trouver trace du premier [office] du côté grec, ont facilement imaginé qu'il avait été emprunté à la cour perse, où il y avait un office à peu près semblable. Mais, en réalité, l'origine de l'office macédonien remonte aux coutumes pratiquées dans les cours de la royauté grecque archaïque et, plus spécialement, de la royauté dorienne». Quoi qu'il en soit de l'interprétation de Kalléris, on voit en tout cas que la discussion sur les origines de certaines coutumes antigonides («macédoniennes» ou «perses»?) s'était engagée dès l'Antiquité parmi les érudits. (Cf. également Berve 1926 I: 39-40).

[3] Sur le texte de Plutarque, voir les remarques interprétatives de Prestianni-Giallombardo 1991.

* Deuxième exemple: Quinte-Curce (VII 4,32-39) raconte comment — sur un défi lancé par Satibarzanès — un combat de chefs se déroula entre le satrape de Darius III et le Macédonien Erigyos, de manière à donner une issue à un combat qui s'éternisait entre deux armées de force sensiblement égale. On sait par ailleurs que plusieurs auteurs anciens aimaient à présenter l'opposition Alexandre/Darius à Issos comme un combat singulier (cf. *RTP*: 374-375, n.113). D'où la question: le combat singulier (monomachie) doit-il être considéré comme une coutume iranienne (voire est-iranienne) adoptée par les Macédoniens, ou une coutume commune aux Macédoniens et aux Iraniens? Le seul témoignage macédonien est tardif, de l'époque des diadoques. Athénée explique que les hommes éminents et les chefs se sont voués traditionnellement à la monomachie en réponse à un défi qui leur était lancé. Et, à ce point (IV.155a), il cite Diyllos selon lequel, lors des funérailles de Philippe III et d'Eurydikè, Cassandre ne se contenta pas de suivre les coutumes funéraires de la monarchie macédonienne (cf. Diodore XIX 52,5); il organisa également un *monomachias agōn*. Ajoutons que la tradition du combat singulier, de type héroïque, est bien attestée en Grèce archaïque.

La difficulté méthodologique liée à l'utilisation de sources de l'époque d'Alexandre et de l'époque des diadoques, c'est que l'expédition d'Alexandre a transformé la Macédoine en un royaume itinérant (Briant 1973a: 348-350; *RTP*: 91-93), dont le fonctionnement résulte à la fois des institutions traditionnelles de la Macédoine et des emprunts achéménides multipliés par le conquérant. Or, plusieurs institutions macédoniennes sont connues exclusivement par des textes de l'époque d'Alexandre: comment donc reconstituer les institutions macédoniennes «originelles» sans tenir compte des conditions très particulières qui les montrent en situation lors de la conquête?[4] Comment, en même temps, reconstituer des institutions achéménides, lorsqu'elles sont attestées par les seules sources hellénistiques, sans postuler une continuité globale — démarche qui, on le sait, n'est pas exempte de risques. La documentation pose en outre un problème connexe: dans quelle mesure telle institution considérée comme typiquement macédonienne n'est-elle pas en fait un emprunt fait aux Achéménides avant 334?[5]

Les réponses à de telles questions ne sont pas toujours aisées à donner. On dispose certes de nombreux textes faisant explicitement référence à des coutumes nationales, macédoniennes[6] ou perses,[7] souvent explicitement opposées à partir du moment où Alexandre chercha à reprendre à son profit les coutumes auliques achéménides.[8] Pour autant, la mention de coutumes perses ou macédoniennes ne suffit pas toujours à lever les doutes (cf. e.g. Renard & Servais 1955). Il faut faire la part de reconstruction personnelle d'auteurs tardifs.[9] Dans ces conditions, toute discussion approfondie sur les rapports entre institutions macédoniennes et institutions perses nécessitent de mener l'analyse aussi bien des premières que des secondes.

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[4] Cf. le problème de l'assemblée macédonienne (Briant 1973a; je renonce à citer ici la bibliographie parue depuis lors; j'y reviendrai dans un autre cadre).

[5] Sur cette thèse de Kienast, voir ci-dessous §4. Voir également Briant 1991a (à propos des chasses royales et des paradis en Macédoine).

[6] Cf. Quinte-Curce III 8,22, IV 8,6, VII 2,1, VI 8,25, VI 9,36, VI 10,23, VIII 4,27, VIII 6,2, IX 6,4, X 9,12; Arrien IV 11,6, IV 13,1, VII 6,5 etc. Sur Quinte-Curce et les traditions macédoniennes, voir les remarques critiques d'Errington 1983.

[7] Quinte-Curce III 3,4, 8; III 8,12-14, IV 5,5-6,IV 10,23,34; IV 13,26, 14,24, 16,15, V 2,19-21, V 10,12, VI 2,2., VI 4,14, VIII 5,21, X 5,17 etc.; Diodore XVII 24,6, 25,3, 114,4,5; XIX 14,5; Arrien *Anab.* II 11,10, 14,5, III 30,2, VI 30,2, VII 4,7, 6,2-3, 24,3 etc.

Dans le cadre de cette communication, je n'ai pas l'intention de présenter une synthèse sur ces problèmes. Je préfère mener la discussion à partir de trois exemples, choisis à titre emblématique. L'un (2) se réfère à une institution présentée comme un emprunt achéménide, mais qui, en réalité, n'est attestée par aucune source à l'époque des Grands Rois. L'autre (3) envisage les modalités de l'utilisation d'un texte hellénistique portant explicitement sur une continuité institutionnelle entre les Achéménides, Alexandre et ses successeurs immédiats. Le troisième (4-5) s'attache d'une part à repérer, à l'époque d'Alexandre, les continuités macédoniennes et, d'autre part, à montrer les conséquences de leur confrontation avec des traditions achéménides.

2. *L'«Assemblée des Mèdes et des Perses» (Arrien* Anab. *IV 7,3): héritage achéménide ou innovation d'Alexandre?*

2.1. On sait comment Darius III fut éliminé dans l'été 330 par une conjuration réunissant Bessos, Satibarzanès et Barsaentès (Berve 1926: no.205, 212, 244, 697; cf. Briant 1984a: 77-80), puis comment Alexandre mena la guerre contre Bessos, présenté comme un usurpateur et un régicide (*RTP*: 401-403). Peu après l'entrée d'Alexandre en Bactriane, les Macédoniens réussirent à s'emparer de Bessos.[10] Dans un premier temps, Bessos fut soumis à la torture, puis envoyé à Bactres pour y être exécuté (Arrien III 30,5). Selon Quinte-Curce (VII 5,40-42), Diodore (XVII 83,9) et Justin (XII 5,11), Alexandre remit Bessos au frère de Darius III, Oxathrès (et à ses proches selon Diodore), pour qu'ils se vengent du meurtre du roi. Malgré Diodore qui affirme que la vengeance alla jusqu'à l'élimination physique (XVII 83,9), il apparaît qu'Alexandre se réserva la décision ultime: «Il remit son supplice, afin qu'il fût exécuté à l'endroit où lui-même il avait tué Darius» (Quinte-Curce VII 5,43). Cette décision fut prise en réalité un peu plus tard à Bactres (cf. Quinte-Curce VII 10,10), où Alexandre avait fait conduire Bessos (Arrien III 30,5).

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[8] E.g. Plutarque *Alex.* 45,1-4, 46,5-12; Quinte-Curce VI 2,1-3, 6,1-11; Elien *VH.* VII 8.

[9] Un seul exemple: selon Quinte-Curce (V 3,18-22), Alexandre envoya à Sisygambis des tissus macédoniens, qu'il venait de recevoir, et il lui conseillait «d'accoutumer ses petites-filles à en fabriquer ...» Sisygambis entra alors dans une profonde affliction, «car les femmes de Perse considèrent comme le pire affront de travailler la laine de leurs mains.» Alexandre s'excusa en expliquant que le vêtement qu'il portait «était non seulement un don de ses sœurs, c'était leur œuvre» (*opus*), et il mit en évidence l'opposition qu'il avait méconnue entre les coutumes perses (cf. *quae tui moris*) et les coutumes macédoniennes (cf. *nostri ... mores*). Mais, l'opposition ne serait-elle pas une invention de Quinte-Curce (ou de sa source), soucieux de mettre en scène l'affection filiale d'Alexandre pour la princesse perse (cf. V 3,22)? A l'inverse, on remarquera que, chez Hérodote (IX 109), Xerxès reçoit en don de sa femme Amestris un vêtement qu'elle avait tissé elle-même. Il paraît néanmoins délicat de contrôler Quinte-Curce par Hérodote, car l'histoire narrée par Hérodote ressemble fort à un conte (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 48-83). Beaucoup d'auteurs anciens comparent les «rois décadents de l'Orient» à des femmes, dont ils partagent les occupations, tel Sardanapale qui, habillé en femme, carde la laine en compagnie de ses concubines (Ctésias cité par Athénée XII 528F); on comparera avec les dons faits par Xerxès à Artémise et au stratège perse; à la première, qui s'était distingués à Salamine, il envoya une panoplie, au second, «une quenouille et un fuseau» (Polyen VIII 53,2), indiquant par là que son général s'était conduit lâchement, ou encore avec les rapports noués entre le roi chypriote Evelthon et la reine Phérétimè (Hérodote IV 162). Tous ces textes sont fort parlants sur les représentations grecques des rapports hommes/femmes et des rapports Grèce/Asie (cf. Briant 1989); ils n'apportent en revanche pas d'informations contrôlables sur la situation réelle des princesses perses à la cour du Grand Roi. (Sur ce point, et en dépit de leur extrême concision, les tablettes

Lors des quartiers d'hiver pris à Bactres, Alexandre, en effet, «fit conduire Bessos à Ecbatane pour qu'il payât de sa vie l'assassinat de Darius» (Quinte-Curce VII 10,10). C'est à ce point qu'Arrien (IV 7,3) donne des précisions sur les décisions prises alors par le roi: «Alors Alexandre, ayant convoqué une réunion des présents, fit amener Bessos devant eux; après lui avoir reproché d'avoir trahi Darius, il donna l'ordre de lui trancher le nez et les oreilles, puis de le conduire à Ecbatane pour le mettre à mort là-bas devant l'assemblée des Mèdes et des Perses (*hōs ekei en tōi Mēdōn kai Persōn sullogōi apothanoumenon*)».

2.2. Le texte n'est pas sans poser de cruciaux problèmes d'interprétation. L'attestation la plus courante du terme grec *sullogos* à l'époque achéménide se réfère aux rassemblements périodiques de troupes dans les capitales militaires de l'empire — dont Ecbatane faisait partie à coup sûr (Widengren 1969: 152-159). Arrien utilise également le terme dans un contexte proprement bactrien:[11] il rapporte en effet qu'à l'origine de la révolte sogdienne, il y aurait eu le bruit selon lequel Alexandre avait ordonné la convocation des hyparques du pays, et «que cette réunion (*sullogos*) ne se tenait pas pour leur bien» (IV 1,5). Peut-être s'agit-il là d'une référence à un institution locale, qui témoignerait de l'existence de structures sociales originales dans l'Iran de l'Est, mais qui se situe elle aussi dans un contexte militaire de rassemblement de contingents (cf.

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babyloniennes et les tablettes de Persépolis sont infiniment plus informatives; elles permettent en particulier de contrôler d'autres informations données par des auteurs classiques sur le statut économiques des princesses: cf. Briant 1985).

[10] Il existe deux versions de la capture de Bessos: l'une (qui dérive directement de Ptolémée) inscrit l'exploit au compte de Ptolémée lui-même; l'autre, qui émane d'Aristobule, affirme que Bessos fut livré par Spitaménès et par Dataphernès. Arrien ne choisit pas entre les deux versions (III 30,1-5); en revanche la thèse d'Aristobule se retrouve chez Quinte-Curce (VII 5,19-26; 7,36-37), Diodore (XVII 83,7-8) et Justin (XII 5,10-11).

[11] Bien entendu, le terme peut également s'entendre tout simplement comme «réunion»: cf. e.g. Arrien I 12,10.

Briant 1984a: 82-86). En tout état de cause, l'expression utilisée par Arrien à propos de Bessos renvoie manifestement à une autre réalité institutionnelle que l'on pourrait comprendre comme: une assemblée de la noblesse mède et de la noblesse perse. Sans lui laisser à proprement parler le jugement concernant Bessos, Alexandre a estimé que le meurtrier de Darius devait être exécuté devant les plus illustres représentants des peuples mèdes et perses.

2.2.1. La première interprétation qui vient à l'esprit, c'est que, dans le cadre de sa politique iranienne, Alexandre a repris à son profit une institution antérieure. Le texte d'Arrien constituerait donc à la fois la seule attestation d'une pratique achéménide et la preuve de son emprunt par Alexandre.

Il ne fait guère de doute en effet qu'après la mort de Darius, Alexandre a tout fait pour se poser en vengeur de l'Achéménide (*RTP*: 401-403). On sait en particulier qu'«il envoya le corps de Darius en Perse, avec l'ordre de l'ensevelir dans les tombes royales, comme les rois qui avaient régné avant lui» (Arrien III 22,8; cf. Justin XI 15,15 et Plutarque *Alex.* 43,7). C'est bien dans ce cadre général qu'est insérée la notice d'Arrien. En effet, aussitôt après avoir cité l'envoi de Bessos à Ecbatane, Arrien émet lui-même de sérieuses réserves contre les pratiques nouvelles d'Alexandre (IV 7,4):

* la mutilation des extrêmités, condamnée comme «barbare»
* sa volonté de «rivaliser avec la richesse des Mèdes et des Perses» et l'habitude des rois barbares de maintenir l'inégalité entre eux et leurs sujets.
* l'emprunt de la robe mède et de la tiare perse.

Puis, Arrien consacre plusieurs chapitres (IV 8-14) aux affaires de Cleitos, de Callisthène et à la conspiration des pages. Il reconnaît d'entrée (IV 8,1) que les faits rapportés sont «un peu postérieurs.» Il revient sur ce point de méthode à la fin de ce long excursus: «J'ai exposé en même temps que l'affaire entre Alexandre et Cleitos ces événements, qui se sont déroulés, en fait, un peu plus tard, mais parce que je les considère plus en rapport avec cette affaire pour mon récit» (IV 14,4).

Cependant, le rapprochement opéré par Arrien ne constitue pas un indice suffisant: au reste, dans le cas de l'affaire de Bessos, la seule mesure comparable, isolée par Arrien, est l'ordre de faire couper nez et oreilles du rebelle: il s'agit là en effet d'un châtiment bien attesté à l'époque achéménide contre les rebelles.[12] Quant à l'assemblée des Mèdes et des Perses proprement dite, il n'y a rien de semblable qui soit attestée à l'époque achéménide. Jamais, une telle assemblée n'a été réunie par un Grand Roi pour juger un rebelle ni pour l'y mettre à mort publiquement. La théorie et la pratique achéménides semblent exclure même qu'une assemblée de nobles aient pu contrôler de près ou de loin les prérogatives absolues du Grand Roi en la matière.[13]

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[12] Voir Hérodote III 118, 154; Polyen VII 12 (calque d'Hérodote III 154); cf. DB 32-33.

La seule occasion où de telles réunions peuvent avoir eu lieu, ce sont les successions royales. G. Widengren (1969:102-108) considère même que, comme chez leurs successeurs en Iran, les Achéménides ont connu l'institution d'un *Landtag* noble, qui interviendrait dans l'élection du nouveau roi. Mais, la démonstration manque de rigueur. D'une part, nombre de sources utilisées par Widengren sont tardives; d'autre part, le vocabulaire des auteurs grecs doit être décrypté et replacé dans le contexte d'institutions iraniennes qu'ils connaissaient mal.[14] Sans reprendre un à un les textes portant sur la succession royale chez les Achéménides, on rappellera tout d'abord que le droit à la succession est conféré par le choix d'un prince héritier par le roi vivant. Lorsque les aristocrates interviennent, c'est sous une forme non-institutionnelle: complot contre le roi, participation à des groupes de pression à l'intérieur de la cour, adhésion à l'un des deux compétiteurs.

Il est néanmoins possible qu'à l'issue de la cérémonie de Pasargades, le nouveau roi apparaissait en haut d'une des tours (le Zendan-i Sulaiman; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983: 147). C'est peut-être à ce type de cérémonie que fait allusion Hérodote dans son *logos* consacré à l'usurpation de Smerdis. Il écrit en effet que les mages persuadèrent Préxaspes de prendre la parole devant tous les Perses convoqués au pied des murs du palais, et de proclamer que celui qui régnait sur les Perses était Smerdis fils de Cyrus, personne d'autre. Préxaspes fit mine d'accepter la proposition et il s'adressa aux Perses du haut d'une tour (*pyrgos*), d'où en fait il dénonça l'usurpateur. De plus, «il exposa à partir d'Achaiménès la généalogie de Cyrus en ligne paternelle» (Hérodote III 74). Il est possible de voir dans cette histoire le témoignage de la proclamation officielle du nouveau roi faite devant les nobles perses rassemblés au pied d'une tour de Pasargades. Dans cette hypothèse, le personnage chargé de cette proclamation devait réciter la généalogie du nouveau roi, pour le situer plus précisément dans la lignée dynastique et donc pour attester sa parfaite légitimité désormais insoupçonnable. Mais, en tout état de cause, on ne peut désigner une telle réunion comme une «assemblée élective». Il ne s'agit pas d'élection, mais d'un cérémonial proche de l'*anadeixis* hellénistique: ce à quoi fait peut-être allusion Plutarque (*De Amore Frat.* 18: *anagoreusai*, cf. Briant 1991c). Le roi ne tenait pas son pouvoir d'une telle acclamation, mais bien de ses droits dynastiques et de la reconnaissance divine (ce que Darius met parfaitement en évidence dans sa proclamation de Behistoun).

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[13] La manière dont Hérodote rend compte de l'intervention des juges royaux auprès de Cambyse indique que leur activité dépend de la volonté royale et que leur avis n'engage pas la décision du souverain (Hérodote III 31: les juges royaux font référence à un *nomos* (= coutume) «permettant au roi des Perses de faire ce qu'il voudrait»; cf. Plutarque *Art.* 23,5: le roi «est lui-même la loi et le juge du bien et du mal»). De son côté, le récit de Diodore (XV 10) exprime parfaitement aussi la supériorité du roi, qui peut, s'il le désire, faire appel aux juges royaux, mais qui peut également condamner à mort comme il l'entend (y compris des juges royaux: Diodore XV 10,1 = Hérodote V 25) — sans tenir compte de l'avis des juges: cf. en particulier Ctésias *Persika* 61. Ni les juges, ni les conseillers n'ont de pouvoir autre que la persuasion dont ils peuvent faire preuve auprès d'un souverain, dont l'autorité n'est limitée par aucun *nomos* qui aurait valeur contraignante.

[14] Un seul exemple (que ne cite pas Widengren). Faisant allusion à la prise du pouvoir de Darius le Bâtard (Nothos), Pausanias (II 5,7) écrit que Darius réussit dans son entreprise grâce à l'appui du peuple perse (*homou tōn Persōn dēmōi*). Personne ne songera évidemment à en conclure que le «peuple perse» s'est soulevé en sa faveur contre Sogdianos, présenté (faussement) par Pausanias comme un fils légitime d'Artaxerxès I (*pais gnēsios*; cf. Stolper 1985: 115, n. 22). Tout au plus y verra-t-on l'écho d'une propagande royale de Darius II, soucieux d'indiquer que la plus grande partie des nobles s'étaient rangés à ses côtés.

2.2.2. L'absence de témoignages directs et le contexte politique général incitent donc à rejeter l'hypothèse de l'existence d'une assemblée des nobles perses et mèdes à l'époque achéménide. Une hypothèse subsidiaire (que j'ai développée dans 1984b: 111-112) consiste à considérer qu'à cette époque en effet l'institution a disparu, mais qu'elle a peut-être existé dans une période antérieure à la création de l'empire, où le roi, sorte de *primus inter pares*, devait se présenter devant l'assemblée des chefs de clans. Widengren (1974: 85) ne manque pas de citer Hérodote I 98-99, qui indique que Deiokès fut élu roi dans une assemblée générale des Mèdes. Mais, quelle crédibilité devons-nous apporter au *logos* mède d'Hérodote? Par ailleurs, si le *sullogos* (dans un sens institutionnel) remontait au temps de la pré-conquête, on ne voit pas pourquoi les nobles mèdes seraient convoqués avec les nobles perses. Dans les attestations (contestables: 2.2.1) d'une telle assemblée (informelle) lors de la reconnaissance des nouveaux rois, seuls les Perses sont cités.[15]

2.2.3. Une troisième hypothèse reste ouverte: c'est qu'Alexandre a créé de toutes pièces une «institution» qui n'avait jamais existé auparavant. L'hypothèse peut apparaître comme paradoxale. Il est intéressant de remarquer que dans un premier temps (Quinte-Curce, Arrien), le roi avait décidé de mettre à mort Bessos à Bactres; ce n'est que dans un deuxième temps qu'il décida que l'exécution aurait lieu à Ecbatane en présence des nobles Mèdes et Perses. Au moment où de fortes résistances se manifestaient en Sogdiane, il était de son intérêt d'une part de se poser à nouveau en vengeur de Darius (Quinte-Curce), et d'autre part de contraindre la noblesse ouest-iranienne à assumer (même passivement) la co-responsabilité de l'exécution du rebelle régicide. C'était là un aspect important de la politique de collaboration à laquelle il appelait l'ancienne ethno-classe dominante à participer.

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[15] Bosworth (1988: 108) voit dans la décision d'Alexandre la volonté de suivre un précédent achéménide: il cite à ce propos l'exécution du rebelle Fravartish par Darius à Ecbatane. Mais, le rapprochement n'est guère convaincant: si l'exécution du «roi menteur» à Ecbatane s'explique aisément (il a dirigé la rebellion mède et a été capturé en Médie), le transfert du satrape de Bactriane Bessos à Ecbatane par Alexandre continue de poser un problème, de même que l'appel à un *sullogos* perso-mède. Fait problème en particulier la présence de Mèdes auprès des Perses, quand on sait qu'à partir des règnes de Darius et de Xerxès, la Perse et les Perses obtinrent un statut privilégié (Gschnitzer 1988 et Joannès 1989).

Dans l'état actuel de la réflexion, j'hésite à choisir entre les trois hypothèses, car opposer la «vraisemblance» de l'une à la «vraisemblance» de l'autre ne peut avoir aucune valeur démonstrative. En tout état de cause, cette analyse n'avait d'autre but que de souligner les difficultés méthodologiques liées à l'utilisation d'une source hellénistique pour reconstituer une institution achéménide, à laquelle les textes contemporains ne font pas explicitement allusion.

3. *Diodore et le Chiliarque perse: exit le Grand Vizir?*

3.1. La difficulté d'utiliser des textes hellénistiques pour reconstituer les institutions achéménides me paraît bien illustrée également par l'exemple du chiliarque («chef des mille»), qui retranscrit *hazarapatiš*,[16] et que l'on comprend très généralement comme le Grand Vizir à la cour achéménide. La différence essentielle avec le cas précédent, c'est que plusieurs témoignages attestent de l'institution à la cour du Grand Roi. Mais, en même temps, les historiens ont fondé une part importante de leur reconstruction sur un texte qui, à mon sens, reste marqué d'ambigüités. En outre, il importe de souligner d'entrée que l'appellation de Grand Vizir ne correspond à aucune expression repérable à l'époque achéménide, et qu'elle implique une assimilation avec une institution ottomane qui, elle, est bien connue (Lewis 1989: 98-107).[17]

Sur l'importance de ce personnage à cour perse, nous disposons essentiellement en effet d'un texte hellénistique, de Diodore de Sicile (qui remonte très probablement à Hiéronymos de Kardia), qui, transmettant les mesures prises par Antipater peu avant sa mort, écrit (XVIII 48,4): «Quant à son fils Cassandre, il le nomma chiliarque, avec des attributions qui faisaient de lui le second personnage de l'Etat (*kai deutereuonta kata tēn exousian*). Les rois perses furent les premiers à promouvoir et à entourer d'un glorieux renom le poste, éminent entre tous (*taxis kai proagōgē to mēn proton*), du chiliarque. Par la suite, Alexandre le dota à son tour (*meta de tauta palin*) de vastes pouvoirs et de grands honneurs quand il devint un admirateur des autres coutumes perses (*persika nomima*). C'est pourquoi, suivant la même ligne de conduite (*kata tēn autēn agōgēn*), Antipater nomma son fils Cassandre chiliarque, malgré sa jeunesse» (trad. P. Goukowsky).

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[16] Cf. Hesychius, s.v. *azarapateis*. Ctésias (*Persika* 46) donne le titre d'*azabaritēs* de Sekundianos à Ménostanès (Lewis 1977: 17-18).

[17] Voir en particulier Christensen 1944: 113-115. L'auteur postule tout d'abord une continuité entre le *hazarbadh* sassanide et le *hazarapatiš* achéménide, lui-même défini (p. 113) comme «le premier fonctionnaire de l'empire, celui par lequel le roi dirigeait l'état.» Puis, constatant le manque d'information pour l'époque sassanide, il postule que «du reste, la charge de grand vézir dans la forme connue du temps du califat, la forme qu'elle conserva dans tous les états islamiques, est un emprunt direct de l'état sasanide, aussi les notices que donnent les théoriciens arabes de la politique sur la position du grand vézir, ont-elles de la valeur, en général, en ce qui concerne le *vuzurg-framadar* de l'empire sassanide» (p. 115). Chaumont (1973: 142) est plus prudente («Il n'existe cependant aucune preuve formelle que le chiliarque ait rempli alors les fonctions de premier ministre ou grand vizir que nous lui connaissons à une époque bien plus tardive»); elle ajoute néanmoins (sans preuve): «... Il serait téméraire de dénier au chiliarque des Achéménides toute compétence en matière d'administration centrale»: pourquoi? A force de répéter que les différentes dynasties iraniennes n'ont fait que reprendre les institutions de leurs devanciers (*ibid.*: 142-143; cf. p. 153), on risque de créer de toutes pièces une «entité institutionnelle iranienne» sans réalité historique.

La lecture même du texte fait comprendre immédiatement que l'institution du chiliarque s'inscrit parfaitement dans la problématique abordée ici. Diodore exprime en effet d'une part qu'elle a été reprise par Alexandre aux Achéménides, mais il n'exclut pas, d'autre part, que le Macédonien l'ait adaptée et remodelée. L'expression qu'il utilise (*palin*) peut laisser supposer en effet que les vastes pouvoirs et grands honneurs conférés au titulaire de la charge (Hephestion) se sont surajoutés aux missions confiées au chiliarque achéménide. En tout cas, le texte même invite à poser la question.

3.2. Le seul moyen d'apporter une réponse à la question est de confronter le texte de Diodore à ce que nous savons du chiliarque à l'époque achéménide. La difficulté, c'est que nous n'avons que fort peu d'occurrences du terme chiliarque à l'époque achéménide (du moins dans le sens de haut officier de la cour). D'autre part, ces textes ne donnent pas beaucoup de renseignements sur les fonctions qui étaient dévolues au personnage.

Le premier rapprochement que l'on peut tenter avec un texte d'époque achéménide concerne l'expression utilisée par Diodore à propos de Cassandre: le second. Parlant du chiliarque Tithraustès, C. Nepos (*Conon* 3.2) écrit en effet qu'il tenait la place de second dans l'organisation des pouvoirs (*qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat*). En rappelant les attestations classiques (Volkmann 1937-38), Benveniste (1966: 51-65) les a rapprochées de textes tardifs (arméniens, moyen-perses et parthes),[18] mais aussi d'un passage d'une inscription de Xerxès, qui affirme, pour souligner sa légitimité: Darius, mon père, me fit le plus grand après lui (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 67-69). Selon Benveniste (1966: 65), ce titre de «le plus grand après soi équivaut à celui de second après le roi.»

Doit-on pour autant en conclure que le chiliarque perse portait systématiquement un tel titre, que retransmettrait Diodore avec ses mots particuliers? J'en doute fort, et cela pour plusieurs raisons. Tout d'abord, plus que d'un titre à proprement parler, il s'agit d'une distinction, dont rien ne permet de dire qu'elle qualifie systématiquement le chiliarque. D'autre part, même s'il s'agit d'un titre aulique, il paraît clair, à partir des exemples connus, qu'il n'est pas attaché à une fonction déterminée. Il s'agit d'une marque de faveur que le Grand Roi peut conférer ou supprimer selon sa volonté. En troisième lieu, lorsque Diodore écrit que Cassandre est devenu le second dans l'ordre des pouvoirs (*kata tēn exousian*),[19] il ne fait que reconnaître la réalité des rapports établis par Antipater entre Polyperchon et Cassandre: le premier dispose en réalité de tous les pouvoirs (*epimelētēs* des rois et stratège *autokratōr*). La violence de la réaction de Cassandre face aux dispositions paternelles (Diodore XVIII 49,1-3) indique très nettement que cette position de second ne constituait pas un signe de promotion. Je reste donc sceptique sur les rapprochements établis entre l'expression utilisée par Diodore et le titre iranien mis au jour par Benveniste. Dans ces conditions, je ne suis pas sûr non plus que l'expression de Nepos (*secundum gradum imperii tenebat*) permette de conclure à coup sûr que Tithraustès portait le titre de second après le roi. Nepos ou sa source ont peut-être simplement voulu indiquer qu'à cette date, Tithraustès détenait une influence politique considérable auprès d'Artaxerxès.[20] Ce qui ne veut pas dire nécessairement qu'il en jouissait en raison de ses fonctions de chiliarque.

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[18] L'hétérogénéité chronologique du dossier documentaire est soulignée par Lewis 1977: 15, n. 70. Sur le *hazarapatiš* à des époques plus tardives, cf. Chaumont 1973.

3.3. A la suite de Justi (1896) et de J. Marquart (1898), P. Junge (1940) a consacré un article (aventureux) aux fonctions du *hazarapatiš*. Il en fait le plus important de tous les titulaires de fonctions dans l'Etat perse antique (p. 35), et le chef de l'administration impériale centrale, la chancellerie royale (p. 36). Il est le chef des finances, le chef de l'organisation militaire, le responsable des satrapes (p. 29-36). Bref, le Grand Vizir. C'est l'image que l'on retrouve dans presque tous les ouvrages traitant des institutions centrales achéménides, qu'il s'agisse d'Olmstead (1948: 217, se fondant sur Justi 1896 et sur Junge 1940),[21] de Cook (1983: 144 se référant à Junge) ou plus récemment encore de Dandamaev (1989: 111-112, citant Diodore et se référant à Junge et à Marquart).[22] Seul, à ma connaissance, D. Lewis (1977: 16-19) a su se dégager en partie de cette *opinio communis*.[23]

Junge n'a évidemment pas manqué de citer (35, n. 5, sans les étudier de près) les passages de Diodore et de Nepos à l'appui de sa thèse. Mais, les bases mêmes du raisonnement de Junge sont devenues obsolètes.[24] Il se fondait principalement en effet sur la présence des reliefs d'audience dans la Trésorerie de Persépolis, jugeant que la disposition, en un tel lieu, de ces reliefs représentant le *hazarapatiš*[25] était une indication de premier plan sur les fonctions du personnage (p.26-29). Mais, depuis les recherches d'A.B. et G. Tilia (cf. Tilia 1977; Shahbazi 1976b), on sait que ces reliefs ont été déplacés (très probablement par Artaxerxès I) et qu'ils étaient disposés à l'origine au centre des façades N.E. et E. de l'escalier de l'Apadana. Dès lors, toutes les hypothèses de Junge sur le rôle prééminent du chiliarque dans l'administration de la chancellerie, des finances et de l'armée doivent être abandonnées sans réserve aucune.

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[19] Cette traduction me semble être plus rigoureuse (car plus neutre) que celle de «second personnage de l'Etat» proposée par Goukowsky 1978a: 68 (*ad loc.*).

[20] Sur les problèmes posés par la carrière de Tithraustès, cf. Lewis 1977: 18, n. 95 (= p. 19).

[21] «[He] was the most powerful official at court.»

[22] «Supreme control over the entire state and all the civil servants»; cf. également p. 228: «The highest civil servant in the state.»

[23] Il continue cependant à qualifier le chiliarque de Grand Vizir (p. 17-18). Hinz (1969: 68) juge de son côté que Junge a été trop loin dans ses conclusions

[24] Voir Gabelmann 1984: 13 (et n. 40). Cook ne fait l'observation qu'en passant, et il continue de voir dans l'article de Junge une «étude fondamentale.» Il écrit cependant: «But he

3.4. Pour progresser, il reste simplement la dénomination de «chef des mille» et l'examen du rôle des chiliarques en situation. Parlant de la demande d'audience présentée par Conon, Nepos écrit que «selon l'usage des Perses» (*ex more Persarum*), il se rendit d'abord auprès du chiliarque Tithraustès. Il lui exposa son désir d'entretenir le Grand Roi «Personne ne peut sans cela être introduit» (3.2-3). Puis, il rapporte une conversation entre Tithraustès et Conon: le premier rappela au second que l'audience royale requérait l'accomplissement de la proskynèse. Si Conon refusait, il pouvait faire passer un message au roi par Tithraustès lui-même, ce qui eut lieu (3.3-4). A propos d'une autre audience, cette fois demandée par le Thébain Isménias devant le même Tithraustès, Elien (*VH* I 21) rapporte une anecdote identique, en précisant lui aussi que «le chiliarque était chargé d'annoncer au roi les ambassadeurs et de les introduire.» A la différence de Conon, Isménias repoussa l'offre de Tithraustès de transmettre son message, et accepta (non sans ruser!) d'accomplir la proskynèse. On retrouve très exactement le même processus dans le récit de Plutarque (*Thém.* 27.2-7) sur l'arrivée de l'Athénien à la cour, où le chiliarque Artaban lui tint le même langage que Tithraustès tint à Conon et à Isménias.[26]

On rappellera à ce propos que sous le mot *azarapateis* Hésychius donne la définition suivante: «Ce sont les introducteurs (*eisaggeleis*) chez les Perses.» Cette fonction d'introducteur paraît donc bien attestée.[27] Disons plus précisément chef du service de l'audience royale, qui avait sous ses ordres un

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[Junge] was probably right in seeing the *hazarapatish* as potentially (and often in practice) the most important person at court after the King from an early stage in the history of the Empire.» Cook ne semble pas s'apercevoir de la contradiction fondamentale de ses propos. Cet exemple montre une nouvelle fois la prégnance et la permanence de l'autorité de certaines interprétations une fois pour toutes qualifiées de «fondamentales.» Il est extrêmement regrettable qu'aucun historien récent n'ait tenu compte du scepticisme lucide de Lewis 1977: 15, n. 71 et 18, n. 93.

[25] S'il s'agit bien de lui! (voir ci-dessous n. 34).

[26] Cf. Philostrate *Vie Apoll.* I 27 (où l'introducteur est simplement qualifié de «satrape»).

[27] Voir les réserves de Lewis 1977: 18-19 (note)

personnel nombreux.[28] C'est la raison pour laquelle, depuis longtemps (cf. Justi 1896), on admet généralement que le chiliarque est représenté sur certaines scènes d'audience de Persépolis (Junge 1940).[29] On juge en même temps que c'est très probablement à cette fonction de surveillance et de filtrage des entrées à la cour que s'attache le titre «chef des mille.» Le titre même de chiliarque est banal dans l'organisation achéménide. On pense d'une manière générale que le chiliarque aulique commandait le corps des 1000 mélophores, eux-mêmes issus des 10.000 Immortels — gardes que l'on voit figurer à Suse et à Persépolis.[30] Il avait donc en charge la protection rapprochée du Roi (cf. Diodore XI 69: Artaban commandant des doryphores).[31]

3.5. A ma connaissance, seuls neuf personnages sont désignés expressément sous ce titre:

* Rhanosbatès accompagne Darius I dans sa campagne contre les Scythes (Polyen VII 12)
* Clément d'Alexandrie cite un nommé Orontopatès dans une position analogue (FGrH 3 F174)
* Eschyle (*Perses* 304) se réfère au chiliarque Dadakès (en citant également Artembarès «chef des 10.000 cavaliers»)
* Artaban est chiliarque à la cour d'Artaxerxès I (Plutarque *Alc.* 27,2); il est le chef des gardes du palais et présenté comme «le plus influent en pouvoir» (Diodore XI.69.1)
* Plutarque (*Thém.* 29,2) met en scène un deuxième chiliarque, Roxanès, à la cour d'Artaxerxès I
* Menostanès est *azabaritēs* (*=hazarapatiš*) à la cour de Sogdianos (Ctésias 46)
* Tithraustès est cité à deux reprises dans cette fonction à la cour d'Artaxerxès II (Nepos *Conon* 3.2; Elien *VH* I,21)
* Bagoas est désigné par Diodore (XVII 3,3) comme un eunuque et le chiliarque (*ho chiliarchos*), responsable de l'assassinat d'Artaxerxès III. Le même auteur le qualifie de «plus fidèle des amis» d'Artaxerxès III lors de la reconquête

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[28] Cf. par exemple «les chargés des portes» (Hdt III 77), distincts de l'introducteur (*eisaggeleus*; I 84,118)

[29] Mais voir opinion différente de Hinz (1969: 63sqq.): cf. n. 34.

[30] Sur les *doryphoroi*/*mēlophoroi*, voir surtout Héraclide de Cumes, *ap.* Athénée XII 514b. Hesychius (s.v.) définit ainsi leur rôle: *therapeia persikē tou basileōs*. L'un des chiliarques, Artaban, est mis en rapport direct avec les *doryphoroi* du palais (Diodore XI 69,1).

[31] Lewis (1977: 17 et n. 91) juge qu'à l'époque de Darius III, le chiliarque (Nabarzanès) commande le corps de cavaliers des Parents du Roi, mais il n'y a rien de tel dans les passages d'Arrien amenés à l'appui (III 21,1 et 23,4; cf. note suivante) — sauf à postuler que les cavaliers qui accompagnent Nabarzanès sont les *melophoroi*, qui entouraient Darius lors de la bataille de Gaugamèles (III 13,1). Mais, même dans ce cas, cela n'implique pas que Nabarzanès (non cité dans l'ordre de bataille perse) en avait régulièrement le commandement.

de l'Egypte en 343 (XVI 47,3; cf.4): il commande à cette date une des divisions de l'armée, avant de recevoir le commandement des Hautes-Satrapies (50,8)
* enfin, Nabarzanès détenait le titre sous Darius III[32]

La plupart de ces chiliarques n'est donc connue que par des allusions, et l'historicité de certains d'entre eux peut être sérieusement mise en doute. La liste peut être allongée si l'on admet — avec Junge et ses épigones — que portaient le titre de chiliarque tous ceux que l'on voit remplir des fonctions attribuées habituellement au chiliarque. D'autres «introducteurs» sont connus par les sources classiques, tout particulièrement Préxaspes auprès de Cambyse (Hdt III 34: *tas aggelias esephoree*) et Aristozanès auprès d'Artaxerxès III (Diodore XVI 47,1: *eisanggeleus*). On en conclut habituellement que l'un et l'autre étaient chiliarques (Junge 1940:19), mais la démonstration reste à faire.[33] A la cour d'Astyage, c'est l'échanson royal Sakas qui remplit ce rôle (Xénophon *Cyr.* I 3,8): «Il avait pour fonction d'introduire ceux qui demandaient une audience à Astyage et d'éloigner ceux qu'il ne jugeait pas à propos de laisser entrer.»

3.6. Tout compte fait, il ne reste pratiquement rien dans la documentation existante pour faire du chiliarque un Grand Vizir, qui contrôlerait l'ensemble des appareils de l'Etat central. Nous sommes trop peu au fait de l'organisation de la cour centrale pour affirmer que le chiliarque était bien le plus haut personnage.[34] La seule fonction que l'on voit régulièrement[35] effectuée par le chiliarque est celle de contrôler les personnes qui demandent audience au Grand Roi, et, plus généralement sans doute, de maintenir l'ordre dans le palais, avec l'aide des 1000 mélophores de la garde royale. Certes, il s'agissait là d'une mission politiquement importante, puisqu'il laissait à son détenteur la possibilité théorique de refuser l'accès direct au roi, ou au contraire d'organiser un complot contre lui. Certes, le chiliarque était sans aucun doute un personnage important: dans le cas contraire, on ne comprendrait pas qu'Alexandre ait donné le titre à Hephestion. Mais, on ne voit pas que sa fonction ait pu lui conférer, à elle seule, la place pré-éminente à la cour. Si certains chiliarques sont devenus les personnes les plus écoutées du Grand Roi, cette faveur royale n'a jamais été limitée aux chiliarques.

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[32] Arrien (III 21,1) le qualifie (après Gaugamèles) de «chiliarque des cavaliers qui se sont enfuis avec Darius.» En revanche, en III 23,4 il reçoit le titre de *chiliarchos tou Dareiou*. Berve no. 543) et Bosworth (1988: 341-342) jugent que le deuxième titre est le seul valable.

[33] Cf. Lewis 1977: 19 à propos d'Aristozanès. A propos de Prexaspes, considéré comme un chiliarque par Junge (1940: 27, n. 1), on remarquera que son titre de «porteur de messages» n'est pas identique à celui d'«introducteur»: cf. Hdt. III 77 où les porteurs de messages sont des eunuques (également Xénophon *Cyr.* VII 5,60-65). Dans Hérodote III 140, ce sont les *pyloroi* qui transmettent au roi la requête de Syloson et qui lui portent le message royal.

[34] On doit se demander s'il est bien légitime d'utiliser uniquement le singulier. On rappellera d'une part (cf. 3.4.) que deux chiliarques sont connus au début du règne d'Artaxerxès (Artaban et Rhoxanès), d'autre part qu'Hesychius, pour définir la fonction, emploie le pluriel (*azarapateis*), comme s'il se référait à un corps de chiliarques (cf. Lewis 1977: 17, n. 84). Pour Justi (1896: 660), il allait de soi qu'il y avait plusieurs chiliarques à la cour perse. C'est également la thèse de Hinz (1969: 66-68), selon lequel d'une part le personnage des reliefs d'audience n'est pas le chiliarque proprement dit mais le Maréchal de la cour, auquel sont soumis plusieurs groupes de porteurs de bâtons (*skēptouchoi*), d'autre part que les (neuf autres) chiliarques de la cour étaient sous la direction du *hazarapatiš* proprement dit, à savoir le commandant de la garde royale. Mais, l'identification du chiliarque à un *Hofmarschall* (le Parnaka des *PFT*) par Hinz soulève également des difficultés, justement mises en évidence par Lewis (1977: 8-9).

[35] Mais, Lewis (1977: 18-19, note) remarque justement que la ressemblance entre les trois anecdotes rapportées par Plutarque, Nepos et Elien est suspecte, et laisse supposer qu'elles proviennent d'un modèle unique.

Les exemples de Rhanosbatès et d'Orontopatès auprès de Darius I, de Dadakès[36] près de Xerxès, d'Aristozanès (qualifié d'*eisaggeleus*) auprès d'Artaxerxès III et de Nabarzanès auprès de Darius III montrent que cette fonction était liée à la personne physique du roi: les chiliarques devaient donc accompagner le roi dans tous ses déplacements (y compris dans les campagnes militaires), au cours desquels, on le sait, le cérémonial aulique était appliqué avec la même rigueur que dans les palais (Briant 1988b). On soulignera également qu'Aristazanès et Nabarzanès commandent réellement un corps de troupes.

3.7. Il est temps d'en revenir au passage de Diodore, dont je suis parti. Il n'y a aucune raison de douter que le titre de chiliarque a été repris par Alexandre aux Achéménides. Il faut en même temps le replacer dans son contexte. On ne sait pratiquement rien des prérogatives que ce titre conférait à Hephestion.[37] Mais, en écrivant que, «par la suite, Alexandre le dota à son tour de vastes pouvoirs et de grands honneurs, quand il devint un admirateur des autres coutumes perses,» Diodore (XVIII 48,4) exprime que la stature politique d'Hephestion auprès d'Alexandre était supérieure à celle des chiliarques achéménides auprès du Grand Roi. On sait qu'Hephestion conserva, en même temps, sa fonction de commandement en chef de la cavalerie: c'est à dire la chiliarchie équestre, distincte de la chiliarchie aulique (Goukowsky 1978: 177-178). Il s'agissait donc surtout pour Alexandre de donner une place d'honneur à Hephestion, auquel il était lié intimement depuis leur jeunesse. Aucun titre équivalent n'existant à la cour macédonienne, il était logique de reprendre le titre achéménide de chiliarque, surtout à un moment où le roi entendait accélérer la mise en œuvre de sa politique iranienne (cf. Plutarque *Alex.* 47,9). En d'autres termes, Hephestion ne tenait pas son influence de son titre de chiliarque; c'est bien plutôt à son influence qu'il dut de recevoir le titre. Tout aussi bien, à la mort d'Hephestion, aucun autre compagnon d'Alexandre ne reçut le titre.

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[36] Si on veut bien les considérer comme des personnages historiques! On notera que l'anecdote mettant en scène le chiliarque Rhanosbastès (Polyen VII 12) est un décalque d'un passage d'Hérodote portant sur Zopyros (III 154). Le fait que l'anthroponyme Dadakès soit iranien (Schmitt 1978: 37) ne prouve pas que le personnage d'Eschyle soit historique.

[37] Plutarque (*Alex.* 47,9) écrit: «Alexandre se servait d'Hephestion pour communiquer avec les Barbares, et de Cratère pour les relations avec les Grecs et les Macédoniens». Cette remarque n'implique pas qu'il a repris la charge d'*eisanggeleus*, qui est une charge distincte à la cour d'Alexandre.

Dans un contexte tout à fait particulier, Perdiccas reprit en 323 le titre de chiliarque (Arrien *Succ. FGrH* 156 F1.3; Dexippe, *FGrH* 100 F8.4), tandis que Séleucos recevait le titre et la fonction d'hipparque des compagnons (Diodore XVIII 3,4), qui correspondait à la chiliarchie équestre d'Hephestion. Junge (1940: 36,n.1) ne manque pas de considérer Perdiccas comme l'héritier direct des chiliarques achéménides. Mais, les conditions sont tellement extraordinaires que le rapprochement ne tient pas.[38] Le titre de chiliarque disparaît lors du partage de Triparadeisos, Antipater s'arrogeant le titre d'épimélète, d'origine macédonienne (Hammond 1988). Sa réapparition en 319 se fait dans des conditions spéciales. L'essentiel des pouvoirs est confié par Antipater à Polyperchon, qui reçoit les charges d'épimélète des rois et de stratège avec pleins pouvoirs. Le titre de chiliarque conféré à Cassandre était purement honorifique — ce que comprit immédiatement Cassandre (Diodore XVIII 49,1-3).

En définitive, les résultats de l'enquête sur cet aspect particulier des continuités/ruptures sont plutôt décevants. La raison en est que l'institution achéménide elle-même reste peu documentée et donc mal connue. Le texte de Diodore a été utilisé à la fois pour grossir le dossier achéménide et pour nourrir la réflexion sur les continuités achéménido-hellénistiques. Une telle confusion méthodologique ne peut que mener à des errements. Le texte de Diodore, en réalité, ne permet pas d'induire en toute certitude que le chiliarque jouait à la cour perse le rôle prééminent d'un Grand Vizir: mieux vaudrait, en conséquence, abandonner cette terminologie.

4. *Les pages royaux macédoniens*

4.1. L'autre question que l'on est en droit de se poser, c'est de savoir si les rois macédoniens ont emprunté des institutions achéménides avant même l'expédition menée par Alexandre. Une réponse positive à cette question a été donnée par D. Kienast dans un livre (1973) précisément consacré aux emprunts achéménides systématiquement opérés par Philippe II. Outre le système de la satrapie appliqué en Thrace (Kienast 1973: 12-15), l'auteur met en exergue l'organisation aulique mise en place par le père d'Alexandre, qu'il s'agisse de la chancellerie royale (*ibid.*: 15-19) ou de l'institution des Gardes du corps et des Amis (*ibid.*: 19-20). De son point de vue, la marque la plus nette de ces influences achéménides est révélée par l'institution des pages royaux (*basilikoi paides*). Il s'appuie essentiellement sur un passage d'Arrien (IV.13.1), qui se place au moment de l'affaire de Callisthène et de ce qu'on appelle la «conspiration des pages» (IV 13-14,1):

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[38] Junge compare le rôle de Perdiccas auprès des rois avec le rôle joué, selon lui, par le chiliarque lors de la succession de Darius; mais, les hypothèses qu'il présente à ce sujet (p. 27, n. 1) sont sans valeur.

> C'était la coutume, déjà du temps de Philippe, que les enfants (*paides*) des Macédoniens haut placés qui avaient atteint l'âge de l'adolescence, fussent enrôlés au service du roi (*therapeia tou basileōs*): ils devaient servir le roi dans les soins quotidiens de sa personne et, en particulier, c'est à eux qu'incombait le soin de veiller sur son sommeil. Et, quand le roi partait à cheval, les pages recevaient les chevaux des mains des palefreniers, les amenaient au roi et l'aidaient à monter à cheval à la manière perse (*kai aneballon houtoi basilea ton persikon tropon*). Ils se retrouvaient aussi avec le roi dans la rivalité de la chasse.

De son côté, Quinte-Curce fait allusion deux fois à l'institution. Il précise d'abord que parmi les renforts amenés par Amyntas, fils d'Androménos, à Alexandre alors à Babylone, se trouvaient cinquante jeunes gens, de la haute noblesse macédonienne, pour servir de gardes du corps (*ad custodiam corporis*).[39] Car ce sont eux qui font le service du roi à table, présentent les chevaux à ceux qui vont au combat, et escortent les chasseurs; ils prennent la garde devant la porte de la chambre; c'est une pépinière de préfets et de généraux de valeur, et ils font là leur école» (*haec incrementa sunt et rudimenta*; V 1,42). Il y revient dans son récit de la «conspiration des pages»:

> C'était, comme nous l'avons dit ci-dessus, une coutume de l'aristocratie macédonienne de remettre au roi ses fils au moment de leur formation (*adultos liberos egibus tradere*), pour des fonctions assez peu dissemblables de ce que les esclaves ont à faire. Ils montaient la garde, la nuit, par roulement, à la porte de la demeure où le roi reposait; c'est eux qui introduisaient les concubines par une autre entrée que celle où se trouvait le poste militaire. Ils recevaient les chevaux des mains des palefreniers et les approchaient du roi quand il allait monter (*cum rex ascensurus esset*); ils l'accompagnaient aussi à la chasse, au combat, car ils possédaient à fond tous les arts de la cavalerie. On considérait comme leur privilège essentiel le droit de manger, assis, avec le roi. Lui seul, il avait le pouvoir d'user contre eux des châtiments physiques. Leur corps a constitué, chez les Macédoniens, une sorte de pépinière d'officiers et de préfets; de là provinrent plus tard ces rois, dont la descendance, bien des années après, disparut devant la puissance de Rome (VIII 6,2-6).

4.2. L'institution, on le sait, ne disparut pas avec Alexandre. On apprend en effet, par Diodore (XIX 52,4), qu'en 316 Cassandre prit des mesures contre le jeune Alexandre IV enfermé avec sa mère Roxane dans la citadelle d'Amphipolis: «Il retira également à l'enfant les pages qui étaient élevés avec lui selon la coutume (*tous eiōthotas paidas suntrephestai*) et ordonna que son éducation ne fût plus celle d'un roi mais celle de n'importe qui (*kai tēn agōgēn ouketi basilikēn, all'idiōtou*).[40] On connaît ultérieurement l'existence des pages à la cour de Philippe V (Tite-Live XXXIX 25,8) et à la cour de Persée (Tite-Live 45,6; cf. Hammond 1988: 566). La présence de pages auprès des diadoques est également documentée (cf. Hammond 1988: 195, n. 2). Lors de la bataille de Gabiène (316), Eumène disposait de «deux escadrons de pages, composés chacun de cinquante soldats» (Diodore XIX 29,3; cf. Polyen IV 8,4). On les voit également auprès de Séleucos, dans l'entourage duquel ils sont cités avec les amis du successeur (XIX 90,1; 91,4). Par Tite-Live (VIII 24,12), on sait également que l'institution a été reprise à la cour épirote, sans nul doute sur le modèle macédonien. Enfin l'existence d'un corps de pages (six cents à l'époque d'Antiochos IV) est attestée à la cour des Séleucides (Bickerman 1938: 38).

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[39] Cf. Diodore XVII 65,1: «Cinquante fils d'amis du roi, envoyés par leurs pères pour servir de gardes du corps» (*pros tēn sōmatophylakian*).

Sur l'institution elle-même, les renseignements des différents auteurs sont convergents sur l'essentiel. Les pages sont des adolescents,[41] envoyés à la cour par les grandes familles de l'aristocratie macédonienne. Ils y sont élevés et entraînés, en particulier dans l'art équestre. Ils sont tout dévoués au roi, qui a tout pouvoir sur eux,[42] et qui leur confère des privilèges (manger assis avec lui). Ils sont voués au service rapprochés du roi, sur la personne de laquelle ils doivent veiller en permanence.[43] Parmi leurs tâches, figure celle de prendre soin des chevaux royaux (cf. Diodore XVII 76,5), et plus particulièrement de hisser le roi sur son cheval. Ils prennent part également aux chasses royales et aux combats menés par le roi. La continuité de l'institution en Macédoine hellénistique, chez les Diadoques et chez les Séleucides pose tout naturellement la question de l'origine de l'institution. S'agit-il bien d'une institution d'origine achéménide copiée par Philippe II, comme le veut Kienast?[44]

4.3. Sur ce point[45], on doit bien reconnaître que la démonstration du savant allemand est à la fois très allusive et fort peu convaincante. Elle paraît surtout conduite par l'esprit de système. Contrairement à ce qu'il affirme, l'expression utilisée par Arrien (*ton persikon tropon*) ne prouve pas que le corps des pages a été emprunté par Philippe à la cour achéménide. Dans certains contextes, l'expression peut effectivement se référer à l'emprunt du mode de vie perse par les Macédoniens (cf. Arrien VI 29,2: Peukestas; VII 4,7: mariages de Suse). Mais, ici, la référence perse ne joue que sur une des tâches dévolues aux pages: «aider le roi à monter à cheval» (*aneballon*; cf. Quinte-Curce: *cum rex ascensurus esset*). Chez les Perses, le poids de l'armure et des armes et l'absence d'étriers imposaient que le cavalier reçût une aide pour se hisser sur son cheval (cf. Héliodore IX 15)[46]. On sait qu'un des privilèges reconnu à Tiribaze était que «nul autre que lui n'aidait Artaxerxès [II] à monter à cheval» (Xénophon *Anab.* IV 4,4: *epi ton hippon aneballen*). Il suffit de lire les traités équestres de Xénophon pour se rendre compte que l'expression *ton tropon persikon* était devenue une expression technique chez les cavaliers grecs: «Il est bon que le palefrenier sache mettre le cavalier à cheval à la perse» (*Eq.* 6,12; cf. *Hip.* 1,17), tandis que des textes postérieurs montrent que l'expression a gardé sa valeur technique jusqu'à l'époque romaine (Vigneron 1968: 90-91).

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[40] Sur le passage de Diodore, voir les remarques critiques de Hammond 1988: 135, n. 1.

[41] De 14 à 18 ans selon Hammond 1988: 371, n. 2.

[42] Voir également Elien *VH* XIX 49 et Val.Max.III 3.

[43] Cf. également Tite-Live 45,6: «On appelait pages royaux (*pueri regii*) en Macédoine les enfants des nobles choisis pour assurer le service du souverain (*ad ministerium electi regis*),» Val.Max.III 3: (*nobilissimi pueri*), et Elien, *loc.cit.*: «Philippe prenait à son service (*therapeia*) les enfants des Macédoniens les plus distingués» (*dokimōtatoi*).

[44] J'avais cru devoir suivre cette interprétation dans une étude antérieure (Briant 1987b: 3 et 6).

[45] Je tiens néanmoins à préciser que, de mon point de vue, cette piste de recherche reste du plus haut intérêt. (Je reviens sur ce point dans Briant 1991a).

Il en était de même dans la cavalerie macédonienne. D'ailleurs la présence d'écuyers (*anaboleus/-eis*) est assuré auprès d'Alexandre par Arrien (I 15,6). Lors de la bataille du Granique, Arrien fait référence à Arétès, auquel le roi demande une lance de rechange; le personnage est présenté comme «l'un des écuyers royaux» (*anaboleus tōn basilikōn*), sans qu'Arrien précise s'il s'agit d'un page. Dans ces conditions on peut même considérer que l'expression utilisée par Arrien n'est pas spécifique du corps des pages. En tout état de cause, la filiation avec une institution achéménide perd toute réalité. Qui plus est, Kienast (qui ne se pose pas le problème) aurait été bien en peine de retrouver la moindre mention d'un tel corps à la cour achéménide, pour la bonne raison qu'il n'est attesté nulle part — sauf évidemment dans l'interprétation fautive qu'il présente du passage d'Arrien! Ajoutons enfin qu'il ne paraît pas fondé d'inscrire au compte de Philippe la création *ex nihilo* de ce corps des pages: il est infiniment plus probable que les pages royaux existaient en Macédoine bien avant Philippe II, et que celui-ci l'a plutôt réorganisé (Hammond 1979: 167, 168 n. 1; 401, n. 1).

4.4. A mon avis, les seules conclusions que l'historien peut tirer de l'analyse se situe non dans l'ordre de la filiation institutionnelle mais bien dans le domaine de l'histoire comparée. Des précisions apportées par Arrien et par Quinte-Curce, il apparaît en effet que le remodelage royal du corps des pages représente l'une des mesures prises par le roi pour s'assurer à la fois d'une «pépinière» de lieutenants dévoués dans l'armée et dans l'administration, et en même temps de la loyauté des grandes familles aristocratiques. Confiés au roi dès leur adolescence, les jeunes aristocrates constituaient en quelque sorte des otages (juste remarque de Kienast 1973: 266).

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[46] La démonstration est menée par Vigneron 1968: 89-93; cf. également Walser 1983, en particulier p. 17-18.

C'est là un problème structurel que les Achéménides avaient dû eux aussi affronter. A cette fin, les jeunes Perses de l'aristocratie étaient envoyés à la cour. Ils y étaient soumis, par classes d'âge, à une longue *agōgē*, au cours de laquelle ils étaient entraînés à devenir de parfaits soldats et des hommes tout dévoués à la dynastie. Le couronnement de ce dressage s'opérait au cours d'un rite de passage, selon un processus comparé par Arrien lui-même à l'*agōgē* spartiate (*RTP*: 449-451). Il s'agissait en quelque sorte, chez les Perses comme chez les Macédoniens, de transformer une noblesse clanique turbulente en une noblesse de cour entièrement dévouée aux intérêts de la monarchie. Dans les deux cas, l'*agōgē* «royale» était articulée sur de vieilles traditions familiales et claniques. Là s'arrête l'analogie. Il n'est pas question de corps des pages chez les Achéménides.

5. *Hermolaüs et Alexandre: traditions macédoniennes et traditions perses*

5.1. Allons plus loin. Il me semble qu'un ré-examen de la «conspiration des pages» témoigne surtout du heurt entre les traditions macédoniennes et les traditions perses. Selon Arrien (IV 13,2) et Quinte-Curce (VIII 6,7), l'origine de la conspiration remonte à un fait d'apparence mineure: au cours d'une chasse au sanglier, le jeune Hermolaüs («enfant de grande famille qui appartenait au corps des pages») tua la bête qui chargeait le roi, qui avait l'intention de le tuer. «Mais, Alexandre, qui avait été le moins rapide, en voulut à Hermolaos: en proie à la colère, il le fit passer par les verges sous les yeux des autres pages, et il le priva de son cheval» (Arrien). Poussé par une extrême colère, Hermolaüs se confia à son éraste Sostratos. Les deux jeunes gens s'adjoignirent cinq autres pages, et s'engagèrent tous ensemble à tuer Alexandre. Dénoncés par l'un des leurs, ils furent mis à la torture, avouèrent leur forfait et furent passés par les armes (Arrien IV 13,3-7; Quinte-Curce VIII 6,7).

Depuis longtemps, un débat s'est instauré entre les historiens pour déterminer si Hermolaüs et ses compagnons se sont rebellés pour des raisons purement personnelles, où s'ils agirent en accord avec Callisthène (cf. Seibert 1972: 143-144, 285; Hamilton 1969: 154-155). Les auteurs anciens développaient eux-mêmes des vues contradictoires sur le sujet (cf. Plutarque *Alex.* 55). La thèse du complot avec Callisthène était développée par Ptolémée et Aristobule, en opposition avec bien d'autres historiens de la cour (Arrien IV 14,1). Les propos prêtés à Hermolaüs indiquent que son action était fondée sur des bases politiques: il entendait en effet libérer les Macédoniens d'un despote qui, pour se poser en nouveau Grand Roi, n'avait pas hésité à mettre à mort des hommes aussi respectés que Cleitos, Philotas et Parménion (Arrien IV 14,2; Quinte-Curce VIII 7).

5.2.

5.2.1. Plutôt que de centrer la discussion sur les rapports supposés entre les pages et Callisthène, il me paraît préférable de replacer l'épisode dans son contexte macédonien et perse. Remarquons d'abord en passant que la punition infligée par le roi à Hermolaüs ne présentait pas de caractère exceptionnel, puisque «le roi, seul, avait le pouvoir d'user de châtiments physiques contre les pages» (Quinte-Curce VIII 6,5). Et, Elien (XIV 49) et Valère Maxime (III 3) rendent compte, l'un et l'autre, que les pages devaient obéir *perinde ac cadaver*: «Philippe ... voulait les accoutumer à se trouver toujours prêts à faire ce qu'on exigeait d'eux,» écrit le premier[47]. Si donc Hermolaüs «fut ulcéré par la violence qui lui était faite» (Arrien IV 13,3), c'est bien plutôt en raison du jugement porté par Alexandre sur sa conduite lors de la chasse. Pour saisir parfaitement ce point, il convient de faire un nouveau détour par les institutions macédoniennes et leurs rapports avec les pratiques perses.

Tout d'abord, on rapprochera le dénouement de cette chasse de l'issue d'une autre chasse qui eut lieu en Sogdiane (Quinte-Curce VIII 1,1-18), peu avant l'affaire de Cleitos (cf. VIII 1,19-51). Au cours de cette chasse, organisée dans un paradis, «un lion, d'une taille peu commune, se précipitait pour assaillir le roi en personne, lorsque le voisin immédiat d'Alexandre, Lysimaque — qui devint roi plus tard — se mit, avec un épieu, à faire face à la bête; mais le roi le repoussa, avec ordre de partir, et il ajouta qu'à lui seul il était aussi capable que Lysimaque de tuer un lion» (VIII 1,14). A ce point, Quinte-Curce fait référence à une chasse qui s'était déroulée antérieurement en Syrie, au cours de laquelle, «Lysimaque avait tué seul, un fauve d'une taille vraiment extraordinaire» (VIII 1,15).

Ces textes de l'époque d'Alexandre font eux-mêmes irrésistiblement penser à des textes d'époque achéménide[48]. C'est d'abord un passage de Ctésias (*Persika* 40) inséré dans un long développement portant sur la «geste héroïque» de Mégabyze: «Le roi [Artaxerxès I] part à la chasse et un lion l'attaque. Tandis que le fauve s'élance, Mégabyze le frappe d'un javelot et l'abat. Colère du roi parce que Mégabyze a frappé la bête avant qu'il l'ait touchée lui-même; il donne ordre qu'on coupe la tête de Mégabyze.» A l'inverse, Tiribaze pouvait se flatter de l'amitié intime d'Artaxerxès II. Il l'avait acquise en raison d'un service éminent qu'il avait rendu au roi: «Lors d'une chasse, deux lions s'étaient précipités sur le roi qui était monté sur un char; ils avaient mis en pièce deux chevaux du quadrige et allaient se jeter sur la personne même du roi, quand Tiribaze était arrivé, avait tué les lions et sauvé ainsi le roi d'un grand danger» (Diodore XV 10,3).

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[47] Elien rapporte qu'un page, Aristonète, fut battu de verges parce que, «pressé par la soif, il avait quitté son rang et s'était écarté du chemin pour entrer dans une hôtellerie»; quant à un autre page de Philippe II, Archédamos, il «fut puni de mort, car il s'était dépouillé de ses armes pour courir au butin, malgré la défense qui en était faite. Il croyait s'être acquis, par sa souplesse et ses flatteries, assez d'empire sur l'esprit de Philippe pour ne pas craindre d'être puni.» Quant à Valère Maxime, comme exemple d'obéissance totale, il cite le cas d'un page d'Alexandre, qui, lors d'un sacrifice, reçut un charbon ardent sur le corps et qui préféra souffrir en silence, alors même qu'Alexandre prolongea intentionnellement la durée de la cérémonie, pour le mettre à l'épreuve: exemple dédié par Valère Maxime à Darius III qui, s'il en avait été le témoin, aurait pu conclure qu'il était impossible de vaincre de tels hommes!

[48] Le rapprochement est également noté par Knauth & Najmabadi 1975: 116-117, mais les auteurs n'en tirent aucune inférence historique particulière.

5.2.2. Malgré les apparences, les deux textes ne sont pas nécessairement contradictoires[49]. L'un et l'autre donnent des indications complémentaires sur l'idéologie du roi-chasseur chez les Achéménides. D'une part, en règle générale, il convient de laisser le roi faire la démonstration de sa supériorité en tout, en particulier à la chasse. C'est là un thème privilégié de l'idéologie monarchique du Proche-Orient que l'on retrouve sous l'empire romain et à Byzance (Aymard 1951:416-419). En tuant le lion, le roi exalte sa valeur de de guerrier-chasseur et justifie son pouvoir. Tel est le sens également des paroles d'un ambassadeur laconien face à Alexandre qui vient d'abattre un fauve: «Tu as bien combattu contre la bête, Alexandre, pour décider qui serait roi» (Plutarque *Alex.* 40,4).

En tuant le lion avant Artaxerxès, Mégabyze a donc, en quelque sorte, mis en doute les qualités physiques — que le Grand Roi présente comme spécifiquement royales (cf. DNb 32-45 = XPl 36-5P). Mais, en même temps, dès que la vie du roi est menacée, il est du devoir de ceux qui l'accompagnent de se porter à son secours: le premier de ceux qui se précipitent à son aide a toute chance d'être considéré comme un bienfaiteur royal (cf. Xénophon *Anab.* I 9,6): d'où la promotion de Tiribaze.

5.2.3. Il paraît donc évident que lors des chasses royales organisées au Moyen-Orient, Alexandre a repris entièrement les coutumes de cour achéménide et l'idéologie monarchique qu'elles sous-tendent. On a là, à mon sens, l'illustration particulière d'une politique plus générale, c'est à dire sa politique iranienne, ou l'iranisation d'un Alexandre qui se conduit de plus en plus en Grand Roi. On peut supposer qu'il rompait ainsi avec les pratiques macédoniennes traditionnelles. C'est à celles-ci au contraire que fait allusion Quinte-Curce, en écrivant en conclusion de la chasse de Sogdiane: «Les Macédoniens, bien qu'Alexandre se fût heureusement tiré d'affaire, décrétèrent pourtant que, selon la coutume nationale (*gentis suae more*), le roi ne chasserait plus à pied ou sans une élite de nobles et d'amis» (VIII 1,18). Il est vrai que le Grand Roi était lui aussi accompagné de nobles et de favoris à la chasse. Mais, ce qu'on doit comprendre sous les mots de Quinte-Curce, c'est que les traditions macédoniennes ne reconnaissaient pas au roi le rôle exclusif qui était, en principe, celle du Grand Roi[50]. On peut supposer, sans grand risque de se tromper, que, comme sur le Sarcophage de Sidon, des nobles perses et iraniens accompagnaient désormais Alexandre et ses compagnons macédoniens à la chasse: ceux-ci devaient dès lors adopter les pratiques perses.[51]

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[49] Voir également ci-dessous Appendice.

Le contexte politico-institutionnel de la chasse royale peut sans doute permettre de mieux comprendre la réaction d'Hermolaüs et de ses compagnons. A propos des pages royaux, Arrien (IV 13,1) précise en effet «qu'ils se retrouvaient aussi avec le roi dans la rivalité de la chasse» (*tēs epi thēra philotimias basilei koinōnoi*). Ils ne font donc pas qu'accompagner ou escorter les chasseurs (Quinte-Curce V 1,42; VIII 6,4: *comitantur*). En d'autres termes, ils peuvent également tirer le gibier. Pour mieux comprendre le passage d'Arrien, on peut le rapprocher d'un passage de la *Cyropédie* (I 4,14), où le jeune Cyrus s'oppose à Astyage qui veut le laisser tirer seul selon la coutume royale (*basilikōs*). Il demande au contraire que «tous ses camarades poursuivent le gibier et rivalisent (*diagōnizesthai*) de leur mieux.» L'emprunt de la coutume royale achéménide heurta de front les jeunes compagnons d'Alexandre, habitués à une étiquette macédonienne moins contraignante, qui relevait plus de l'*agōn* que de l'*archē*. C'est là une opposition que l'on retrouve exprimée par Cleitos et par Callisthène.

5.3. Un autre élément du récit doit être relevé, car il offre une clef supplémentaire. C'est que la chasse au cours de laquelle se distingua Hermolaüs est une chasse au sanglier. Or, il s'agit là d'un type de chasse typique de la Macédoine, non du Moyen-Orient, où la chasse royale est prioritairement la chasse au lion — du moins dans les représentations qu'entend en donner l'art aulique (cf. Briant 1991a). Parmi les témoignages, on retiendra en particulier celui d'Hégésandros, cité par Athénée (I 18a): «Il n'était pas d'usage en Macédoine qu'un homme mangeât couché à moins d'avoir servi un sanglier hors des filets; jusque là il mangeait assis.» Et il poursuivait: «C'est pourquoi Cassandre, à l'âge de trente cinq ans, dînait chez son père assis, parce qu'il ne pouvait venir à bout de cet exploit, quoique courageux par nature et bon chasseur.» Si l'on met à part la charge idéologique contre Cassandre (qui ne nous concerne pas ici)[52], on retiendra surtout l'existence d'une coutume macédonienne, dont on a toutes raisons de supposer qu'elle remonte à une haute antiquité. Il ne paraît guère douteux qu'elle était liée à une sorte de rite de passage de l'adolescence à l'âge adulte, au cours duquel le jeune homme devait faire la preuve de son courage et de sa détermination lors d'une chasse au sanglier, animal qu'il devait affronter sans utiliser les filets. Il s'agit en effet d'un authentique exploit, face à un animal considéré comme «noble»: d'une manière générale, en effet, cette chasse s'effectuait en groupe et les chasseurs étaient munis de filet (Aymard 1951: 299-318). A l'issue de cet exploit, le jeune est agrégé à la communauté: comme en Orient, le banquet couché, en Macédoine, apparaît comme un privilège princier (Dentzer 1982: 445).

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[50] Déjà noté par Vidal-Naquet 1984: 361: «Contre la chasse royale ... [les Macédoniens] rétablirent, voire élargirent, la règle aristocratique».

[51] Br. Tripodi (Messine) m'a fait cependant remarquer que l'expression utilisée par Quinte-Curce (*gentis suo more*) est d'interprétation ambigüe: la référence aux traditions macédoniennes joue peut-être uniquement sur le terme *sciuevere* («ils décidèrent, décrétèrent»). Selon cette interprétation, le texte ferait référence aux droits reconnus à l'Assemblée [quelle qu'en soit la nature], et non à l'étiquette aulique.

[52] Sur ce point, voir Errington 1983: 92-93 (qui prend une position hypercritique sur le passage d'Hégésandros). Sur le texte, voir également Briant 1991a.

Or, le lien entre l'institution des pages et celle des classes d'âge apparaît bien marqué. Quinte-Curce les caractérise comme des *adulti liberi*. Arrien (qui dépend manifestement de la même source) écrit de son côté: *es hēlikian emeirakisanto*, c'est à dire au moment où ils parvenaient à l'âge de l'adolescence. Il est probable qu'ils venaient alors de passer dans la dernière des classes d'âge, avant de franchir le dernier état qui leur permettrait d'accéder à la classe des adultes.[53] Il est également symptomatique que Quinte-Curce précise qu'ils mangeaient assis avec le roi. L'auteur latin présente le fait comme un privilège concédé par le roi. En réalité, ce privilège consistait seulement à manger avec le roi. En revanche, le texte d'Hégésandros permet de comprendre qu'ils n'étaient pas encore rangés parmi les compagnons adultes du roi, ses *hetairoi*.

Le passage d'Hégésandros permet donc, à mon sens, de comprendre la violence de la réaction du jeune Hermolaüs. Il est puni par Alexandre pour avoir tué, seul, un sanglier qui chargeait. C'est à dire qu'il vient d'accomplir très précisément l'exploit qui, normalement, lui permettait d'accéder au statut d'adulte,[54] c'est à dire au cercle des *hetairoi* du roi. Tout au contraire, il fut rétrogradé sous une forme particulièrement humiliante, puisqu'il fut battu de verges sous les yeux de ses camarades et se vit confisquer son cheval. Si cette interprétation est fondée, elle confirme le caractère de profonde rupture causée par l'adoption de l'étiquette achéménide à la cour d'Alexandre.[55] Et l'on comprend mieux alors les accusations lancées par Hermolaüs contre le roi, qui avait adopté le costume mède et voulu introduire la règle de la proskynèse (Arrien IV 14,2). Dans le discours que lui prête Quinte-Curce revient comme un leitmotiv la dénonciation de l'iranisation d'Alexandre (VIII 7): lorsque l'auteur latin fait dire à Hermolaüs qu'Alexandre a transformé «une royauté sur des hommes libres [en] un despotisme sur des esclaves» (VIII 7,1), on croit entendre Callisthène rappeler à Anaxarque que le roi macédonien, à la différence d'un Cambyse ou d'un Xerxès, doit exercer le pouvoir «non par la violence mais en conformité avec le *nomos*» (Arrien IV 11,6).[56]

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[53] Voir en particulier Sergent 1986: 202-205.

[54] Selon Quinte-Curce (VIII 6,25), après qu'Hermolaüs ait été châtié par Alexandre, Callisthène «les [Hermolaüs et ses compagnons] avait invités à se rappeler qu'ils étaient déjà des hommes» (*eos iam viros esse*). Vidal-Naquet (1984: 363) remarque à ce propos: «Il importe peu ici de savoir si Callisthène a tenu ces propos, mais il est clair que, dans ce récit, Alexandre est aux prises avec des chasseurs noirs et qui voudraient cesser de l'être.»

[55] Voir également Suidas, s.v. *Basileioi paides*: le titre est donnée par Alexandre à ces huit mille jeunes gens élevés en Egypte au métier des armes. Hammond (1988: 20, n. 1) compare ces «pages royaux» aux *epigonoi*, jeunes Iraniens entraînés à la macédonienne. L'extension du titre à des milliers de jeunes gens d'origine non-macédonienne rend compte en même temps d'une modification profonde de l'institution originelle: sur ce point cf. Hammond 1990: 277-280.

En guise de brève remarque terminale, je voudrais simplement rappeler une évidence méthodologique. Une analyse des continuités/ruptures entre les Achéménides et les royaumes hellénistiques ne peut être menée d'une manière raisonnée que si l'on maîtrise les deux versants de l'institution: macédonien et perse. Dans le cas contraire, on risque d'échaffauder des hypothèses fragiles.[57] La prudence s'impose en particulier dès lors qu'une institution perse n'est connue que par un texte hellénistique qui implique ou explicite une reprise par Alexandre et ses successeurs. Une reprise institutionnelle peut se faire parfois sans changement notable; elle peut donner lieu aussi à des «bricolages» significatifs; elle peut être également l'effet d'une simple illusion, créée par l'utilisation sans recul de sources de l'époque d'Alexandre et de l'époque des diadoques.

APPENDICE
SERVICE RENDU ET ÉTIQUETTE ROYALE

L'interprétation historique du rapprochement entre l'épisode de Mégabyze et celui de Tiribaze (p. 303f.) pose également quelques problèmes d'ordre institutionnel et nécessite donc quelques éclaircissements complémentaires sur les règles de l'étiquette royale. On sait en effet que le roi ne chassait pas seul; il est même probable que les parties de chasse entraînaient toute la cour.[58] Mais, seuls accompagnaient le roi à la battue proprement dite quelques compagnons et courtisans très proches. Il était entouré de ses plus proches compagnons et de nobles.[59] C'était manifestement un grand honneur que d'être admis comme compagnon de chasse du roi — ainsi qu'on le voit très clairement chez Plutarque à propos de Thémistocle (*Thém.* 29,6). Comme l'indiquent les exemples de Mégabyze et de Tiribaze, les chasses royales constituaient un lieu privilégié pour les nobles pour se distinguer sous le regard du roi, et donc une occasion exceptionnelle d'attirer la faveur royale, en contre-partie d'un service rendu au roi.[60]

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[56] Notons au passage le choix opéré par Callisthène/Arrien parmi les Grands Rois comme figures antithétiques du roi macédonien traditionnel: Cambyse et Xerxès, c'est à dire les rois qui, dans l'imaginaire grec, représentaient les despotes perses typiques: atteints de démesure dans tous leurs actes.

[57] Voir les justes remarques critiques de Kuhrt 1989a: 218 à propos des ressemblances (souvent postulées) entre le système tributaire perse et le système tributaire athénien.

[58] Voir Athénée XII 514c (le Grand Roi est accompagné de toute la cour, y compris par ses concubines: à rapprocher des coutumes indiennes, telles qu'elles sont rapportées par Strabon (XV 1,55) et Quinte-Curce (VIII 9,28)).

[59] Ctésias *Persika* 40, Elien *VH* VI 14 et Diodore XV 10,3.

Mais, rivaliser d'ardeur auprès du roi, c'était prendre également le risque de lui déplaire: Mégabyze en fit l'expérience cruelle. Avant de lancer un trait, le noble devait faire donc l'analyse de la situation. Il en était de même des courtisans qui, avant de donner un conseil, s'informaient préalablement des désirs du souverain.[61] Selon Elien, il existait même un règlement aulique strict en la matière.[62]

Il en était certainement de même des chasses royales. Il serait peu réaliste de penser, en effet, que les rapports entre les nobles et le roi n'étaient régis, à la chasse, que par l'implicite symbolique. Les droits et les devoirs de ces compagnons étaient réglés par une stricte étiquette royale. Plusieurs textes rendent clair en effet que les compagnons de chasse n'étaient pas autorisés à lancer leurs traits avant le roi. Xénophon attribue à Cyrus l'Ancien — alors à la cour d'Astyage — la liberté donnée à ses compagnons de «rivaliser» avec lui (*Cyr.* I 4,14), contre un règlement aulique rappelé par Astyage. D'autres textes font référence et à l'étiquette aulique et à sa modification: tout le problème est de dater les transformations apportées aux règles des chasses royales.

Dans les apophtegmes royaux, Plutarque attribue deux innovations à Artaxerxès, «le fils de Xerxès, surnommé Longuemain.» Ce roi, affirme-t-il, «fut le premier qui instituât comme châtiment pour ceux des «chefs» qui commettaient une faute qu'au lieu d'être fouettés sur leur corps et d'avoir les cheveux[63] arrachés ce fussent leurs habits, que l'on fouettât et leur tiare, déposée par eux, que l'on déchirât» (*Moralia* 173D-E; cf. *ibid.* 565A). Il précise également qu'Artaxerxès I fut «le premier à vouloir que ses compagnons de chasse (*sugkunegetountes*) qui étaient en mesure de le faire et qui en avaient le désir lançassent les premiers traits» (*Apopht.Regn.* Artaxerxès (I), 2 = *Moralia* 173D). Par ailleurs, dans la vie de Thémistocle (*Thém.* 29,5), Plutarque indique qu'au début de son règne (*en ekeinōi tōi chronōi* = arrivée de Thémistocle à la cour), Artaxerxès I introduisit de grandes innovations relatives à la cour et à ses amis (*pollōn de kainotomoumenōn peri tēn aulēn kai tous philous*). Plutarque ne donne pas de détails précis sur ces innovations. Il écrit simplement que les honneurs concédés à Thémistocle «excitèrent la jalousie des aristocrates (*dunatoi*) [perses],» et il explique: «Il est vrai que les honneurs dont Thémistocle était l'objet ne ressemblaient en rien à ceux que l'on rendait aux autres étrangers (*xenoi*). Il prenait part aux chasses du roi et aux divertissements du palais, si bien qu'il fut même admis chez la mère du roi et devint un de ses familiers ...» (26,6).

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[60] A la suite de Calmeyer (1979: 59), je note que, dans un fragment de Polybe (ed. Hultsch, IV F90), Polybe racontait l'origine de la division de la Cappadoce, en rapportant l'histoire d'un Perse (dont le nom est malheureusement perdu) qui, lors d'un chasse au lion conduite par Artaxerxès, avait sauvé la vie du roi, en tuant de son épée un lion qui se jetait sur le cheval royal. Pour le remercier, le roi lui donna en *dōrea* toute l'étendue de territoire qu'il pouvait embrasser en se postant en haut d'une montagne. Le texte pose un certain nombre de problèmes interprétatifs. Il se démarque nettement de la légende familiale de la famille d'Otanès qui «avait obtenu la souveraineté de la Cappadoce sans avoir à payer de tribut» (Diodore XXXI, *Exc. Photii*, p. 517-518); il s'agit évidemment de l'Otanès de 522 (cf. Hérodote III 83-4). On reconnait également dans l'histoire un motif bien connu de délimitation de territoires, aussi bien dans la tradition grecque (e.g. Polyen VI 24) que dans les traditions iraniennes (cf. Root 1989: 46; voir également *RTP*: 461-462). Quoi qu'il en soit, l'histoire rapportée par Polybe rend compte de la popularité du motif de l'aide apportée au roi dans le cadre de la chasse au lion.

[61] Voir par exemple Hérodote III 154 (Zopyros), IV 97 (Coès).

[62] Elien (*VH* XII 62) écrit: «Celui qui avait un conseil à donner au roi touchant certaines choses délicates dont il était défendu de parler, se plaçait sur une brique d'or (*chrusos plinthos*). Si le conseil était jugé bon et utile, la brique était sa récompense; mais, en même temps, il recevait des coups de fouet, pour avoir osé violer une défense du roi». [En passant, on peut se demander si c'est le même objet qu'il qualifie de «meule d'or» (*mulē chrusē*) que Ctésias désigne comme étant «le cadeau le plus marquant que fasse le roi chez les Perses» (*Persika* 22)? Mentionnons également qu'on a parfois rapproché la «brique d'or» d'Elien de l'objet sur lequel se tient le conseiller royal figuré sur le Vase de Darius (cf. Francis 1980: 85 [citant Brunn] et Villanueva-Puig 1989: 293)].

Il est évidemment tentant de considérer les deux passages comme complémentaires et d'attribuer à Artaxerxès I les modifications de l'étiquette cynégétique. Mais, à mon avis, la question est plus embrouillée qu'il n'y paraît, et cela pour plusieurs raisons:

1) Dans cette hypothèse, la conduite d'Artaxerxès I vis à vis de Mégabyze devient plus difficile à expliquer. On comprendrait mal que le roi ait reproché au fils de Zopyros d'avoir tué le lion, si ce même roi avait assoupli l'étiquette royale en la matière, au début de son règne. Il ne suffit pas de dire en effet qu'en réalité le roi pouvait faire ce qu'il voulait: pour des raisons politiques (ses rapports avec les aristocrates perses), il se devait de ne pas violer les réglementations qu'il avait lui-même édictées.[64]

2) Par ailleurs, Plutarque a pu établir une confusion entre Artaxerxès I et Artaxerxès II, même si, dans les *Apophtegmes*, les anecdotes relatives à chacun des deux rois sont distinguées (et séparées, dans le texte, par des propos et des mesures de Cyrus le Jeune). Parmi les faits mis sous le nom d'Artaxerxès I, figure en effet la punition infligée au camérier Satibarzanès, coupable d'avoir fait une intervention pour de l'argent (*Moralia* 173E). Or, on sait par

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[63] Il doit s'agir en fait de la perruque.

[64] Il est vrai, comme me le fait justement remarquer H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, que la constitution même de l'histoire de Mégabyze sous forme de «Novelle» n'implique pas nécessairement que la réaction d'Artaxerxès I se justifie par référence aux règles de l'étiquette aulique. Il y a manifestement dans toute cette histoire bien d'autres enjeux symboliques (cf. d'ailleurs ci-dessus p. 304). Mais, en même temps, il me paraît peu contestable que toute l'histoire s'inscrit dans un contexte politique et institutionnel, que les informations contradictoires de Plutarque invitent à éclaircir.

Ctésias (*Persika* 63) que cette histoire doit en réalité être datée du règne d'Artaxerxès II.

3) L'on sait également, par Plutarque lui-même (*Moralia* 173F; *Art.* 3,4; 5,5-6) qu'Artaxerxès II assouplit effectivement les règlements de l'étiquette aulique — en particulier les règles de l'audience. A mon sens, ces mesures doivent être replacées dans le contexte de l'opposition entre Artaxerxès et son frère Cyrus le Jeune, chacun tentant, de manière concurrente, d'attirer à lui l'alliance des dignitaires et des grandes familles (cf. e.g. Ctésias *Persika* 58; Xénophon *Anab.* I 6).

Dans ces conditions, on peut supposer que les innovations attribuées à Artaxerxès I, dans les *Moralia*, doivent en fait être inscrits au compte d'Artaxerxès II — ou, du moins, certaines de ces innovations. Quant aux innovations prêtées à Artaxerxès I dans la *Vie de Thémistocle*, elles semblent être essentiellement liées à l'introduction du Grec dans le cercle des favoris, et non à des modifications substantielles des règles de l'étiquette en matière de chasse. Il y a tout lieu de penser qu'à l'époque d'Artaxerxès I, les rigueurs de l'étiquette interdisaient à Mégabyze de frapper le lion avant le roi. En revanche, les modifications introduites par Artaxerxès II permettent de mieux comprendre les récompenses insignes qu'il conféra à Tiribaze, pour avoir tué les lions qui se précipitaient contre le char royal.

THE TRANSITION FROM ACHAEMENID TO SELEUCID RULE IN BABYLONIA: REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION?*

Amélie Kuhrt & Susan Sherwin-White — London

While enormous progress has been made within the last years in illuminating Achaemenid history and setting hellenistic history more firmly within its Middle Eastern context (the process of historiographical 'decolonisation' to use Briant's phrase (Briant 1990: 42), traditional historical perceptions, according to which Achaemenid history is 'eastern,' while 'Seleucid' is the preserve of the classical/western historian, have tended to continue among both classical and Near Eastern scholars — especially as they are built into university and school curricula and thus endorsed by academic structures. One of the most persistent and popular is the view of Alexander as the bringer of vast changes to the Middle Eastern world through his conquest of the Persian empire and its subsequent 'hellenisation': a process presented by one recent writer (Bengtson 1988) as an undeniable good[1] and, typically, one in which the Greeks (and thus 'Europe')[2] act to confer the attributes of their implicitly greater culture upon passive 'foreigners';[3] the approach is typical of the 'orientalist' style so brilliantly analysed by Said (1978). But while many would now feel uneasy with such a picture and deny the necessarily positive results of Alexander's conquest (e.g. Lane Fox 1973; Badian 1985; Bosworth 1988), it remains difficult to define when and what social, political and cultural transformations took place, as they certainly did, and how and within what contexts they might have been implemented. What we have tried to do in this paper is to use Babylonia, with its relative wealth of local documentation, as an example of how the transition from Achaemenid to Macedonian rule seems to have worked within a central area of the earlier Persian empire.

A. *Babylonia in the late Achaemenid period*

As far as is known, in the fourth century B.C., Babylonia, including the region of ancient Assyria, was a solidly integrated core part of the Persian

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[1] Bengtson 1988: 184: "Die hellenistische Weltkultur ist der antiken Menschheit zum Segen geworden."

[2] Cf. Bevan 1902, ch. 1, esp. pp. 18-20 who explicitly identifies the Macedonian conquest of the east with European imperialism.

[3] Clearly expressed by Bengtson 1988: 177, "die Griechen sind dabei die Gebenden, die fremden Völker die Nehmenden gewesen."

empire. Although the number of legal, economic and administrative documents from this period is not large (cf. Oelsner 1975-6; Kuhrt 1987a), there is no reason to assume that the system of land-grants carrying military obligations with it and inscribed in the royal registry (as known, above all, from the Murashu archives cf. Stolper 1985; van Driel 1989; also Stolper 1977; Ebeling 1952) did not continue to function; indeed, the detailed report by Arrian (III 11) of the disposition of the Persian forces at Gaugamela (drawn from Aristobulus, who is supposed to have derived it from Darius III's written orders captured after the battle) seems to show that the system worked efficiently at a time of general mobilisation (cf. also D.S. XIX 91,5; *RTP*: 45 n.2). Here one finds Babylonian and east Tigris troops listed together with descendants of Carian deportees (attested as holders of fiefs in the Murashu archives cf. Stolper 1985: 73). The fact that they are grouped together under one commander perhaps suggests that they represented a specifically northern Babylonian force, as opposed to the gulf troops (with three commanders) from the area further south. Precise evidence for socio-economic conditions in the territory north of Babylonia proper (the earlier Assyria) is almost nil. Sources suggesting that the Babylonian system of military land-holders was replicated in other parts of the Persian empire (e.g. Elephantine documents; cf. Briant 1986a), make it likely that a similar system must be presumed to have existed there, too, and that it was within this framework that the forces from 'the Mesopotamian and Syrian lowlands' (Arrian III 11), commanded by Mazaeus, were mobilised.

Apart from these smaller land-holders, tracts of land within the Babylonian satrapy, again as in other parts of the empire (Briant 1985), were held as gift-estates from the crown mainly by members of the Persian nobility and Achaemenid royal family. Arsames, with his estates in Babylonia and Egypt (Driver 1957/1965; Stolper 1985: 64-65), provides a striking example of one of these great Persian land-owners, the productive running of whose estates was in the hands of bailiffs and agricultural contractors, thus tying local peoples and commercial concerns into the business of helping to run and provision the empire (Whitehead 1974). That it was possible for Babylonian families to share to some degree in the higher levels of imperial administration is demonstrated by the case of the Babylonian, Belshunu (= Xenophon's Belesys), whose political career from sub-governor of Babylonia to satrap of 'Beyond the River' in the late fifth century has now been charted (Stolper 1987; 1990a). Although he remains at present an isolated example and the evidence overwhelmingly indicates that the plum posts of the imperial administration remained, down to the end of the empire, in the hands of a restricted group of Persian aristocrats, his case provides an indication that the Achaemenid empire was evolving to the point where the rulers, in certain circumstances, could and did recruit members of the subject population to positions of high authority.[4] Another way in which some members of Babylonian society seem to have been linked to the ruling group was through marriage to members of the Persian aristocracy (possibly the case with Mazaeus, cf. Bosworth 1988: 87), or even the Persian kings themselves. In a few instances (from the late fifth century: Ctesias *ap.* Photius 41b), there are references to wives (or concubines) of Persian kings as Babylonian (Alogune, Cosmartidene, And(r)ia): the last two were the mothers respectively of Darius II and his queen Parysatis so that, if they were indeed Babylonian women, one would here have evidence for the creation of close kinship links between local Babylonian families and the Achaemenid royal house.[5] How regular such recruiting of, perhaps secondary, wives by the kings from local élites might have been is, unfortunately, not known;[6] in this particular case the information only surfaces in the account of the struggle surrounding the succession following the death of Artaxerxes I. But it is an important reminder that at least some portions of the Babylonian local élite might well have been integrated with the Persian ruling group.

Babylonian traditional culture, as exemplified by its civic institutions focussed on the great temples, flourished and developed actively throughout the period of Achaemenid rule. True, Babylon was no longer sole capital of an empire, but it was one of the recognised major imperial centres (Ezra 6.1; Grayson 1975a: no.9 l.10), with a palace decorated in the Persian style (Koldewey 1925: 127 fig. 79; Wetzel et al. 1957: 49 no. 13; Haerinck 1973 [who dates it to Darius I]; Oppenheim 1985: 584 n. 1 [Darius II]; Kuhrt 1988a: 115 and n. 16; Vallat 1989 [Artaxerxes II])[7] and a large display version, complete with relief illustration, of Darius I's Behistun text (von Voigtlander 1978; Seidl 1976). Its great temple, Esagila, plus the cult-statue of Marduk, was intact (Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1987), and there is nothing to suggest that its rituals and cult were not being regularly performed by and for the citizens.[8]

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[4] Note also the developments in Caria and Lycia (cf. Hornblower 1982: 137-170; *Fouilles de Xanthos* VI); although not identical, they are suggestive of a similar administrative evolution. Note also the case of Memnon, D.S. XVI 52,2, cf. Briant 1990: 54.

[5] According to Ctesias (*Persica* 44), Secundianus' mother was the Babylonian, Alogune; the mother of Ochus and Arsites, the Babylonian, Cosmartidene; and the mother of Parysatis and Bagapaos, the Babylonian, And(r)ia. Of these, only the last is apparently a Babylonian name; Cosmartidene is Semitic and Alogune Iranian. Deducing ethnic identity from personal names is, of course, notoriously difficult (cf. Briant 1990: 64 n. 30).

[6] That Babylonian women were taken into the court of the Achaemenid kings at some level seems to be confirmed by Ctesias' reference (*Persica* 14) to a Babylonian 'concubine' among the wives of Bardiya.

[7] For the recent find of a Persian residence in Babylonia, cf. Gasche 1989; cf. also Joannès 1990b: 186 and n. 59 for the mention of a 'new palace' in Babylon in Darius I's reign.

[8] Problematic in this respect is the cylinder seal found in the Persepolis treasury and inscribed 'Property of Marduk. Seal of the god Adad from the temple Esagila' (Schmidt 1957: 64). When and how this seal arrived in the treasury is unknown. It could have been removed by Darius I in the course of his two fights against Babylonian rebels; it could have been removed by Xerxes at

How extensive and active Persian royal patronage of this and other temples was, after the initial years of Achaemenid domination,[9] is, unfortunately, not known at present, although care should be taken not to equate a lack of evidence with deliberate neglect on the part of the Persians. It is now clear that the work of copying the Babylonian theological, scientific and literary heritage (Hunger 1968; Reade 1986) continued uninterrupted throughout this period; that great strides were made in the astronomical sciences and the related field of astrology (Sachs 1952; Rochberg-Halton 1984; 1989); that the compiling of detailed astronomical diaries and historical chronicles was actively pursued (Sachs & Hunger 1988; Grayson 1975a; Kuhrt 1987a) and that a shift in the cultic focus of the city of Uruk, that has been attributed to the hellenistic period (McEwan 1981: 187; followed by Downey 1988) took place within the Persian period (Oelsner 1978: 103; 1981: 44). How far traditional Babylonian religious practices may have been affected by the introduction of a royally ordered statue-cult of Anahita, following the edict of Artaxerxes II (Berossus = *FGrH* 680 F11), remains at present a matter of debate (Boyce 1982: 217-218; Briant 1984a: 98). What is important in all this is that while the impression is one of a general continuity of the modes of traditional life, this was not a period of social and cultural stagnation or fossilisation: within the traditional framework important and vital developments were taking place.

Other changes datable to the period of Persian rule and directly reflecting Babylonia's position as an integral part of the massive empire can be charted. Elements of Persian iconography (cf. Collon 1987: 90-93) come to figure prominently in the design of cylinder seals from the end of the sixth century on (Zettler 1979), and, in the later period (late fifth and fourth centuries), some of the signet seals, used to impress Babylonian tablets and usually owned by Babylonians, are either Greek in style (Stolper 1989b) or display purely Greek motifs (cf. Jakob-Rost & Freydank 1972). It has been argued (Porada 1960) that the early fourth century collection of Greek clay coins found at Ur represent models used by a Babylonian sealcutter catering for a local taste and

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the time he is supposed to have removed a golden statue (*andrias*) from Babylon. This last may have occurred in the course of a Babylonian revolt that took place in Xerxes' reign at the end of his Greek campaign (cf. Briant 1992). What it neither proves nor need imply is that Xerxes destroyed Esagila and removed the Marduk cult-statue. (We should like to thank M. Dandamaev for drawing our attention to the seal).

[9] Important, widely proclaimed and spectacular acts of temple patronage by conquerors are surely to be associated with the specific political situation created by conquest and the need to reach accommodation with the leaders of newly subjugated areas; cf. Cyrus (Babylon, Jerusalem), Cambyses (Memphis, Sais, possibly other Egyptian temples), Alexander (Egyptian sanctuaries, Babylon), Seleucus I (Babylon), Antiochus I (Borsippa) and Antiochus III (Jerusalem). It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that it is in these contexts that one finds the best and clearest evidence for such acts of royal piety.

demand for some Greek art forms.[10] Another change, only recently detected, was the introduction in Darius I's reign of an obligation to register slave-sales in the royal tax-office (*bīt miksu ša šarri/karammarru*), obviously in order to ensure that the imperial administration be able to extract the tax due on such a transaction — in itself a Persian innovation.[11] Last, but not least, it should be noted that the population of the area was not limited to indigenous Babylonians and Persian land-owners and officials. An effect of the earlier Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, as well as the Persian, empires had been an influx of different peoples, not only as deportees and prisoners-of-war, but also as merchants, soldiers, slaves and people in royal service: Jews, Carians, Cilicians, Greeks, Egyptians, Arabs, Phoenicians, Lydians, Indians, Cimmerians, people from the region of modern Malatya, Armenians, Phrygians; these are just some of the varied ethnic groups attested.

The picture of Babylonia under Persian rule that has been emerging in recent studies is that of a prosperous and vital region, well integrated into the larger imperial structure of which it formed a central area — as perhaps reflected by the formula used occasionally in the titles of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I, who proclaimed themselves kings of 'Persia, Media, Babylon and lands' (cf. Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1987: 77; Joannès 1989), clearly associating Babylonia with the dominant region at the heart of the empire, sharply distinguished from the remaining dominated 'lands.'

B. *Alexander's conquest of Babylonia*

As a result of Alexander's defeat of Darius III at Gaugamela, situated within the Babylonian satrapy, and the latter's tactical withdrawal into Media, the path lay open for Alexander to move south and secure the old Babylonian area, use the routes thence to gain access to the Persian imperial centres and obtain control of their vast treasures, before taking up the pursuit of the Persian king. Darius' flight, noted by the Babylonians (cf. Sachs & Hunger 1988 no.-330 obv.′ ll.15′-18′), left Babylon dangerously exposed. After long and careful negotiations conducted by its probable satrap, Mazaeus[12] with Alexander, arrangements for formal surrender, accompanied by a carefully orchestrated, ceremonial welcome to the new conqueror were concluded (cf. Kuhrt 1988b: 68-71; 1990a; cf. also the frustratingly fragmentary text in Sachs & Hunger 1988 no.-330 rev.′). It is plain from Alexander's behaviour in Babylon that he was inducted by a leading body of citizens into the formal duties required from him (cf. Arrian III 16) to enable his claim to be the new legitimate ruler to be successful. A major element in this task was to proclaim building works to be carried out on the city's sacred structures. Such an act required consulting the gods for permission to build, the granting of which acted as a seal of approval on the holder of the throne. It was possibly the successful concluding of this delicate and elaborate operation that resulted in Alexander being entitled, just this once on present evidence, 'king of the totality' (Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-330).

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[10] Cf. with this taste for 'Greek' styles some of the seals used by Persians at the royal court, such as the seal of Gobryas; see Root's study of the Persepolis seal impressions (1990b; 1991; Garrison & Root forthcoming) — where it is suggested that some which strike us as 'Greek' represent the Neo-Elamite artistic tradition.

[11] As Stolper 1989b: 89 (citing Hornblower 1982) points out there is also some Carian evidence for the existence of a slave-tax in the Achaemenid empire.

[12] Cf. his possible marriage to a Babylonian woman, Bosworth 1988: 87; and the fact he may very well already have been the satrap of Babylonia since he negotiated the surrender of Babylonia, commanded Mesopotamian forces at Gaugamela and was charged by Darius with defending the crossings of the Euphrates, *apud* Arrian (on the east bank), the Tigris, *apud* Diodorus.

Alexander's appointment of Mazaeus, shows his grasp of the desirability of exploiting the advantages to be gained from installing someone as governor who had both local affiliations, owed his survival to him and whose personal loyalty was, therefore, likely to be fairly dependable. At the same time, Alexander was determined that entrusting this responsible post to Mazaeus should not backfire, so he also placed the command of the garrison and the task of levying tribute (i.e. gathering military provisions and forces) in the hands of Macedonians. This also shows his appreciation of the central importance of the region, especially in terms of safeguarding communications and supplies (particularly essential as he was expecting fresh troops from Macedon), now that he was moving away from the Mesopotamian plain and into Iran. Very possibly it was this consideration that led him to separate off the territory north of 'Babylonia proper' at this point and place it under a separate, Macedonian governor (Leuze 1935: 460-461).

From Alexander's entry into Babylon in October 331 until his return from the Indian campaign, the classical historians provide virtually no information on events in Babylonia. However, the newly published astronomical diaries (Sachs & Hunger 1988) do supply some crumbs of information that have considerable significance (cf. also Bernard 1989; 1990). Where Alexander's name is preserved, he is normally (and less emotively than on the occasion of his entry into Babylon, cf. above) termed 'king of lands' on the Achaemenid pattern (cf. Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-329, B obv.′), as usually also in economic documents, or simply 'king' as in the brief remark on his death (Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-322, B obv.′ 8; cf. also no.-324 A′ UE 1; no.-328 rev. 23′). In one instance, he is identified unequivocally as a foreign conqueror: 'Alexander, the king who is from the land of Hani' (Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-328 LE).[13] One diary (no.-328) notes in November 329 a royal command ordering the moving of items from a garden next to Esagila, and something else (it was already illegible in the text used by the compiler) from the palace. Obviously Alexander's interest in Babylon had not faded with his physical absence; nor did the active work of refurbishing temples and cultic equipment cease, as is shown by a reference in the summer of 325 (Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-324, B rev. 23) to '(a supply of?) gold for making the tiara of Bel,' which may well have been made available only through royal authorisation.[14]

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[13] One should beware of creating an image according to which the Persian empire was in a quiescent slumber into which Alexander suddenly irrupts. There had been considerable disruptions experienced on the dynastic level with Artaxerxes III's murder, followed by the short reign

This evidence for Alexander's continued and active concern with Babylon must be set within the context of his wider plans, in which the city was intended to play a key-role, such as tightening his grip on the valuable gulf and India commerce (Salles 1987: 88). For this purpose, Alexander ordered a navy to be constructed at Babylon. Alexander himself sailed up the river Tigris to ensure its navigability and clear it of any encumbrances connected with irrigation works that might impede the passage of ships, as well as ensuring easier fleet movement along the Euphrates (cf. Briant 1986b). Given such long-term strategies, it was crucial that relations with Babylonia be managed as smoothly as possible.

While it is clear that some changes and modifications took place in Babylonia as a result of conquest (the presence of Macedonian commanders, the division of the satrapy into two parts, the creation of a navy at Babylon), they were not fundamental or far-reaching in socio-economic terms. Most important for the maintenance of the Babylonian *status quo* was Alexander's continued acceptance of the royal duties of a Babylonian king (of which building was one of the most publicly recognised expressions) in the manner of the Persian conquerors before him, which guaranteed stability for traditional forms of civic life. On this basis, the Babylonians were prepared to receive and support Alexander as king and carry out their part by warning the king of portents that might endanger his life, as exemplified by their anxiety to prevent him entering Babylon because of an omen portending his death. When Alexander insisted on entering the city, the evidence of the somewhat garbled classical accounts shows that the old Mesopotamian 'substitute king' ritual, intended to avert the evil fate from the king onto a substitute, was initiated by the Babylonians obviously with Alexander's direct participation — another indication of

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of Arses (Artaxerxes IV), also murdered, and the subsequent promotion of Darius III, despite the fact that more direct descendants of the Achaemenid royal house were still living. None of these events can have passed off without disruptions, struggles and problems. The extent to which, given this background, Alexander, with his three Iranian wives (Barsine, Stateira, Roxane), would have been perceived as a totally new force or simply another contender for the Persian throne needs more critical study (cf. Briant 1987b).

[14] Cf. Weisberg 1967, texts no.1 and 7 showing kings (in this instance, Cyrus and Darius I) as guarantors of correct use of precious metals for temples, which gives some indication of how carefully such expenditures and thus, presumably, supplies were controlled.

the active adoption of Mesopotamian kingship rituals by the Macedonian conquerors (Parpola 1983; Smelik 1978-79; Sherwin-White 1987: 9).

C. *323-316*

Alexander's death is not perceived as a caesura by the Babylonian sources, contrary to the standard expectations of ancient historians. The astronomical diary (Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-322, B' obv. 8′) merely mentions his death in passing without any comment within the context of the planetary, meteorological and crop-price observations that are the prime focus of this genre of texts:

> 8' [...] stood [to] the east. The 29th, the king died; clouds [...]
> 9' [...] ...; cress, 1 sut 4 qa; sesame, 3½ qa [...]

Alexander's death is not even separated out as worthy of comment at the end of the section, as seems usually to have been the case with events considered particularly significant.

Analogous to this, is the continuation of the chronicle compilations: examination of the 'diadochi chronicle' (Grayson 1975a: no. 10), the preserved portion of which begins 320/19, shows clearly that it was preceded by a space which could have contained Alexander's last year of rule, death and the intervening years to the first line now preserved. The building work, proclaimed and begun by Alexander, was continued in the reign of his successor, Philip Arrhidaeus, as shown by a reference in one of the diaries (August 322, cf. Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-321), as well as in the chronicle (Grayson 1975a: no. 10 obv. 1.6′ [320/19]). Obviously Babylon's strategic and politically important position in any attempt to hold Alexander's conquests together was fully appreciated by the Macedonian high command and their appointed satraps of Babylonia (Archon: down to 320; Seleucus 320-317/6). Despite the formal recognition of Alexander's brother, Philip, as king, reflected in the dating formulae of contemporary economic texts (as well as later chronicles, king-lists and diaries) where he, too, is entitled 'king of lands' on the Achaemenid pattern, the ensuing power struggle between the Macedonian generals had serious repercussions for Babylonia's political future. Seleucus' reward for helping to murder Perdiccas in Egypt was the satrapy of Babylonia — the satrap, who must be Seleucus, is attested as entering Babylon in November/December 320 by the chronicle. It was thus probably under his direction that the work on the temple of Esagila was carried out that year. Seleucus, according to Diodorus' later account (D.S. XIX 91), seems to have worked hard to forge close links with sections of the Babylonian population at this point. He established a network of personal relationships the benefits of which he was to reap later in 312/11. What exactly his patronage consisted in (seen in terms of *eunoia* and *euergesia* in the Greek sources) is not known: tax immunities (cf. the Dynastic Prophecy's ideal king as one who grants *zakûtu* = 'tax exemption', cf. Grayson 1975b: 29, 34-5, col. iii 1.23; Sherwin-White 1987: 15) and land grants, as used by the Achaemenids (see above, A), against military service, which he could either grant or ratify, are all possibilities (Plut. *Eumenes* 4; cf. *RTP*: 13-93). His concern for the province is well illustrated by Diodorus' description (D.S. XIX 13,5) of the care Seleucus took to get Eumenes with his huge army through and out of Babylonia as rapidly as possible in 317: an incident perhaps reflected also in a broken passage of Grayson 1975a: no. 10, obv. 14'ff. Undoubtedly, much of this favourable picture of Seleucus' action in caring for Babylonia is an echo of his later success in getting a firm grip on the satrapy. But the real strength of the power base he built up here is probably reflected by Antigonus' reaction, after the defeat and death of Eumenes, in moving to oust Seleucus as a now formidable rival. It also illustrates the perceived centrality of Babylonia as a lynchpin for holding together the old Achaemenid empire, which was a prime and continuing concern and aim of Antigonus — as it was later to be of Seleucus.

D. *316-308/7*

The confusion resulting from the murder of Philip and Eurydice in 317/6 is signalled in a later Babylonia king list (Sachs & Wiseman 1954) by a kingless period of (very probably) one year (cf. Joannès 1979-80), during which the government of Babylonia lay solely in the hands of Antigonus, chief of the army and satrap. Interestingly, this disturbing gap in political life was covered up in a later chronicle (Grayson 1975a: no. 10) by assigning Philip III an eighth regnal year (316/5). A semblance of normality was restored through the acknowledgement of Alexander's son, Alexander IV (now about seven years old), from 316/5 onwards, as king. At the same time awareness of the phantom character of his supposed role is reflected by the fact that only one contemporary, preserved Babylonian document is dated to his second year of rule (315/4), while the more regular practice was clearly to date transactions by Antigonus, 'the general' ((lú) *rab uqu*). Given the evidence presently available, nothing suggests that Antigonus was involving himself actively with Babylonian affairs, beyond keeping them under tight control by appointing a satrap for the province (Peithon, son of Agenor, killed at Gaza in 312, D.S. XIX 56,4; cf. Berve *RE* s.v.; Bengtson 1937: 184; 186-188), putting the citadel under strong guard (D.S. XIX 91,3-4), and garrisoning the region (D.S. XIX 91,3). The centre of his expanding political ambitions lay, at this moment, further west: as shown by his proclamation of the 'freedom of the Greeks' (315) and formation of the Nesiotic league; by the way Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Cassander ganged up on him; and by Ptolemy's operations against him in

Coele-Syria and the battle of Gaza (312). It is difficult to know how precisely to evaluate the story of Seleucus' easy recapture of his former satrapy with only a tiny force, with the local people flocking to him spontaneously as they remembered his former benefactions (D.S. XIX 91, 1-2). It is very probable that Seleucus' warm welcome was partly the result of earlier feelers put out by Seleucus and contact made (or maintained) during his exile in Egypt, partly a reflex of his later success which led to a *post eventum* recasting of his arrival in Babylonia in 312/11 into a joyful reception by the population welcoming back their 'rightful ruler'. That there was considerable and careful forward planning on Seleucus' part is indicated by Diodorus' account (D.S. XIX 91,2). What perhaps gives the story a little more substance is first, the contrast it makes to Seleucus' reception at Carrhae in northern Mesopotamia where he had to work hard to persuade some Macedonians to join him and forced others to do so. This suggests that the Babylonian reception at least appeared to be in strong contrast to this. The other important element is the considerable support Seleucus seems to have received from Babylonians in the face of Antigonus' aggressive response to his attempt to claw back his former satrapy.

Seleucus' ability to rely on some Babylonian support was certainly strengthened by Antigonus' reaction: in the fighting for Babylonia that followed (310-308), attested only in the Babylonian chronicle (Grayson 1975a: no. 10 rev.), Antigonus treated Babylonia as enemy territory, not an area to which he owed protection, sacking towns, temples and ravaging the countryside. Chronicle no. 10 gives vivid glimpses (rare in this period, and not common in Babylonian chronicles) of the horror and suffering of the war: weeping and mourning are mentioned in both 309/8 and 308/7 — clearly the (at least) three year long war was unrivalled in the devastation and misery caused. Seleucus' action, by contrast, was to shield the population as much as possible by organising the systematic evacuation of *all* the inhabitants of Babylon (D.S. XIX 100,5) and withdrawing from the city. This is an important piece of evidence attesting Seleucus' protective policy towards the population of Babylonia which is usually ignored. It is also possible that his measures to cope with the increasingly critical situation is reflected in the stiff taxes upheld by a royal judge (possibly an Iranian)[15] levied from the Shamash temple (probably) at Sippar, and payable to the royal treasury, under the control of a local official (cf. van der Spek 1986: appendix no. 5 and 117-119). The destruction and upheaval of these years were ended by a final battle, probably to be dated to summer 308, which left Seleucus in control of Babylonia.

The persistence of this struggle is notable and presumably reflects recognition of the importance of Babylonia as a key to control of Alexander's empire. That this was still very much the central issue among the successors is clear from the fact that from 311/0 on transactions in Babylonia are dated once again by Alexander (IV) and continue to be so even after his murder in 310 (cf. Sachs & Wiseman 1954: Joannès 1979-80), while the astronomical diaries of this period date by 'Alexander, son of Alexander; Seleucus being general' (lú GAL.ERIN; Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-309 obv. 14´; no.-308 obv.´ 1), using a term analogous to that applied to Antigonus earlier (lú *rab uqu*; cf. Stolper 1990b). The political image presented was clearly still that of the vast Persian empire taken over by Alexander, and ruled by his legitimate, half-Iranian offspring — a claim to overall domination by Alexander's dynasty supported by his general Seleucus. It should be seen as significant that Seleucus does not appear to be termed satrap in this period: his avowed aims were now larger than those of a provincial governor.[16] In order to realise these, Babylonia, the hub of the empire, was of central importance — a view strengthened by dating the start of the Seleucid Era later back to Seleucus' return to Babylonia, and not to his first period as governor, nor his own assumption of the royal title (305). Strategically, for the movement of goods and manpower and as a rich reservoir of agricultural resources and surplusses (Adams 1981; Powell 1985), Babylonia was vital to any ancient power ruling, or aiming at, an empire spanning the Middle East from the Iranian plateau to Syria. The importance of Babylonia within the larger empire of Seleucus between Syria, Mesopotamia, with large chunks of Asia Minor added after 301, and the eastern Iranian area was crucial: it controlled the main trade routes of the east by land and sea to Iran, India and south Arabia; see, for example, Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-273, where the Babylonian satrap acts as the intermediary forwarding twenty elephants sent from Bactria to the king at war in Syria.[17]

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[15] Cf. for the role of judges as executives of royal policy, also Stolper 1989b: 85-87.

E. *Seleucus as king*

On regaining Babylonia (312), Seleucus had moved fast to forestall opposition from the satraps of Media and Susiana appointed in Antigonus' purge of 316. Crossing the Tigris before Nicanor of Media could stop him, Seleucus pulled off a brilliant, devastating night attack on Nicanor's camp. The surviving forces, including Nicanor's Median and Iranian soldiers, had little option but to go over to Seleucus. Seleucus thus gained control of the major satrapies of Media, Susiana and 'the adjacent regions'; these included the area around the gulf (D.S. XIX 100,6) and perhaps Persis, homeland of the Achaemenids.

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[16] Note also that when after Corupedium (281 BC), Seleucus' advance on Macedon is noted by the Babylonian chronicle (Grayson 1975a: no. 12), it is described as 'his (sc. Seleucus') country', demonstrating the extent to which this attachment was still being publicly upheld and with it attempts to rule/unite Alexander's empire again (cf. Sherwin-White 1983: 266-267).

[17] See further the, unfortunately broken, reference to Bactria in Grayson 1975a: no. 13.

This series of rapid military victories and territorial gains transformed Seleucus' position as he himself realised most clearly of all: 'he had now acquired royal status and glory worthy of *hegemonia*' (D.S. XIX 92,5), he summed up in a letter to the other successors. But they had isolated Seleucus by the peace-treaty between Antigonus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Cassander of 311 which recognised Antigonus' power in 'Asia' and left Antigonus to fight it out with Seleucus as discussed (above, D). And in Seleucus, he met his match: by 302 Bactria had been reduced and, together with Hyrcania, Parthia, Aria, Margiana, Sogdiana, Drangiana and Arachosia added to the inner Iranian satrapies, followed by an advantageous treaty (in which probably eastern Arachosia was ceded) agreed with the newly formed and powerful Mauryan empire of India (see further Bernard 1985: 85-96; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993).

It is very possible that the foundation of Seleucia-Tigris, as an expression of Seleucus' royalty, should be placed within the period between 305/4-301. It cannot be dated earlier since it is regularly called 'the city of kingship' (*āl šarruti*) in the cuneiform sources, and is also linked directly with Seleucus' kingship by Strabo (XVI 1,5). A date before 301 is suggested by the fact that Strabo depicts Seleucus as transferring the *basileion* from Babylon to Seleucia-Tigris, i.e. Seleucia-Tigris was founded to be the royal capital of Seleucus' *existing* empire limited, before Ipsos (301), to satrapies from Babylonia eastwards.[18] The royal centres in north Syria were only founded after Antigonus' defeat and death and replaced his capital of Antigoneia there (D.S. XIX 47,5), functioning as a base to serve Seleucus' new, westerly interests. Crucial in assessing the importance of the foundation of Seleucia-Tigris is Seleucus' *personal* role in the creation of this new royal centre for his realm. This is stressed by Strabo (XVI 1,5), Appian (*Syr.* 58), and Pausanias (I 16,3), who recount dramatic stories associated with the founding, all of them with Seleucus as protagonist. There is absolutely no justification whatever for accepting a view that connects the founding of Seleucia-Tigris with Antiochus' elevation to the co-regency and governorship of the 'upper satrapies' in 292 (*pace* Grayson 1975a: 26, 28; Doty 1977: 9). As Bernard (1985: 38-40) and Briant have argued (1990: 48-51), there is in fact no evidence, precedent or reason to assume that Antiochus' centre of operation for his control of the upper satrapies was in Babylonia: everything points to locating the centres of his operation in Bactria itself and Media.

Although the creation of the royal city on the Tigris represents an innovation, it should not in any way be regarded as a deliberate demotion of the status of Babylon, nor as the expression of some radically new and different 'Greek' style of imperial rule (cf. Sherwin-White 1987: 19-20; Kuhrt 1987b:

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[18] Note also Newell 1938: 10ff. and Waggoner 1969 who accept a date of c.305 for the opening of the Seleucia-Tigris mint.

54; Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1991). Not only was Babylon over forty miles distant from Seleucia-Tigris (equal to the distance between Athens and Thebes), it lay on a different river, the Euphrates, which carried the main trade from the gulf because of its easier navigability, and thence directly on to Syria or, across by land, to Seleucia-Tigris which stood at the nodal point of the age-old, hugely important route linking the Mesopotamian plain with the Iranian plateau (the beginning of the later 'Silk Road'). Only in exceptional circumstances (274/3) is there a possible reference to Babylonians being moved to Seleucia which, on that occasion, could be seen as an evacuation in a time of a crisis and hence perhaps a short term measure (Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-273). Plenty of evidence survives that attests to the continued existence of Babylon and its importance later: it was the centre of an administrative district (*pāhātu* cf. Sherwin-White 1983: 268), its temples repaired and beautified by the Seleucid rulers (Grayson 1975a: no. 11, cf. Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1991), and its major festivals patronised by the kings (Grayson 1975a: no. 13b; cf. now also Sachs & Hunger 1989 esp. no.-204). The founding of Seleucia-Tigris as Seleucus' 'city of kingship,' to distinguish it from other cities of the empire, old and new, fits into a long established Mesopotamian tradition of royal city-founding (Ikida 1979): it is not the demonstration of a conqueror's contempt for his 'native' subjects.

An institutional link with previous Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid practice is the role played by Antiochus as crown prince (*mār šarri*), documented by a chronicle fragment (Grayson 1975a: no. 11). Here he appears as active within Babylonia, visiting shrines in person and making offerings in Babylon, actively reinforcing the concern already evinced by his father for his Babylonian subjects and their institutions. This behaviour by Antiochus as *mār šarri* must be distinguished from his later role as his father's co-regent. This new Seleucid practice was carefully noted by contemporary documents which date only after 292 (cf. Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-292) by the joint rule of both, and in which both are clearly called king (*šarru*). Although too broken to be dated precisely, one should certainly regard the chronicle text mentioning Antiochus as 'crown prince' as relating to Antiochus before his formal association with his father in full government of the empire (cf. Sherwin-White 1983). This practice of co-regency, which became a regular one after 292, was a distinctive institutional innovation that appears in Mesopotamia only with Macedonian rule; there is no real precedent in the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and, certainly not, the Achaemenid periods.[19] First instituted by Antigonus, then Seleucus and finally Ptolemy, it is a feature of the early diadochi, obviously intended to consolidate their rule and anticipate any problems that could arise over the succession at their death. It solved the problem of the power vacuum occasioned by a king's demise and strengthened the notion and fact of an everlasting kingship. The impression was of a seamless and eternal exercise of sovereignty. This was reinforced, in the case of the Seleucids, by the decision to continue Seleucus' time through the unique step of Antiochus I authorising, at his accession, the continuing use of his father's regnal era, instead of starting his own as every precedent suggested. Time continued to be counted according to Seleucus I, the founder of the dynasty — not according to that of his individual successors.

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[19] The temporary (only one year) appointment of Cambyses as 'king of Babylon' while his father, Cyrus, was 'king of lands' following Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia is not in the least comparable (cf. Kuhrt 1988a: 126; Petschow 1988). What Cambyses' role and function were (to carry

The famous, so-called 'Dynastic Prophecy' should perhaps be set within this context: the process of reassertion of power, forming of a new territorial empire and the resultant gradual restoration of normality to life in Babylonia. This was exemplified by a vigorous monarchy with one of its chief power centres in the country, the reopening of trade links (Salles 1987), the completing of repairs on major sanctuaries (Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1991), and restoration of interrupted temple rituals (Grayson 1975a: no. 11), following, first, the uncertainties of the period after Alexander's death and then the full horrors of Antigonus' war and devastation. This historical literary text (Grayson 1975b), which several commentators have done their utmost to harmonise with the prevailing vision of Persian rule as oppressive and Alexander as a liberating force (cf. for survey Kuhrt 1990b: 181-182; add now Geller 1991), fits best, in our view, into the time of Seleucus' activities as restorer of stability. The text itself cannot, in fact, have been composed before Seleucus' reign (cf. Sherwin-White 1987: 11). It is perhaps easiest to overcome its apparent paradoxes by seeing it as composed in order to provide support for a new dynasty, presenting itself as the re-establisher of order by contrast to the immediately preceding horrors and chaos still vivid in people's minds (Ringren 1983; Sherwin-White 1987: 10-14). No evidence is provided by this literary text, nor by any other evidence, that Persian rule was viewed retrospectively with loathing. Although the fragmentary state of the 'prophecy' must make any proposed interpretation hypothetical, its message is more cogently read as representing and desiring a return to the relative peace and prosperity of the Achaemenid period than anything else. It would then seem to suggest that some groups in

out royal rituals?), why he was appointed, why the arrangement was discontinued so quickly is not even remotely understood and is entirely different from Antiochus' clear progression from 'crown prince' (*mār šarri*), acting under his father's orders, to 'king' on a par, in many respects, to his father. Nothing like this is ever attested for the Achaemenid kings (*pace* Calmeyer 1976a). Earlier, Bel-šar-uṣur (Belshezzar) always remained 'crown prince' and was never given the title 'king' (cf. Beaulieu 1989: 185ff.); Sennacherib's son, Aššur-nadin-šumi, was appointed king of Babylon, subject to his father; Šamaš-šuma-ukin was also appointed 'king of Babylon', subject to his brother, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria; the same is true of the shadowy Kandalanu, whose exact family relationship to Assurbanipal is not known (cf. generally Brinkman 1984).

Babylonia, perhaps precisely those who had benefited from Seleucid *euergesia*, were prepared to express their support for the new dynasty's rule in positive terms.

F. *'The Macedonian* Imperium'

Changes that appear with Macedonian rule in Babylonia should be noted and assessed in the context of the evolution of Seleucid rule there. Most striking is the foundation of new cities; apart from Seleucia-Tigris, at least three were founded in the late fourth or third centuries: Antioch-on-the-Ishtar Canal near Uruk is attested as existing by 270 in a cuneiform document (Doty 1977: 193-194); Seleucia-on-the-Red-Sea was built somewhere on the gulf, perhaps in Babylonia (cf. Roueché & Sherwin-White 1985: 30); Apamea-Silhu (*OGIS* 233), east of the Tigris (cf. Le Rider 1965: 260 n.2), was founded at some point before the end of the third century. The text which mentions it, incidentally provides the evidence for how these new city-foundations were peopled, namely through invitations issued to other centres to send settlers, not the compulsory emptying of existing, non-Greek cities. Important, too, is Babylon's Greek quarter which appears to have been well-established early in the hellenistic period. This is not only attested to by finds of pottery, figurines and paste 'gems', but also by an *ostrakon* reflecting the presence of a Greek garrison (Sherwin-White 1982) and, most important, the theatre which surely presupposes a Greek, or hellenised, audience to use it.[20] None of this is surprising: the increased density of a Greek presence is to be expected in relation to the change in political domination that had taken place. What would be unjustified, is to see this as reflecting something fundamentally different from Achaemenid rule: this is untenable on either institutional, linguistic, or cultural grounds. What developments in administrative practice can be traced are precisely that — gradual transformations of existing mechanisms. Thus the smaller administrative units that emerge in the Seleucid period in the region of Mesopotamia are already foreshadowed in the Achaemenid period by the 'subgovernorship of Babylon' (Stolper 1990a), and the army-units levied from different Mesopotamian regions and under separate commanders attested as fighting at Gaugamela. There is no reason to assume, indeed good arguments against doing so, that Greek was introduced as an official language. Of course, it was used and spoken, particularly by the kings themselves, and thus advancement at court would be achieved more effectively by those who mastered it. But this is no different from Themistocles learning Persian in order to ingratiate himself with the Persian ruler (Thuc. I 136), and no-one has yet suggested that Persian was the official language of the Achaemenid empire. Multi-lingualism seems to have continued to be the norm, with Greek understandably affecting certain aspects of governmental terminology (e.g. the *chreophylax* stamps, cf. Rostovtzeff 1932), but gradually only, not as a matter of official policy (cf. Sherwin-White 1987: 25). Similarly, the disappearance of slave-sale documents from the cuneiform corpus in Antiochus I's reign (Doty 1977), can no longer be seen as related to the implementation of a new Seleucid slave-sale tax, because this already existed in the Achaemenid period (Stolper 1989b); rather it must relate to the ever increasing practice of documenting such sales on parchment in Aramaic or Greek (e.g. Doty 1977: 65; cf. van der Spek, in press). Some evidence also exists for the use of local governing bodies manned by local persons in Babylonia (Sherwin-White 1983; 1987: 6-7). Thus it is clear that the Seleucid rulers used Mesopotamian and Achaemenid imperial and cultural forms to articulate their kingship in Babylonia. Within this pattern of interaction must be set the sophisticated, literary history of Berossus, understandably written in Greek as it was dedicated to Antiochus I, but presenting the king with the legends, stories and history of Babylonia drawn from the traditional Sumero-Akkadian corpus and reshaped to take account of Greek forms of philosophical debate and historiography (Kuhrt 1987b) — an original and extraordinary achievement. Simultaneously, both the composition and copying of all the traditional Mesopotamian genres continued actively: they were neither ended, ousted or noticeably influenced by the Greek presence. Much clearer and more significant is activity pointing in the other direction: absorption and deliberate adoption of earlier royal norms. Antiochus' completion of the rebuilding of Ezida in Borsippa was marked by a typical Mesopotamian clay-cylinder inscribed in beautifully clear, slightly archaising, Akkadian cuneiform, using the formal language of the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions and commemorating one of the most traditional of Mesopotamian royal acts. At the same time, it reflects in the titulary a definite Achaemenid influence, thus combining *both* royal traditions to which the Seleucids acknowledged themselves heirs.

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[20] Less certain in date is the possible evidence for Greek style tiles from what is assumed to have been a peristyle in the 'Südburg' at Babylon (cf. Brandes 1979: 95; Oelsner 1986: 113-4; Downey 1988: 14).

Conclusions

The extraordinary rapid changes and extensive armed conflicts that took place in the Macedonian high command following Alexander's early death, with Alexander's generals striving increasingly to build up power-bases and then expand by adding more of the territories that had formed the Achaemenid empire, profoundly disrupted Babylonian political life for almost twenty years and resulted in considerable suffering for the local population. The only option for Seleucus trying to strengthen his fragile hold on Babylonia was to arrive at a series of accommodations with the existing local élites in order to obtain the support essential for Seleucid survival. These mutually agreed arrangements made it imperative for the new Macedonian rulers to adopt traditional Babylonian kingship roles and fulfil the concomitant obligations such as civic building works, restoring sanctuaries and the supplying of cults. At the same time the continuous presence of considerable armed forces and military commanders in Babylonia, where a large part of Alexander's treasury was held, and which was vital for linking the eastern and western halves of the former Achaemenid territories, effectively limited any Babylonian freedom of action too. Thus both sides laboured under considerable constraints in arriving at a mutual concordat. It is this that must to some extent explain the apparent lack of change that is presented by the surface situation where Macedonian kings act publicly in the manner of their local predecessors.

But the surface continuity should not blind one to considerable change taking place in other respects. The ruling group and royal court, however close its links with some members of the Iranian nobility were (such as Apame and her family), was predominantly constituted by Macedonian aristocrats heir to different cultural and religious traditions. Although some of the earlier Persian palaces continued to be used (Ecbatana, Susa, Babylon), the great Achaemenid dynastic centres in Persia were not patronised by the new kings, and several new cities, including a new royal centre, were founded in Babylonia. Undoubtedly this also meant that the numbers of Macedonian, Greek (and perhaps other non-Babylonian) settlers in the region was intensified.[21] At the same time administrative structures continued largely unchanged from the Achaemenid period, only undergoing gradual modifications and adjustments as the Seleucid realm was consolidated. While Greek did not become the official language of the Seleucid state, its use does begin to appear gradually in a number of royal edicts and in the context of government activities. It is also possible that the political shift away from the Persian homeland resulted in a renewed and increased emphasis on earlier Neo-Babylonian political traditions in keeping with Babylonia's central position in the new, and geo-politically differently constituted, empire of the Seleucids.

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[21] How rapidly coined money may have increased in use in Babylonia and how significant this might have been is very hard to evaluate. It was certainly not new, although its use seems to have been quantitatively limited in the Achaemenid period here, and the greatly increased mint production does not appear to have replaced the rather sophisticated system of Mesopotamian weights and fractions thereof for a considerable time (Powell 1978; cf. Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993).

ON SOME ASPECTS OF CONTINUITY BETWEEN ACHAEMENID AND HELLENISTIC BABYLONIAN LEGAL TEXTS*

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Legal and administrative texts predominate among Achaemenid and Seleucid Babylonian documents. They are conservative in form and language and parochial in their concerns, ordinarily recording transactions of established kinds carried out in established ways. Continuity is not hard to find in them. Yet changes occur in their form, language, and distribution, and it is usual and reasonable to assume that some of these formal changes were responses to changing conditions of the juridical or commercial environment in which the texts were written, that some of the changes in the environment were themselves results of political developments, and that some political development was the result of dynastic change.

Nevertheless, causal connections between dynastic change and altered contractual forms are not obvious and never explicit. Indeed, the causes and their effects were not necessarily synchronous. A time-lag between political change and the *expression* of cultural or institutional change is expected in the documentary record, as in the material record, and it is found.

The political realities of conquest contribute to this time-lag. Alexander the Great had even less chance than Cyrus the Great to effect immediate changes in Babylonian institutions, and he may have had as little inclination.[1] After his death, the wars of the Successors meant that no ruler over Babylonia had

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[*] Cuneiform texts are cited according to the abbreviations of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD).

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Babylonian dates are cited in this form: day (in Arabic numerals)/month (in Roman numerals)/regnal year (in Arabic numerals) king's name or year of the Seleucid Era (S.E.); month VIb = intercalary Ulūlu; month XIIb = intercalary Addaru. Personal names are sometimes cited in this form: name/patronym(/ancestor or family name).

[1] Like Cyrus, Alexander offered himself as a liberator and protector of Babylonian ways. But when he assumed that most Mesopotamian of roles, the temple-building king, Alexander met some resistance from the Babylonian clergy (see Stolper 1989a: 296).

secure control for long enough to enforce institutional changes of a kind that would affect ways of doing and recording day-to-day business.

Hence, early hellenistic texts report late Achaemenid circumstances.[2] Where there is no evidence to the contrary, Babylonian legal and administrative documents from the last third of the fourth century, that is, from the interval between Alexander's conquest and the Seleucids' establishment of secure control ('frühhellenistische' and 'frühseleukidische Zeit' in the parlance of Oelsner 1988: 117, with nn.8 and 9) can be understood as reflecting conditions that prevailed at the close of Achaemenid rule, and therefore as complementing the very modest number of Achaemenid documents that can be confidently attributed to the interval c. 400-331.

Furthermore, new conditions could easily impinge on legal or administrative transactions without affecting the records of those transactions. If a new condition was imposed by a new government on a sale or debt or receipt — a new tax, for example — parties to the transaction might meet the condition without feeling a need to mention it in the contract, considering that satisfying a new government's demand was a distinct transaction from the one recorded in the traditional contract. After contracting parties had accumulated some adverse experience, however, after court judgments made it clear that the conditions imposed by the government were crucial to the equity of the transaction, or after such external conditions had been in effect long enough to be part of the ordinary way of doing business, the texts might mention changed circumstances. Even then, the form and language of the mention (whether in native terminology or with loanwords from Iranian, Aramaic or Greek) and its position in the contract (depending on the parties' perception of its effect on the procedures regulated by the contract) might easily vary from one case to another. Formal variation may thus reflect an ongoing process of adapting to new conditions (see Stolper 1989b).

Commentators on continuity and change in Babylonia between the periods of Achaemenid and Seleucid rule have recognised this time-lag and its sources, calling attention to changes in the form, content or distribution of Seleucid Babylonian texts after the first generations of Seleucid rule, at about 35-50 S.E. (Doty 1977: 322f., 328-332; Oelsner 1978: 109; 1981: 41 and 44 n.28; 1988: 127 n.9). The likely causes, suggested with the reservations that a prudent consideration of largely negative evidence requires, are held to be fiscal, juridical, and administrative measures introduced (or at least showing written effects) in the reign of Antiochus I.

The following remarks take two loosely related approaches to elements of continuity in legal and administrative texts from Achaemenid and Seleucid reigns. The first section gives a characterisation of available legal and administrative texts dated between Alexander's conquest and the establishment of the Seleucid Era, enumerated in an appended handlist. The second deals with some minutiae in the form and distribution of real estate sales, and the third deals with royal regulations cited in Seleucid contracts, both sections suggesting that the adaptation of native procedures to changes in the juridical or commercial background was not abrupt, absolute, or universal in effect, and that adaptations of native documents took place at least in part under the explicit control of the state.

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[2] Pierre Briant has often stressed this perspective in his discussions of the eyewitness accounts of Alexander and the Successors.

1. *Legal and administrative texts from the reigns of Alexander and the Successors*

Few of the texts that can be dated between 330 and 304 come from licit excavations, but those that do are from most areas of Babylonia: Ur, Uruk, and Larsa in the south, Nippur in central Babylonia, Kish-Hursagkalama and Babylon in the north.[3] Of the unexcavated texts for which proveniences can be established or plausibly inferred, most come from Borsippa and Babylon, a few others from nearby Kutha and from Uruk.

Almost every year of the interval is documented by at least one legal or administrative text. Conspicuous exceptions are the first and last years, 330/29 (year 7 Alexander III) and 305/4 (year 7 S.E.).[4] The densest concentration is in 313/12-311/10 (years 5, 6 and 7 Antigonus and year 6 Alexander IV), when the dated letter-orders written by Bulluṭ and Nabû-kuṣuršu, successive 'paymasters of brewers' (*bēl minde ša sirāšî*) evidently at the temple Ezida in Borsippa, were written; the undated letter-orders from the same men presumably come from the same interval.

Despite their large number and wide geographical and chronological distribution, the texts are too sharply concentrated to afford any general picture of Babylonian society under the last Achaemenids and the first years of Macedonian rule. Some sixty texts, nearly half of the known texts from the interval, are letter-orders from the two successive 'paymasters of brewers.' Most of the remaining administrative texts and many of the less numerous legal texts also come from archives of temples at Babylon and Borsippa. Few of the texts are legal or commercial records of private businessmen or firms, records of the kind that predominate among late Achaemenid texts. Texts from sources outside the temple deal with transactions of modest scale, short effect, and little connection with political and fiscal institutions.

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[3] Texts that were actually excavated in Babylon include unpublished items cited by museum (VAT) and/or excavation (BE) numbers in the appended handlist. Ker Porter *Travels* II pl. 77g concerns property and personnel from Larsa, but was almost certainly drafted at Babylon, where Porter bought it. Of the listed texts from Uruk only Hunger *Uruk* 128 comes from modern excavations.

[4] The other exceptions are 322/21 (year 2 Philip III), and 319/18 (year 5 Philip III, if CT 49 14 does not come from this year). The earliest text dated by Seleucus is CT 4 29d, from 3/I/8 = 16 April 304; see McEwan 1985. Later texts are dated by the S.E.

The dating of the texts and its implications for the political history of Alexander and the Successors are treated extensively in Oelsner 1974 and Joannès 1979-80, with additions and corrections in Van der Spek 1992: 244ff. Comments on a few details are in order:

(a) Parker and Dubberstein (1956: 19) held that two systems of dating were used in the reign of Alexander III the Great, one dating the years 330-323 from the conquest of Babylon as regnal years 1-8, the other dating them with reference to Alexander's succession to the Macedonian throne, as regnal years 7-14. Babylonian astronomical texts regularly follow the Macedonian dating. Most if not all of the legal and administrative texts that can be plausibly assigned to Alexander III do so as well; none demonstrably uses the Babylonian dating. If the date of BM 64392 is correctly reported (Leichty and Grayson 1987: 123), the latest contemporary attestation of Alexander the Great now known comes from 21/II/13 = 15 May 324 B.C., about a year before his death.

(b) TCL 13 249, from August 316, is no longer the only contemporary document dated posthumously by Philip III. BM 79012 is still later, from 9 October 316, a full year after Philip's assassination, enhancing Oelsner's view (1974: 141) that it is scarcely tenable that the news of Philip's death took so long to reach Babylonia, but far more likely that the posthumous dating reflects local uncertainty over the political status of the succession, Antigonus' regency not being accepted or enforced as a chronological reference for at least two years.

(c) Joannès 1979-80: 107 surmised that during the period of Antigonus' control in Babylonia some scribes dated tablets by him and others by Alexander IV. Van der Spek 1992: 146 argues persuasively that scribes around Babylon were consistent: dating by Alexander IV replaced dating by Antigonus during the end of May, 311. CT 49 22 mentions regnal years of both Antigonus and Alexander. It is dated in the sixth year of Alexander IV (i.e., the first year of Seleucus' effective control in Babylonia, 311) but it cites payments to be made from dates of year 6 of Antigonus (i.e., income from the previous year, cf. CT 49 36, 44 and 55). The text is nevertheless consistent with Van der Spek's view. It reflects bookkeeping realities rather than political conditions: items collected in 312/11 were booked under year 6 of Antigonus; in 311/10, they were still to be found under that heading, without political correction.

(d) The problematic status of Antigonus' rule is reflected in the damaged date formula of BM 109974, attributed to Uruk on the basis of the personal names of the parties and witnesses. The expected restoration is MU.4.KÁM *ša šī* [MU.x.KÁM ^{m}]*antug*[*un*]*usu* LÚ.GAL [*ūqu*], "year 4, which is [year x of] Antigonus the general."[5] If so, the only realistic possibility is "year 4 (scil. of Alexander IV), which is [year 5] of Antigonus." If that restoration is correct, the tablet is dated 25 March 312, it is the earliest contemporary acknowledgment (albeit a tacit one) of the reign of Alexander IV, and it suggests that a scribe in Uruk thought it proper to treat Antigonus' hegemony as a regency, but thought it politic not to name the infant king.

The texts include explicit mentions of the temples Esagil at Babylon (CT 49 5 and 6, BM 79100), Ezida at Borsippa (CT 49 17),[6] Ebabbar at Larsa (Ker Porter *Travels* II pl. 77g), and perhaps Rēš at Uruk (Hunger *Uruk* 128). They refer to temple estates (*makkūru*) as corporate entities, that is, as the creditors of payments due, proprietors of rented fields, or sources of disbursed payments, including the estates of the god Bēl (CT 44 83, CT 49 34, Columbia 362, HSM 893.5.17) and the temple Esagil (CT 49 5), of the god Nabû (CT 49 9, CT 49 40, BM 62684) and the temple Ezida (CT 49 17), and of the gods Šamaš at Larsa (Ker Porter *Travels* II pl. 77g), Sin(?) at Uruk (OECT 9 1), and Zababa at Kish-Hursagkalama (Langdon *Kish* III pl. xi).

Few texts mention interests of the crown or the provincial government. Ker Porter *Travels* II pl. 77g deals with a share in rents for land belonging to the 'estate of Šamaš' in or near Larsa that was collected by officials in charge of the 'treasury' or 'royal domain' (É LUGAL) at Babylon, a claim that apparently arose from a contractual relationship between the officials and the temple. UET 4 43 characterises land held on condition of royal service with a phrase found in late Achaemenid and earlier documents (*ana palāḫ šarri*, Stolper 1985: 61f.). UM 29-13-538 refers to 'royal assessors' (*ēmidū ša šarri*), otherwise unknown from earlier or contemporary texts, but it does not make the statutory or contractual context of their activity clear.

There are few overt traces of Iranian or hellenic cultural influence. The only explicitly royal official mentioned by name has an Iranian name (Indaparna, Ker Porter *Travels* II pl.77g: 6), but a person with an Iranian title that probably represents a royal appointment (Babyl. *azdākarri* < Ir. **azdākara-*, 'herald,' or the like), has a Greek name (Kalinuksu, perhaps = Kalinikos), and is he is identified, not by a patronym, but by the gentilic, 'Greek' (*ēmanaja*, lit.

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[5] To be sure, the grounds for this restoration are found in later texts. The Hellenistic Kinglist *Iraq* 16 203: 6 indicates the beginning of Seleucus I's effective reign with MU.7.K[ÁM] *ša šī* MU.1.KÁM *Siluku šarru* (see Grayson 1980: 98); and Arsacid legal texts equate years of the Arsacid Era with years of the Seleucid Era with the phrases MU.x.KÁM *ša šī* MU.y.KÁM *Aršakā šar šarrāni* (e.g., *ZA* 3 146 No.5: 16f., 147 No.7: 27ff., CT 49 145: 4ff., 150: 62f. etc.) or MU.x.KÁM *Aršakā šarri ša šī* MU.y.KÁM (BRM 2 52:26).

[6] The 'house of (the god) Mār Bīti' mentioned in CT 49 8 is presumably a part of the Ezida complex.

'Ionian', BM 79001:4f.). Very few other Iranian names appear (Bagabarta CT 49 5:2; Nabarzana CT 49 6:2; Piritā(?), Mitrā *ZA* 3 148f. No. 10:4 and 26), and even fewer Greek personal names, none of them certain (Laminni' CT 49 54 70, and 89, see van der Spek 1987: 69 n. 21; Partariḫlisu, Ker Porter *Travels* I pl.77g: 9, see van der Spek 1986: 206; *Duru-x-tīdi*, called 'Ionian,' BM 79001).

The plainest Macedonian innovation is the use of coinage, characterised as 'staters' (*istatirru*, the only Greek loanword in the texts), usually 'of Alexander,' and its first appearance in legal texts is strikingly early (UET 4 43 [Philip, year 7]; other occurrences: CT 49 34 and BM 79001 [both Antigonus], BM 61536 and *ZA* 3 148f. No. 10 [both Alexander IV]; cf. McEwan 1985: 170f.).

Many of the texts belong to archives that were already established in the late years of Achaemenid rule, documenting practices and relationships already in place well before the Macedonian conquest:

a) The ration lists VAT 6453, CT 49 12-13, 15, 24f., 27, 30-32, and BM 132271 probably belong to the same archive as similar texts from the reigns of Artaxerxes III and Darius III (Joannès 1982: 331ff.; Oelsner 1986: 200, 496 to p. 196). Other unpublished administrative lists may belong to the same group (BM 78948, 78949, and 78957).

(b) The letter-orders issued by Bulluṭ and his successor Nabû-kuṣuršu, 'paymasters of brewers,' come from the same office and must belong to the same archive as CT 49 1-4, similar texts from the reign of Artaxerxes III (see Oelsner 1971: 165f. etc.). The common element that ties these texts together is the senders' office, not the recipients. Hence, the documents are either duplicates (albeit sealed duplicates) held by the senders, or, far more likely, originals that had to be turned in by the recipients after the payments were made, the tablets being kept on file in the paymaster's office in lieu of receipts. In the latter case, some of the administrative receipts must belong to the same office and archive (CT 49 21, 29, 50, 95, 98). The reference in the letter-order CT 49 40 to payments to be made from the estate of 'Nabû, King of the Universe' (*Nabû šar kiššati*, line 8), and the mention of the 'estate of (the temple) Ezida' in CT 49 17, a receipt sealed by the same Nabû-kuṣuršu, confirm that the texts come from Borsippa (and so enhances the likelihood that Bulluṭ/Nabû-ēṭir, to whom tithes due to 'Nabû, King of the Universe' are to be paid in CT 49 9, is the same man as the like-named paymaster; cf. McEwan 1981: 125). In the receipt CT 49 46, the payer, Nabû-kuṣuršu/Bulluṭ, may be the paymaster of the same name, implying that he succeeded his father in the office (so van der Spek 1992: 246).

(c) CT 49 5 and 6 and BM 79100, from the reign of Alexander the Great, describe ex-voto offerings presented to the gods Bēl and Bēltiya as tithes. Another fragmentary ex-voto, though without preserved reference to a tithe, is

BM 79012, from the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus. Similar form and terminology occur in texts dated by one or more of the Artaxerxeses: Durand *Textes babyloniens* pl.89 AO 26785 (Joannès 1982: No. 119), Durand *Catalogue EPHE* pl.88 HE 194, *AJSL* 16 81 No. 31 (collated); EAH 240 and 242 (unpublished). These extraordinary texts must be administrative records held by the temples to which the payments were made, not memoranda of receipt held by the payers (though BM 79100 concludes like a legal text, with a list of witnesses and date formula, naming three 'scribes of Esagil' in the place where the scribe is ordinarily named). If so, all of them are likely to belong to a single archive held in an office at the temple Esagil in Babylon.

(d) IM 17801 (Alexander III) is tied prosopographically to texts from the reigns of Artaxerxes III and Darius III (Oelsner 1976: 314f.), belonging to the same excavated group (numbered U.17243). Other dated texts from the group are spread over the entire Achaemenid period, and two are dated by Neo-Babylonian rulers. UET 4 43 (Philip), also from the same group, is a receipt for rent on land held on terms characterised with a Babylonian phrase specific to texts from Ur (*ana mandattu*); the group also includes late Achaemenid leases of farmland on the same terms (UET 4 41f., 44, 46; see Van der Spek 1986: 186).

(e) BM 62684 and CT 49 9 (both Philip) are promissory notes from Borsippa for tithes owed to 'Nabû, King of the Universe' (cf. CT 49 40). BM 61419 and BM 62377, both from Borsippa, both dated by Artaxerxes, are texts of the same type, citing the god with the same epithet, likely to be from the same archive.[7]

2. *Real estate sales*

Two of the texts from the interval between Alexander and Seleucus I record sales of real estate in an extraordinary form (TCL 13 249 and 234). Three other hellenistic texts have the same form, one dated 54 S.E. = 258 B.C. (*VDI* 1955/4 No. 2, see Doty 1977: 205-212), and the others without preserved date (VAS 15 51 and MLC 2172, see Doty 1977: 39 and 81). All five are from Uruk. They are ostensibly receipts for the price of the properties sold. They omit any declaration of the sale or purchase proper, but they include elements that are otherwise usual in sales records and out of place in receipts: the detailed description of the property's dimensions and boundaries, the provision that the seller will clear third-party claims against the property, the statement that the buyer is to have the property in perpetuity, and a caption on the recipient's seal impression that explicitly characterises him as the seller of the property in question (*nādinān bīti šuāti*, etc.), rather than as the mere recipient of the money in question. These are not receipts for deferred payments. They were certainly the primary records of sale (see Krückmann 1931: 63; Lewenton 1970: 14ff.; Doty 1977: 81f.; 1978: 70; Van der Spek 1986: 191; Oelsner 1988: 117).

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[7] The use of the epithet in legal texts, however, is not peculiar to Achaemenid and hellenistic texts: TuM 2-3 83:1, TCL 12 71: 1 (both Nabonidus) and VAS 3 161: 2 (Darius I), cited CAD s.v. *kiššatu*, and note particularly the allusion to 'Šamaš, King of the Universe' in Ker Porter *Travels* II pl.77g: 4.

There is an Achaemenid precursor of this documentary form in the text MLC 2263, from the reign of Artaxerxes I or II, 426 or 366 B.C. (cited as a sale document by Doty 1977: 365 n. 151; see Clay 1913: 15; published in Stolper 1990c: No.13). It refers to a sale of urban real estate. Like the hellenistic examples, it begins by stating the price, continues by describing the dimensions and boundaries of the property, and then by stating the receipt of the price (in the same wording found in the hellenistic examples); it omits any explicit statement of the sale proper; its right edge has a seal impression with a caption that identifies the seal as the seller's. It differs from the hellenistic examples in that the body of the text ends with the receipt clause, appending none of the final clauses found in hellenistic real-estate sales.

The scribe who drafted *VDI* 1955/4 No.2 also wrote other real estate sales in the forms ordinarily used in hellenistic Uruk. The form of *VDI* 1955/4 No. 2 cannot therefore be inadvertent or purposeless, and the same applies to the other texts in the same form (Lewenton 1970: 15). If the form was a response to social, juridical, or archival conditions specifically affecting real estate sales, the nature of those conditions is wholly unknown, but MLC 2263 implies that they were already present under Achaemenid rule. The whole group of texts suggests that even if the conditions were general, the formal response was peculiar to Uruk. And the differences between MLC 2263 and the hellenistic examples suggest that this documentary form underwent a continuing development that brought increasing formal similarity to ordinary sale documents before this odd contractual type was abandoned after more than a hundred years of occasional use.

Another more general change in the documentary form ordinarily used for real estate sales at Uruk has been observed and described repeatedly: sale texts using the form that is normal for Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid alienations of immovable goods run only as late as 36 S.E.; sale texts dated as early as 24 S.E. use the form normal in sales of movables; after 32 S.E, the form used for movables is used regularly for sales of all kinds (e.g., Doty 1977: 80f.; Oelsner 1978: 112 with n.47).[8]

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[8] 32 S.E., cited by Doty and Oelsner as the date of the latest real-estate sale from Uruk in the older format, needs to be amended to accommodate a slightly later example, A.2526 (unpublished), dated 20/XI/36 S.E.

This description, however, applies only to texts from Uruk. The older form of sale record is represented in CT 49 137, drawn up at Borsippa in 118 S.E. (194 B.C.; cf. CT 49 178 [date lost], and see Oelsner 1971: 169, Van der Spek 1986: 43 n. 38, and below §3). Hence, if the change in form responded to changes in statutory conditions imposed at a provincial or imperial level, it was not an inevitable response to those changes.

Private sales of arable land dated later than 38 S.E. are absent from the cuneiform corpus. Doty speculated that this phenomenon arose from the imposition of the *epōnion* tax in the reign of Antiochus I, which forced the abandonment of cuneiform records of such sales in favour of records in Greek, on parchment or papyrus (Doty 1977: 329f.; cf. Oelsner 1988: 118). The phenomenon that this interpretation explains, however, a quantitative change from very few texts to none, may not reflect an abrupt historical event. It has Achaemenid preconditions, as Oelsner has observed, for sales of arable land and orchards are also very scarce among known Babylonian legal texts dated between Xerxes and Alexander. I know of only six examples: Durand *Textes babyloniens* pl. 41f. AO 17612 and pl.43f. AO 16611 (Šaṭir, reign of Artaxerxes I; see Joannès 1982: Nos.31f.); UET 4 18 (Ur, reign of Artaxerxes I, from the same group as IM 17801 and UET 4 43, see above §1); *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 4 pl. after 258, F (from the Kasr archive, probably from the vicinity of Babylon, reign of Artaxerxes I); BM 30121 (from the Kasr archive, vicinity of Babylon, reign of Artaxerxes I); and BM 54065 (Kutha, reign of Artaxerxes I; see Stolper 1991). The preserved part of the Murašû archive — the largest and most extensive known archive of the time — contains no bills of sale for land, although the Murašû family probably owned tracts of land outright.[9] This scarcity is not the result of an Achaemenid prohibition on sales of arable land, for a few texts of other types refer plainly to such sales: YBC 11552 (from the Kasr archive, date lost, probably reign of Darius II or early Artaxerxes II), a receipt for part of the sale price of a field; BM 30124:2 (from the Kasr archive, reign of Darius II), and BE 9 99:1 (from the Murašû archive, reign of Artaxerxes I), both referring to 'bought' orchards (*maḫīri kaspi*).

Even if this scarcity is the result of accidents of discovery, it may be meaningful. Excavators, licit or illicit, found parts of private legal archives. The parts they found contained few bills of sale for farmland. More such sales certainly took place. The bills of sale that recorded them (if they ever existed) established primary title to ownership of the land; on their face they had more durable legal value to their owners than the promissory notes and receipts that are recovered in such abundance, and they should therefore have been permanently archived. One may at least ask if under the late Achaemenids bills of sale for farmland and orchards were commonly drawn up but are not commonly found because they were ordinarily held apart from the buyers' private archives, in some depositories not discovered by modern excavators. I hestitate to extend any further a surmise that rests ultimately on negative evidence, but the issue can be put in a general form: the documentary phenomenon to be explained is perhaps not that there are only seven known records of the private sale of arable land dated between Alexander III and 38 S.E., 330-274 B.C.; the phenomenon may be not only more strongly marked but also more properly seen in a longer view, that there are only thirteen known records of sales of arable land from the period between Artaxerxes I and 38 S.E., about 460-274 B.C., even though the existence of such sales is independently attested. And the scarcity and eventual loss of such bills of sale from the cuneiform record are perhaps to be seen as reflecting steps in a development that began under Achaemenid rule.

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[9] BE 9 2 is not the record of a sale of land (van Driel 1987: 180, amending ibid. 171; Cardascia 1951: 134; Stolper 1985: 62 n.46).

3. *State regulation and cuneiform recording*

The sale document CT 49 137, from 118 S.E., is not an ordinary example of an older Neo-Babylonian contractual form, to be interpreted merely as a survival in Borsippa of a recording form that had been discarded as archaic or inappropriate in Uruk. The damaged reverse concludes with two exceptional clauses. One refers to a 'royal(?) decree' (*da-a-tum šá* ⸢LUGAL(?)⸣, line 29).[10] The second stipulates that the buyer is to pay the expenses of the sale from his own assets (*tēlīt ša maḫīrišu* PN *ultu bītišu inan*[*din*], lines 29f.).

What expenses are meant is not vouchsafed. Given the collocation of the phrase that mentions them with a reference to a royal regulation, it is an obvious guess that the expenses arose from the regulation, perhaps costs of registering the sale or taxes on the sale.

Three other Seleucid texts also cite a royal regulation, using the same Iranian loanword. The texts are of related formal types and they refer to underlying transactions of the same kind. Hence, they probably refer to the same legal prescription.

One of the texts is CT 49 173, drawn up at Babylon in the middle of the first century of the Seleucid Era.[11] It records a deposit of silver, packaged and under seal (*raksu u kangu*, line 2, *ina riksišu u kingišu*, line 6), payable on demand. Other contemporary texts from Babylon record transactions of the same kind in the same form and distinctive language (CT 49 103, 105, and 108). Late Achaemenid texts from Babylon (HSM 8405, HSM 909.5.674, *JCS* 1 351, all dated under Artaxerxes) also record transactions of the same kind in the same distinctive language and in similar, but less complex form. That is, CT 49 173 exemplifies a documentary category that was established under the Achaemenids and maintained and adapted under Seleucid rule. It is distinguished from other examples of the category by its concluding clause (lines 9-11):

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[10] There are ample parallels for the qualification *ša šarri* (LUGAL), 'of the king,' applied to the Iranian loanword *dātu* (in addition to passages cited in the dictionaries, CT 49 173:11, below, n.12); no other qualifications of comparable form are known to be applied to *dātu*. Hence, even though the passage in CT 49 137 is slightly damaged, I take the reading to be nearly certain.

[11] One of the principals is Murānu/Bēl-bullissu. Other texts in which he figures as a principal are dated 35-59 S.E. (Oelsner 1971: 168).

> *šāliṭ mam ša [šaṭā]ri kullu kaspa ā* 12 *šiqil* ⌈*paqdu*⌉ *šuāti libbû da-a-ta* ⌈*šá* LUGAL(!)⌉[12] *innesri*
>
> Those twelve shekels of silver, i.e., that deposit, may be collected in accordance with the royal decree (by?) any authorised person who possesses [the docu]ment.[13]

Contemporary records of deposit and related promissory notes conclude with similar clauses, but do not refer to the 'royal decree' (CT 49 105: 12, 106: 13-15, 111: 16f.). Late Achaemenid records of deposit have no such clause.

A second text, CT 49 102, written in or before 24 S.E (288/87 B.C.), is a damaged record of a similar transaction, involving an obligation of barley in lieu of a prior deposit of silver, to be paid two-fold after the term of the obligation has expired; it includes this stipulation (lines 7-8):

> [*kî*] *ana šanû la ittannu libbû dātu inandin*
>
> [if] he does not pay two-fold, he will pay according to the decree.

The third text, *ZA* 3 150f. No.13, written in 94 S.E. (218/17 B.C.), records a more complex transaction in several stages, but its first eight lines are again the record of a deposit of silver, in form and language that are close to those of earlier Seleucid and Achaemenid records of deposit. This first section concludes (lines 8-10):

> *kî ina adannišu la uttirri* PN *la ittannu libbû dātu ša šarri ša ana muḫḫi paqdu šaṭri inandin*

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[12] The copy has *da-a-ta* ⌈*a*? *ni*?⌉. Collation (by C.B.F. Walker) indicates more space between the ⌈*a*?⌉ and the ⌈*ni*?⌉ than the copy suggests, and that the second (right) wedge of ⌈*a*?⌉ is uncertain. If *dātu* is correctly read, contexts of other occurrences offer no parallel for any other reading of the following signs (above, n.11).

[13] The translation follows CAD s.v. *šaṭāru* s. meaning 1-b-3', but it is not free of problems. The verb form *in-ni-is-ri* is ostensibly passive, and no Akkadian preposition corresponds to the English 'by' to mark the agent; in any case, where the logical subject is stated, an active construction is expected. Other solutions: the verb form is deponent, with active, ingressive sense; or the clause is an asyndetic conflation of two related clauses, (1) the authorised person is anyone who holds the document, and (2) the deposit may be collected, etc.

> if PN (the deposit-holder) does not return it at the term appointed for him, he will pay according to the royal decree that has been promulgated (literally, written) concerning deposits (text singular).

In promissory notes, the usual sequel to "if (the debtor) does not pay at the stipulated date" is the statement that interest accrues at a stated rate. That is also the sequel in a Seleucid promissory note arising from a prior deposit (CT 49 106:5-7, cf. the companion record of deposit CT 49 105):

> *kî ina adannišu la ittannu ša arḫi ana muḫḫi* 1 *manê* 2 *šiqil kaspu ḫubullu ina muḫḫišu*
>
> if he does not pay at the term appointed for him interest (will accrue) against him at two shekels per mina per month.

Seleucid records of deposit from Babylon, then, followed late Achaemenid models and elaborated on them. At an uncertain date, the transactions that they recorded were brought under crown regulation. To judge by CT 49 173, the regulation governed general procedure (the transferability of the claim), and to judge by *ZA* 3 150f. No. 13 it governed specific terms (rate of interest or penalty for non-payment). It is hard to see how the crown's interest was served by this regulation unless it had other elements as well (if not a tax, seemingly inappropriate to such transactions, perhaps measures to protect some crown interest in temple income).

The royal regulation is invoked with the only non-native element of legal terminology in these texts, an Iranian loanword, allowing one to speculate that the regulation itself was older than the texts in which it was cited, that it was already promulgated under the Achaemenids.[14] I cannot give much weight to this etymological dating. Whenever it was promulgated, the regulation was not a mere survival. It had effect well after the Seleucids established control and had begun to make fiscal and juridical changes in Babylonia.

It is in any case clear that here and in the real estate CT 49 137 the crown's interest in the transactions was explicit and it was not incompatible with the preparation of a cuneiform record of transaction. Some qualifications therefore attach to any general application of the thesis stated by Doty (1977: 333) in this way:

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[14] The loanword *dātu*, sometimes translated 'law,' appears in Babylonian texts as early as the reign of Darius I. The cognate *dātabāru*, sometimes translated 'judge' appears in late Achaemenid Babylonian texts. I cannot cite positive evidence to refute the view, widespread at least since Olmstead 1948: 119ff., that the word refers specifically to a codified body of imperial law established under Darius, but there is no positive evidence for this interpretation, and it is wholly inconsistent with modern understandings of Mesopotamian law and legal procedure. It is not likely that *dātu* is a mere synonym for the Akkadian *dīnu*, 'judgment, (legal) case,' a word still in common use throughout Achaemenid and Seleucid legal texts. It seems unsound to associate particular items of legal lexicon with distinct bodies of 'imperial law' and 'Babylonian law.'

> that the factor which determined the medium in which a business transaction was documented at Seleucid Uruk was its susceptibility to regulation by the Greek administration. ... The cuneiform documents reveal only those elements of the native economy which remained free of such regulation.

and by Oelsner (1978: 109) in this way:

> dass wahrscheinlich im Zuge administrativer Massnahmen der seleukidischen Herrscher ... die Babylonier für bestimmte Typen von Geschäften ihr einheimisches Rechtssystem aufgeben mussten, da für diese fortan die Mitwirkung eines königlichen Beamten erforderlich war.

Babylonian legal texts offer grounds for supposing that royal regulation did not in itself exclude cuneiform recording merely because the kings were Macedonians and their officials wrote Greek (a simplistic characterisation in itself, appropriately criticised by Sherwin-White 1987: 6f.); for supposing that some formal innovations in cuneiform legal records took place in direct response to royal regulation; and for supposing that some features in the form and distribution of Seleucid legal texts were the result of processes already initiated under Achaemenid rule.

Appendix: *A handlist of Babylonian legal and administrative texts from the reigns of Alexander the the Diadochi*

(Unpublished texts are marked with *.)

ALEXANDER III or IV

*BM 78948 (Alexander): administrative fragment; disbursals of barley. Leichty et al. 1988: 177.

*BM 78949 (Alexander): administrative fragment; disbursals of barley. Leichty et al. 1988: 177.

OECT 9 73 (Kish/Hursagkalama, — / — / — Alexander): marriage agreement. Roth 1989: No. 36.

*UM 29-16-264 (— / — / — Alexander): fragment of sale, with citation of oaths, including an oath by 'King Alexander, their lord'; collated.

*VAT 6453 (Babylon, — —/II or III/ — — Alexander): administrative fragment, disbursals of grain. Unger 1970: 319 n.4 No. 15; Oelsner 1986: 200, 496 to p.196.

*BM 78957 (— —/XI/ — — Alexander): administrative fragment; disbursals of barley. Leichty et al. 1988: 177.

OECT 9 74 (Kish/Hursagkalama, — /IX/11 Alexander): letter-order.

ALEXANDER III THE GREAT

TCL 13 247 (Uruk, 16/I/8 Alexander III): sale of share in prebend. Rutten 1935: 244ff.; Doty 1977: 61f.

CT 49 24 (— / — /9 Alexander III?): list of barley disbursals, rations. Oelsner 1971: 162, 1974: 131 n.8; Joannès 1982: 334.

TCL 13 248 (Uruk, 8/II/9 Alexander III): sale of slave. Rutten 1935: 139ff.; Dandamaev 1965: 114-15.

CT 49 7 (Borsippa, 21/VI?/9 Alexander III): promissory note for deposit (*paqdu*) of barley, payable on demand.

CT 49 6 (Babylon, 6/XI/9 Alexander III): *ex-voto* presentation of silver, qualified as tithe, for clearance of rubble at Esagila. = CT 4 39c. Oelsner 1964: 265; Delaporte 1912: No.99; Kohler and Ungnad 1911: 61 No. 89; Oppert 1898: 415; Unger 1970: 318 No.56; McEwan 1981: 59; Joannès 1982: 358f.

CT 49 5 (Babylon, 5/XII/9 Alexander III): record of *ex-voto* payments of silver, qualified as tithe, for clearance of rubble of Esagila. McEwan 1981: 124; Joannès 1982: 358f.

CT 49 8 (Borsippa, — / — /10 Alexander III): receipt for beer(?).

*BM 79100 (18/X/11 Alexander): record of *ex-voto* payment of silver, tithe, for clearance of rubble of Esagila. Leichty et al. 1988: 181.

CT 44 83 (Babylon, 8/VII/12 Alexander III): promissory note for barley from Borsippa owed as tithe (line 2: *šá ina* GIŠ.BAR *Bar-sip*.KI <<ME>> *10-ú* NÍG.GA ^{d}EN; collated by D. Kennedy), payable II/13, interest to accrue after term.

*BE 15516 (Babylon, — / — /12 Alexander III): contents unknown. Unger 1970: 319 n.4 No.13; Oelsner 1986: 200.

*VAT 16268 (Babylon, — / — /12 Alexander III): legal. Oelsner 1986: 200 and n.779.

*IM 17801 (U. 17243,16) (Ur, 1/VIII/12 Alexander III): concerns lease of gatekeeper's prebend. Oelsner 1974: 131 n.8, 1976: 315 n.15, 1986: 235; Anon. 1966: 50 No. 29; Brinkman 1983: 242 n.38.

*BM 64392 (21/II/13 Alexander III): contract for construction work on house. Leichty & Grayson 1987: 123.

PHILIP III ARRHIDAEUS

CT 49 12 (— / — / — Philip): fragment of list of barley rations. Joannès 1982: 333.

*UM 29-13-538 (17?/VIII/ — Philip): lease or mandate of farmland, in dialogue form, mentioning amounts set(?) by 'royal assessors' (*ēmidū ša šarri*) to be paid to *mādidu*-officials; collated.

Durand *Textes babyloniens* pl.9 AO 6015 (10/ — /1 Philip): administrative fragment, listing items of silver, barley, dates, and livestock. Joannès 1982: 351 No.109.

*VAT 13103 (Babylon, — / — /1-3 Philip): concerns urban real estate. Unger 1970: 319 n.4 No. 16; Oelsner 1986: 200.

*BM 62684 (Borsippa, 23/ — /3 Philip): promissory note for dates owed as tithe to 'Nabû, King of the Universe.' Courtesy D. Kennedy. Leichty & Grayson 1987: 73.

3.L.83.6 (Larsa, 7/XI/3 Philip): promissory note for barley owed by a man from Uruk, due 4/II/4 Philip, with interest to accrue after term. Arnaud 1985: 18; Arnaud 1987: 217-19, 222-23; Joannès 1987.

CT 49 9 (Borsippa, 12/XI/3 Philip): promissory note for dates owed as tithe to 'Nabû, King of the Universe,' citing an earlier deposit of wool and a previous clearing of accounts of rations. Scribe = debtor. McEwan 1981: 125; Budge et al. 1908: 217 No. 336, 1922: 159. Perhaps = Pinches 1886: 188 (not available to me).

CT 49 10 (18/XII/4 Philip): administrative memorandum, silver expenses for costs of transporting dates. McEwan 1981: 33.

CT 49 11 (— / — /6 Philip): administrative fragment; disbursals of clothing allowance.

*BM 132271 (— /II (or later)/6 Philip): administrative; list of half year's barley rations for women connected with weavers, from IX/5 to II/6 Philip. Courtesy D. Kennedy.

Hunger *Uruk* 128 (Uruk, 7/XI/6 Philip): work contract for brewing, in dialogue form. McEwan 1981: 96.

BE 8/1 129: (Kutha, — / — /7 Philip): legal fragment; witnesses only. Krückmann 1931: 20; Oelsner 1974: 133, 1986: 231.

OIC 22 142 No. 28 (Nippur, — / — /(7) Philip): fragmentary receipt(?) for dates.

UET 4 43 (Ur, 22/IX/7 Philip): receipt for silver paid as year's rent (*mandattu*), on leased farmland with service encumbrance (*palāḫ šarri*). Oelsner 1986: 234; Van der Spek 1986: 183-187.

TCL 13 249 (Uruk, 20/V/8 Philip): sale of real estate, in form of receipt. Van der Spek 1986: 187-191; Doty 1977: 81-82, 143f.; Krückmann 1931: 63; Lewenton 1970: 14-16.

*BM 79012 (18/VII/8 Philip): *ex-voto* presentation to Bēl and Bēltija. Leichty et al. 1988: 179. Date collated by C.B.F. Walker.

ANTIGONUS

CT 49 53 (— / — / — <Antigonus>): letter-order (Bulluṭ). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 96 (<Antigonus>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Bulluṭ). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 97 (<Antigonus>): letter-order (Bulluṭ, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 52 (30/ — / — Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 51 (4/VI/ — Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Bulluṭ, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

*BM 78877 (Babylon, — /VII/ — Antigonus): legal. Leichty et al. 1988:170.

CT 49 34 (Babylon(!), [4?]/IX/3 Antigonus): promissory note for silver for tithe, due 4/IX/3, interest to accrue after term.

OECT 9 1 (Uruk, — / — /3+ Antigonus): quitclaim for field. Van der Spek 1986: 199-202; Oelsner 1986: 419 n. 608; Doty 1977: 144, 368 n.165.

CT 49 35 (— / — /4 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Bulluṭ, paymaster).

*BM 77203 (Babylon, 1/I/4 Antigonus): promissory note for silver. Leichty et al. 1988: 83.

CT 49 33 (18/VII/4 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Bulluṭ).

*BM 79001 (18/VII/4?): administrative memorandum of disbursal of silver on authorization of Kalinuksu the 'herald,' the 'Ionian.'

CT 49 37 (9/ — /4+ Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ, paymaster).

*BM 67431 (— / — /5 Antigonus): legal fragment. Leichty and Grayson 1987: 205.

CT 49 39 (— / — /5 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ, paymaster).

CT 49 38 (13/ — /5 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ, paymaster).

CT 49 56 (9/I/5 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 43 (— /VII/5 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 41 (23/VIII/5 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 40 (5/IX/5 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ, paymaster). McEwan 1981: 35 and 131.

CT 49 42 (4/X/5 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ). Oelsner 1971: 166.

*BM 109974 (Uruk?, 11/XII/[5?] Antigonus): promissory note for barley. Extraordinary date formula: (rev. 8') ITI.⸢ŠE⸣ UD.11.K[ÁM] MU.4.KÁM *šá ši-i* [MU.5(?).KÁM] (9') [^{m}]*An-tu-g*[*u-n*]*u-su* LÚ.GAL [*ú-qu*], i.e., year 4, which is [year 5] of Antigonus the General. Courtesy D. Kennedy. Oelsner 1986: 512f. to n.608; date collated by C.B.F. Walker.

CT 49 60 (— / — /6 <Antigonus>): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Bulluṭ). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 45 (9/ — /6 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1974: 136.

CT 49 48 (— / — /6 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 55 (— / — /[6]? [Antigonus?]): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166; 1974: 138.

CT 44 84 (— /III/6 Antigonus): administrative record of disbursals of clothing.

CT 49 44 (1/V/6 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates. Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 47 (8/VII/6 or 7 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Bulluṭ). Oelsner 1974: 137.

CT 49 36 (30/VII/6 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of dates from income of year 5 Antigonus (Bulluṭ, paymaster). Oelsner 1974: 137.

TCL 13 234 (Uruk, 26/VIII/6 Antigonus): sale of real estate, in form of receipt. Van der Spek 1986: 191-197; Doty 1977: 366 n.165, 143f.; Oelsner 1986: 148 and n.608, 1974: 138 n.35.

CT 49 49 (— /IX/6 Antigonus): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1974: 136.

CT 49 46 (6/IX/6 Antigonus): receipt for dates paid by Nabû-kuṣuršu/ Bulluṭ, to an agent obliged to register the payment with his principal on penalty of repaying the amount with interest to Nabû-kuṣuršu. Oelsner 1971: 166; 1974: 136.

CT 49 59 (3/XI/6 <Antigonus>): letter order, disbursal of dates (Bulluṭ). Oelsner 1971: 166; Van der Spek 1992: 246.

CT 49 50 (12/VI?/7 Antigonus): administrative receipt for silver from ration payments. Van der Spek 1992: 244 (reading the month as II).

ALEXANDER IV

CT 49 28 (— / — / — Alexander IV): administrative fragment.

*BM 40597 (Babylon, — / — / — Alexander IV): fragment concerning real estate; mentions month IX, year 6. Courtesy D. Kennedy.

CT 49 26 (6/V/ — Alexander IV): administrative receipt for silver.

CT 49 29 (6/VII/ — Alexander IV): receipt for barley rations.

CT 49 27 (— / — /1+ Alexander IV): list of disbursals of wool as clothing allowance for cooks. Joannès 1982: 333.

OECT 9 75 (Kish/Hursagkalama — / — /1+, Alexander IV): promissory note for dates.

CT 49 20 (— / — /6 Alexander IV): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster).

CT 49 19 (4/III/6 Alexander IV): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). = *ZA* 3 150 No. 12. Peiser 1896: 312f.; Oelsner 1964: 267; Kohler and Ungnad 1911: 61 No.90; Budge 1908: 217 No.337; 1922: 159; McEwan 1981: 140; Unger 1970: 320 n.4 No.24; Van der Spek 1992: 244.

CT 49 17 (8/IV/6 Alexander IV): receipt for wool from stores of the temple Ezida (Nabû-kuṣuršu).

CT 49 15 (— /V?/6 Alexander IV): fragmentary list of barley rations for cooks. Joannès 1982: 333.

CT 49 22 (15/V/6 Alexander IV): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster); dated by Alexander IV, but ordering payment to be made from dates of year 6 of Antigonus.

CT 49 16 (26/VI/<6> Alexander IV): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster).

CT 49 21 (4/VI/6 Alexander IV): administrative receipt for silver.

CT 49 18 (25/VI/6 Alexander IV): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster).

*HSM 893.5.17 (Babylon, 22/VII/6 Alexander IV): promissory note for silver owed as tithe, nominally due on date of text, interest accruing after term; witnesses omitted.

Langdon *Kish* III pl. xi (Kish/Hursagkalama, 12/V/7 Alexander IV): receipt (?) for beer belonging to the god Zababa. Unger 1970: 320 n. 4 No. 25a.

*BM 61536 (Babylon?, 1/IX/7 Alexander IV): promissory note for silver. Leichty & Grayson 1987: 42.

*BM 61745 (20/V/8 Alexander): administrative receipt for barley; Nabû-kuṣuršu. Leichty & Grayson 1987: 47.

*Oppert 1898: 418 (Borsippa, 10/IX/8 Alexander IV): receipt(?) for barley. Krückmann 1931: 69; Oelsner 1986: 226.

CT 49 23 (6/XII/8 Alexander IV): administrative memorandum of payment of silver. Oelsner 1971: 162.

Ker Porter *Travels* II pl. 77g (Babylon!, 11/ — /9 Alexander IV): legal protocol recording resolution of dispute over possession of temple fields and revenues. Van der Spek 1986: viii, 202-211; Van der Spek in Geller & Maehler, Legal Documents of the hellenistic Period, in press; van der Spek 1992: 241; Kuhrt & Sherwin-White in this volume; Oppert & Ménant 1877: 285-290; Loewenstern 1850; Layard 1851: pl. 80a.

*Columbia 362 (25/XI/10 Alexander IV): receipt(?) for dates, rental due for leased temple property, probably in the vicinity of Babylon. Mendelsohn 1943: 80; Oelsner 1986: 238; collated.

ZA 3 148f. No. 10 (<Babylon!>, 25/ — /11 Alexander IV): receipt for partial payment of silver, authorized by parchment document from the creditor(?), with quitclaim in favor of the payer. Collated by D. Kennedy (Babylon!). Oelsner 1974: 135 n.28, 1986: 231f. (Kutha?); Unger 1970: 320 n.4 No. 28; van der Spek 1992: 246 n.42.

CT 49 25 (— /XII/11 Alexander IV): ration list? Joannès 1982: 333.

INCERTA

CT 49 13 (— /III/2): fragment of administrative list; line 1 names Alexander; king's name missing from date formula; Oelsner 1971: 162; 1974: 131 n. 8 (year 11!, Alexander III); Joannès 1979-80: 102; 1982: 333 (year 2, Alexander IV); van der Spek 1992: 246 (year 2 Antigonus).

CT 49 14 (— / — /5?): letter-order, disbursal of barley (from Bēl-ibni, paymaster, to Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 162 (Philip, year 5); Joannès 1979-80: 108 (Alexander IV? year 5); Van der Spek 1992: 246 (Philip or Alexander, year 6?).

VAS 6 293 (— / — /4): ration list. Joannès 1982: 333 n.2: possibly from the reign of Philip rather than the reign of Artaxerxes (III).

CT 49 98 (— / — /4 <Antigonus?>): administrative receipt for barley rations. Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 100 (<Antigonus?>): administrative fragment (text missing, seal of Bulluṭ preserved).

CT 49 54 (26/ — / — <Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166; Van der Spek 1987: 69 n. 21.

CT 49 57 (16/XI/6 <Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166; Van der Spek 1992: 246.

CT 49 61 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 62 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 63 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 64 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 65 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 66 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 67 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 68 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 69 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 70 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166; Van der Spek 1987: 69 n.21.

CT 49 71 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 72 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 73 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 74 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 75 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 76 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 77 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 78 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of wool (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 79 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 80 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 81 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 82 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 83 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 84 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 85 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 86 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 87 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 88 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 89 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Nabû-kuṣuršu, paymaster). Oelsner 1971: 166; van der Spek 1987: 69 n.21.

CT 49 90 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 91 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 92 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 93 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of dates (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 94 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV>): letter-order, disbursal of barley (Nabû-kuṣuršu). Oelsner 1971: 166.

CT 49 95 (<Antigonus or Alexander IV?>): administrative receipt for barley, sealed by Nabû-kuṣuršu.

	Chronological Summary				
B.C.	*Regnal Years*				
	Alexander III				
330/29	7				
329/28	8				
328/27	9				
327/26	10				
326/25	11				
325/24	12				
324/23	13	Philip III			
323/22	14	1			
322/21		2			
321/20		3			
320/19		4			
319/18		5			
318/17		6	Antigonus		
317/16		7	1	Alexander IV	
316/15		8	2	1	
315/14			3	2	
314/13			4	3	
313/12			5	4	Seleucus I
312/11			6	5	Seleucid Era
311/10			7	6	1
310/09				7	2
309/08				8	3
308/07				9	4
307/06				10	5
306/05				11	6
305/04					7
304/03					8

BABYLONIAN MOTIFS
ON THE SEALINGS FROM SELEUCIA-ON-THE-TIGRIS

Antonio Invernizzi — Torino

The Municipal Archive Building at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was excavated by the Italian Archaeological Expedition to Iraq in the years 1966-1974 (Invernizzi 1968-69, 1970-71, 1972, 1973-74). It is a very large structure situated in the heart of the town, where the main public buildings were located. It runs along the western side of a central square, the north side of which is occupied by the theatre, now concealed under Tell ʻUmar, the most prominent mound in the archaeological area.

The building appears to have been built specially as a storehouse for documents written on parchment or papyrus, most of which were registered and sealed there. A unique fragmentary cuneiform tablet (Doty 1978-79) has been found on this site. Since it comes from a surface layer, however, it is impossible to establish wether or not it was originally stored in the Archive Building.

The seals bearing dates indicate that the building can be confidently dated to the Seleucid period. The greater part of the documents preserved here were transactions concerning the salt trade. This is shown by the seal impressions, which bear an inscription in Greek recording the payment of, or exemption from, the salt tax, ἁλικῆ. These official seals, which may have been a kind of receipt, are always dated according to the Seleucid Era. The range of preserved dates on sealings, totalling more than 30,000 — a figure that includes small fragments — runs from the second half of the third to the first half of the second century B.C. During this span of time the building was certainly in active use.

Although the building itself is not preceded by earlier ones, it is an open question wether the date of its construction goes back to a much earlier time, that is, to the very years when the urban layout of the city was being established, but this problem is not relevant to our subject. Since Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was a completely new foundation, all sealings and seal impressions found in its Municipal Archive Building must be later than the very end of the fourth century B.C. Among the designs of the official seals, the earliest datable one is a portrait of Seleucus I of the same type as that used on Antiochus I's coins. In Seleucia this same type was used for the seal of the *chreophylax* (Invernizzi 1976: fig. 5: 2; 1990: pl. 2: 4).

Even the sealings that do not have a dated stamp impressed on them can, nevertheless, be dated to the period of approximately one hundred and fifty years between the foundation of the city, which took place in the last years of the fourth at the earliest, and the middle of the second century B.C. At a time which cannot be more precisely determined, but which must have been later than 158 S.E. (155/54 B.C.), the building was completely destroyed in a great fire which burned all its contents. The parchments and papyri stored in it were therefore lost, but at the same time their sealings were baked, and so preserved down to the present day.

The final date of the archives is likely to be within the Seleucid period or, at the latest, at the very beginning of the following Arsacid period, since not one single feature of the seals has any clear affinities with Parthian culture or implies Arsacid rule. We may presume that the fire took place after 155/54, which is the last date preserved on ἁλικῆ seals, and possibly even after 141 B.C., the year of Mithradates I's entry into the city.

What is of particular interest here, and must therefore be stressed, is that the archaeological evidence shows that the seals form an absolutely coherent group as far as the date of their use is concerned, since all the impressions were made in the Seleucid period, but that they are not necessarily a coherent group with respect to the date of manufacture of the original seals.

In most cases the two dates certainly coincide. This is certainly true of the official ἁλικῆ stamp, which is always dated to the year. These ἁλικῆ seals form by far the largest group of sealings. The remaining seals have figured motifs and the variety of the repertoire is more interesting, as it shows the range of designs in use at Seleucia. Normally we find seals whose iconography and style are purely Greek, and more specifically hellenistic, from the beautiful royal portraits of the large gem-seals to the small seals of the witnesses to the salt transactions.

These last impressions occur in association with the dated ἁλικῆ stamps on the same sealing, and this gives a *terminus ante quem* for their carving. The royal portraits find a *terminus ad quem* in the years of the king's reign. However, portraits may not always be exactly contemporary. The personal seals of the kings certainly are contemporary, but their portraits on the seals of officials may be later. This is normally the case with Seleucus I's portrait on the *chreophylax* seal, probably dating from the reign of Antiochus I, as it is related to Seleucus' portrait on his son's coins. The use, and especially the carving, of the remaining seals of Greek type cannot be precisely dated, and we have to rely on indirect evidence such as a consideration of their occurrence on sealings and of the general distribution pattern on the one hand, and of their iconography and style on the other.

However, the problem of the contemporaneity of the carving and use of a seal is even more acute in the case of another group of impressions. In addition to the seals referred to above, the archives of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris have preserved seals which are not Greek, but display an Oriental iconography and style of carving. This is a much smaller group than the hellenistic one, but the total number of occurrences is by no means negligible. Even more interesting, this group is far from homogeneous. On the contrary, it shows a considerable variety of types. The seals concerned may basically be classed, on typological grounds, in two groups, one of which is clearly Babylonian, the second Achaemenian.

I have already drawn attention to the plurality of styles of the Seleucia seals in my study of the population of the city, or, rather, of its merchant class (Invernizzi 1984). It would be impossible to give an exhaustive discussion of all the evidence here. The aim of this paper is merely to examine in some detail one aspect of the problem, in the absence of a complete catalogue of the sealings at present.

The classification of individual seals of these groups cannot always be defined with certainty, and the seals presented here have been selected from among those of the Babylonian group so as to show its stylistic variety. Special attention has been given to what is perhaps the major problem, i.e. the date of the original seals, a problem which is made more difficult by the fact that we are dealing with impressions, often very faint.

Seal no.1 shows an unmistakably Mesopotamian design. Two impressions of it are preserved in the archives: 1a, S7-4033 (Invernizzi 1976: fig. 5:9; 1984: fig. 3; 1985: no. 115, p. 177), and 1b, S7-4650. This is also the only seal in the collection that bears a single line cuneiform inscription, 'property of,' above the figure of an animal lying in left profile on a support.

The animal's body is very slender, its back line almost straight, its tiny shoulder and thigh modelled, its legs slender and very long. The back leg shows less relief, the front one lies on the support, but its paw was not impressed on the clay sealings, which are both smaller than the seal. The back paw apparently has a slender, arched shape and looks rather large in comparison with the tiny leg. The animal's neck is stretched forward slightly and rather long, its dorsal profile being underlined by a faint strip of fur. The head is also elongated, though its end is squared, apparently with a small protruding relief, while a tiny ear, or perhaps a horn, rises from the back of it. The tail is also very tiny and rises oblique and straight.

The animal of seal no.1a has been described as a dog, but a careful comparison of both impressions makes this doubtful, especially in view of the head and tail features. These are, however, perfectly appropriate to a *mushhushshu*, the dragon of Marduk, with horned serpent head and snake tail: so are the general proportions and the paws, which may well be understood as leonine. A survey of the motifs known from Neo-Babylonian glyptic supports this interpretation.

The Neo-Babylonian repertoire is marked by a characteristic devotional context. The most typical scene of the stamp seals shows a worshipper in the presence of sacred symbols, usually standing on a support. The *mushhushshu* is sometimes portrayed in this position. It is lying down and holds on its back

Marduk's spade and Nabu's stylus. Its body may be completely covered with scales (Legrain 1925: no. 680, pl.xxxiv), or be smooth and anatomically modelled (Delaporte 1920-23: A759, p. 172, pl. 92:29; Delaporte 1910: nos. 598-600, pl. xxxvii, p. 316-317; Vollenweider 1983: no. 81, pl. 37, p. 74; Jakob-Rost 1975: nos. 251-255, p. 55. pl. 11).

This classical scene is also found at Persepolis on tablets from the treasury (Schmidt 1957: seals nos. 61-62). But even more interesting is the fact that the worshipper may be omitted, so that the *mushhushshu* supporting the sacred emblems may be the sole object of representation. We find it both with the scaly body, well known from the monumental art of Babylon, on a cone seal (Delaporte 1920-23: A731, p. 171, pl. 91: 19a; cf. Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 388, p. 73, pl. 15), and anatomically modelled (Delaporte 1910: no. 620c, p. 322, pl. 38).

The attitude of the animal on the Seleucia seal is exactly the same as that of the *mushhushshu* in Neo-Babylonian seals and clearly differs from that of the dog in Neo-Babylonian glyptic. The dog's proportions are quite similar, but the animal is shown lying only when it has a supporting function, such as that of supporting the goddess Gula enthroned (Delaporte 1920-23: A731, p. 171, pl. 91:25b). Otherwise, when the dog is the exclusive object of representation, it is sitting, its front legs erect, on a segment depicting the ground (Delaporte 1910: no. 536b, pl. 35, p. 298), or on a low base (Delaporte 1920-23: A736, p. 171, pl. 91: 25b). It also has this attitude when it is represented on a podium in front of a worshipper (Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 382, pl. 13, p. 60).

Thus, the attitude of the animal of the Seleucia seal fits exactly with that of the *mushhushshu*. Its tail is also closer to the sinuous, vertically erect serpent-tail of this monster than to the curled tail of the dog. On our seal, the tail is actually extended obliquely. The head also has a generally snake-like appearance, though the richly detailed definition of the Neo-Babylonian gems cannot be made out here. Details such as the bifurcated tongue may well be missing because of the faint impression, however. The feature rising backwards from the back of the head may be a horn rather than an ear. At any rate, dogs' ears usually point forwards in Neo-Babylonian glyptics (Delaporte 1910: no. 542a, pl. 35, p. 301).

The support itself is rather elaborate and shows the same structure as that of the *mushhushshu* (Delaporte 1920-23: A759): two horizontal bands connected by a series of vertical sticks, which in the Seleucid seal are smaller and closer together. In Neo-Babylonian stamp seals the surface of the bands of the horizontal frame seems to be described by horizontal (Delaporte 1920-23: A759) or undulating (Delaporte 1920-23: A767, p. 173, pl. 92: 35) lines. In this last case, the altar supports a *kudurru* crowned by the star of Ishtar. This shows that the altar motif does not have a specific connection with one particular god but is probably generic.

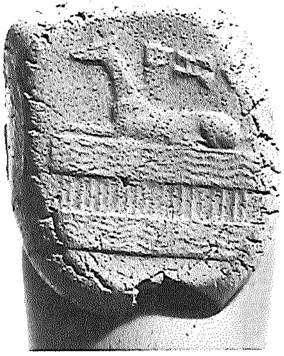

Fig. 1a. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: seal no. 1a on sealing S7-4033.

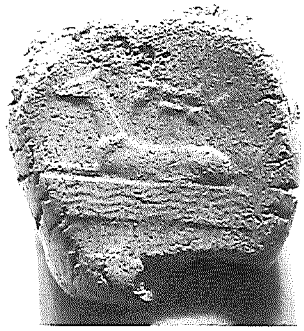

Fig. 1b. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: seal no. 1b on sealing S7-4650.

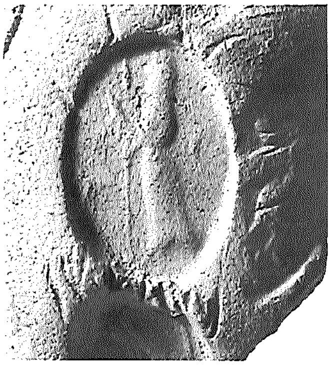

Fig. 2. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: seal no. 2 on sealing S6-907.

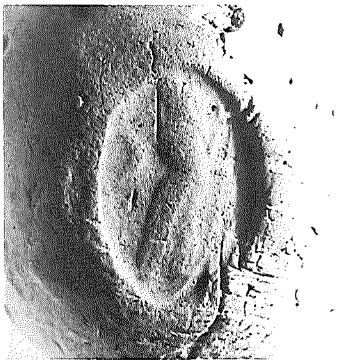

Fig. 3. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: seal no. 3 on sealing S6-4886.

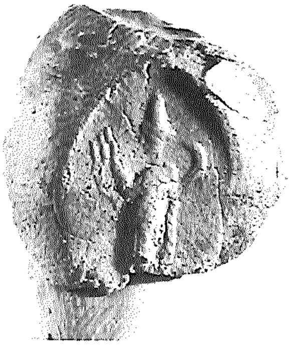

Fig. 4. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: seal no. 4 on sealing S6-3918.

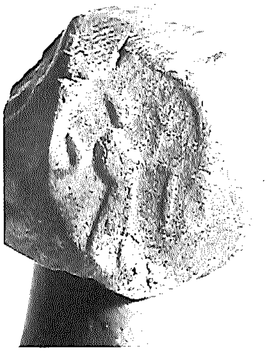

Fig. 5. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris: seal no. 5 on sealing S-9754.

The representation of the Seleucid animal is precisely that of the Neo-Babylonian *mushhushshu*, shown in strict profile so that the right side is completely concealed. If one compares it with the examples quoted, ours shows perhaps rather less rich modelling, although the body structure is very skilfully defined. Surfaces are basically flat, though details such as shoulder and thigh are more delicately modelled. It must be stressed, however, that this is an impression, and that although it is not of great precision, it suggests an original seal of fairly high quality.

In spite of the fact that it is typically Neo-Babylonian, the subject of the Seleucia seal does not seem to have exact counterparts among Neo-Babylonian seals. In Seleucia the dragon seems the exclusive object of representation, is supported by an altar and does not support the sacred symbols of the highest Babylon gods. The very presence of an inscription is a quite exceptional feature. The Neo-Babylonian stamp seals are usually of a smaller size, which does not leave space for inscriptions. Here, the inclusion of the inscription is made possible by the large size of the seal.

The inscription shows that this is the property of someone whose name is not clear. Perhaps the inscription was not impressed completely, though in no.1b this does not seem to be the case. The original seal was probably a cylinder rather than a large oval signet. Although the stamp seal seems to have been in almost universal use in the archives of Seleucia, there are nonetheless rare exceptions. The flat surface and the size of the impression, which reaches 2.18 × 1.9 cms (being incomplete), may also suggest that the *mushhushshu* seal was a cylinder rather than a stamp seal. In that case the design may be incomplete, but it cannot be considered certain that the scene was completed by the figure of a worshipper, given the absence of divine symbols on the back of the Seleucia animal.

This description has been given in some detail in order to stress both the similarities with Neo-Babylonian seals and the features which are peculiar to the Seleucia seal. These features may well be connected with the date of the original seal. It was certainly in use during the Seleucid period, but may have been made some time before then, judging from the subject alone. The sensitive style of the flat modelling, too, means that a Neo-Babylonian date cannot be definitely ruled out. However, a date in the Achaemenian, or possibly the Seleucid, period for the carving of the original seal must be given serious consideration, since some iconographic and stylistic features of our seal do not have exact counterparts in Neo-Babylonian seals, namely the tail, the head, the absence of symbols.

Seal and seal impression could thus be contemporary. If so, the seal would be evidence, in the field of glyptic, of an operation similar to that represented by the Anu-Antum temple of Uruk in the field of architecture, that is, a new adaptation of a subject typical of the old Babylonian tradition, but not exactly

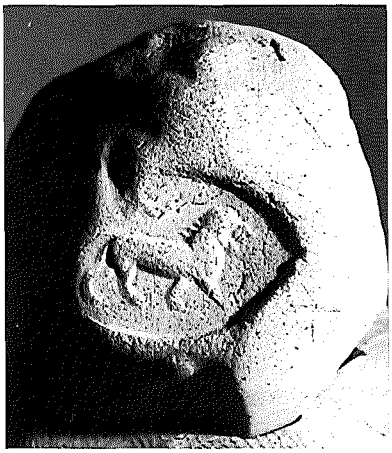

Fig. 6. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris:
seal no. 6 on sealing S-2916.

a regeneration of it through really innovative forms. This phenomenon, so widely represented at Uruk-Orchoi, would not be restricted to a local horizon, to the limits of a centre which had had a glorious past but was now provincial. The capital itself, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, would share in this situation to a certain extent, though no doubt in different and quantitatively less meaningful ways, since there was no earlier existence, here, of institutions central to urban society, such as the temples of Anu and of Inanna at Uruk, charged as they were with the heritage of a millennia old cultural tradition.

This, however, is by no means the only evidence that points in this direction. There are other designs which can be traced back to Neo-Babylonian tradition. This is certainly true, for example, of some impressions of stamp seals of oval shape, in whose field there is a standing male figure, dressed in a long robe. There are several variations of this motif.

Seals no. 2 (S6-907) and no. 3 (S6-4886) have a rather similar appearance. The figure of no. 2 is shown in left profile, one foot advanced, holding a long stick-sceptre almost vertically in his right hand, while the other arm is bent in front of the face, the hand apparently open. A long robe, belted or at any rate modelling the waist, conceals a body of rather full proportions but still slender, with a characteristic two-curve-profile, whereas the front profile is rather straight.

In no. 3 the figure is in right profile and has much heavier proportions. In his right hand, he seems to hold a slightly shorter sceptre with a broad triangular end reminiscent of the Marduk spade as depicted in the Neo-Babylonian stamp seals mentioned above (alternatively, this shape might be the result of the hand superposed on the sceptre), while the left hand is raised in front of the face. The lower part of the robe is marked by an oblique line possibly indicating the vertical rim of the material (cf. Porada 1948: no. 781), or the pleated motif so carefully delineated in the *kudurru* of Marduk-apla-iddina II. Both impressions are rather faint but in no. 3 we may imagine a long beard and a round cap or a rounded tiara. In this same seal, a vertical crescent stands out in the field behind the figure, its points outwards. This same symbol also completes the pattern of no. 2, but has been impressed even more faintly.

The silhouette of these figures has close parallels for mass and profile in the stamp seals of linear style from Assur (Jakob-Rost 1975: nos. 325, pl. 13, p. 64 and 374, pl. 15. p. 71), but the greatest similarities are to be found in modelled style cylinders. Worshippers, such as Porada 1948: nos. 781-782, 784-785, show exactly the same back profile, though apparently less soft and more slender than at Seleucia, where in no. 2 a tendency of the robe may be observed to widen at the bottom and to model the hip. In no. 3, too, if the faint impression is not deceptive, the head looks more conical than on Neo-Babylonian cylinders — either because it has a hair-cap or because it is wearing a hat — and the beard is apparently more pointed and rather reminiscent of the Assur intaglios (especially Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 374).

The precise iconography of our seals, the figure holding a long stick-sceptre, is well known from Neo-Babylonian monumental art, where Nabonidus in particular makes systematic use of it on his stelae (Börker-Klähn 1982: pl. 263-266). However, this is apparently not a favourite motif in glyptic. Here, figures commonly make the same gesture of worship with a raised hand, but rarely hold a stick, as does, for example, the figure on the seal carved in linear style in the seventh-sixth century B.C. (Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 353, pl. 12, p. 58), the other arm being horizontally folded at the waist. The bare-headed(?) worshipper of Boehmer 1984: pl. 29d (= von der Osten 1936: no. 132), performs his devotional gesture in the same attitude as our figure, holding his stick above the ground. On the other hand, in the Neo-Babylonian repertoire ritual scenes are preferred, rarely with isolated figures shown, as in Legrain 1925: no. 704. This last seal is especially close to Seleucia seal no. 3 because of its style, its proportions and the gesture of the left arm, but it lacks the long attribute.

This style of representation survived the Neo-Babylonian dynasty and continued into Achaemenian Babylonia. Different stamp and cylinder seal impressions on cuneiform tablets can be used to create a link connecting Neo-Babylonian and Seleucid sealings. On the Louvre tablet Delaporte 1920-23: A795, pl. 121, p. 175, dated to year 2 of Darius, a priest worships emblems. A tablet found in the Nebuchadnezzar palace (Klengel-Brandt 1969) is dated to year 32 of Artaxerxes I (465-425 B.C.), a date applicable to the tablets found together because of the names of the registered officials. The figure appearing before the divine symbols on the seals of this group is again very similar to ours, except for the sceptre. Very similar, too, is the silhouette of a worshipper raising his hands before emblems, wearing a long belted robe, but bare-headed (Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 744, pl. 40, p. 50; cf. also the figure of no. 756, raising a cup and possibly holding an emblem in the other hand).

The Ur impressions were found in a clay coffin of the Achaemenian period, and this collection is reported to have been formed probably after the middle of the fifth century B.C. (Legrain 1951: p. 47). Stamp seals similar to these are also known from the same period in the Murashu archives from Nippur. The shaved Babylonian worshipper holding an aryballos, with short hair and in a long robe (Legrain 1925: nos. 957-960, pl. xlv and lix, p. 349-350), is dated to the reigns of Darius II (PBS II:1, 94, 95, 122, 148, 150, 173) and Artaxerxes II (Hilprecht & Clay 1898: 80). The figure of Legrain 1925: no. 961, pl. xlv and lix, p. 350 (Clay 1904: 130; PBS II:1, 145), dated to Darius II, is only distinguished from the former by the long beard, which makes him even closer to ours.

None of these subjects shows a sceptre. However, there might be evidence of it in the Achaemenian period, if we accept the reconstruction proposed by Delaporte (1920-23) for the seal on tablet A793, p. 176, pl. 120: 3a. The seal is incompletely impressed and shows a Babylonian worshipper in right profile, his right arm raised in front of his chest, his left extended forward horizontally as if holding a stick. There was no space on the tablet for the left hand, however. The possibility nonetheless remains that the figure was holding a long sceptre as the Seleucia one does. The Louvre seal was impressed on a tablet dated to Artaxerxes II and its style perfectly fits the Achaemenian period with its slender proportions, in spite of the head-cover that distinguishes the figure from those we have considered so far.

This is a conical tiara with a typically Babylonian tassel, which here reaches to the lower edge of the robe. This tiara is fairly tall, and more clearly conical than that portrayed in the monumental reliefs of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. Wether the Seleucia figures, especially no. 3, are wearing a similar tiara, is a question that must remain unanswered because of the faint imprint. If they are, the tiara is probably more rounded. The question of chronology must also remain open, since a clear stylistic reading is precluded for the same reason and a definite choice between the Achaemenian and Seleucid period for the original seal is impossible.

The motif has at any rate a very long history, since the elliptical seal of Nidintu-Anu on a tablet from Uruk dated to 108 B.C. (Boehmer 1984: p. 283, pl. 29c) shows this same figure in right profile with long sceptre and conical tiara. What is more, the proportions of the figure and the silhouette with curved profiles are still those of the Seleucia figure no. 2 and of its antecedents.

The impressions of seals nos. 4 (S6-3918) and 5 (S-9754), which show similar figures in left and right profile respectively, are also rather faint. The perfectly conical tiara clearly visible on the head of both makes it possible to date them to a period much later than the Neo-Babylonian period. Some features of seal no. 5 are common to no. 3, namely the back profile marked by a wide upper curve and the vertical crescent. The robe, however, does not appear similarly long. For the rest, almost no details are discernible. The face looks shaved, the cheeks rather full. The attitude of the arms is by no means clear; one might be raising a branch, the other bent forward at the waist towards a columnar altar. The figure with the conical cap is already known among the Seleucia sealings published by McDowell (1935: pl. iii: 55-56, p. 98), who interprets him as performing a sacrifice in an Oriental cult, the term Oriental being defined as characterising a motif that shows no signs of Greek influence in its concept. In this case, Semitic rather than Iranian elements are suggested as the background for the rite.

The subject of seal no. 5 has a fairly precise counterpart in the motif of a bronze ring bought by the Geneva Museum on the antiquaries market (Vollenweider 1983: no. 63, p. 37-38). A figure in right profile stands out on the oval field, with both hands raised, one open in an attitude of prayer, the other holding a branch or a flower above a columnar altar which stands on a level higher than the figure's feet, exactly as at Seleucia. The Geneva altar differs from ours in that its base is wider and its upper end is divided into two segments. The Geneva figure has a beard and long hair, and is bare-headed but wears a long robe marked by a thick vertical fold reminiscent of our figure no. 3. Another feature common to our seal is the vertical crescent with points facing outwards. Vollenweider dates the ring to the fourth century B.C.

The attitude of the figure in seal no. 4 is uncertain. The prominence of the right shoulder at first sight recalls a three-quarter view in Greek style. However, the face, which is clearly impressed, is shown in profile. The features of the face are slender, and the tiara is a pointed cone, the hair being well separated from it, shaped like a crown at its base and neatly projecting from it, especially at the back. A vertical crescent can definitely be made out at the back, but the interpretation of what is depicted in front of the figure is not certain. The possibility that it is a threefold blurred imprint of the raised right arm should probably be ruled out, since the remaining contours of the figure are firm, and not even doubled. It is more likely that the figure is shown with both arms bent and raised, one hand perhaps holding a branch and the other open, or both hands holding branches.

The conical cap finds its closest parallel in the seal of Nana-iddin (OECT 9: no. 46), described by Buchanan as a "man in tall hat holding long object (?) before him, on line". On the drawing, even the hair band corresponds. The two figures also share the narrow vertical band along the left side of the body, reinforcing the impression that the shoulder of our figure is raised. In Nana-iddin's seal it might be the arm extended along the body, but the drawing suggests a figure possibly holding the long object (not to be identified as a stick) with both hands. If so, the vertical form on the left side might belong to the dress, a piece of material falling from the shoulder, possibly the hem of a mantle, which would be consistent with the short, knee-length robe, probably of western type. The dress of the Seleucia figure might be the same, that is, a tunic and a mantle. On the vertical material, short twisting folds may perhaps be made out; transverse lines on the torso and vertical folds below, similarly faint, may describe mantle and tunic according to the Greek style.

The Oxford seal is impressed on a tablet found in Uruk and dated to 21/VI/111 S.E. This corresponds fully to the date of the Seleucia seal. In both cases, we are probably faced with a hellenistic transformation of an old Babylonian-Achaemenian motif, and the original of no. 5 may well belong to the Seleucid period. The Louvre impression A793, p. 176, pl. 120: 3a, mentioned above and dated to Artaxerxes II, and the Nippur impressions Legrain 1925: nos. 962-964, pl. xlc and lix, p. 350, with their shaved worshipper with conical hat, dated to Darius II (BEX: 71, 132; PBS II: 1: 122), show an intermediate step in the transformation process of the old Neo-Babylonian figure, the Nippur figure no. 964 being especially close to the Seleucia instances with respect to the shape of the cone.

Among the animal motifs of the Seleucia sealings, there are various different styles, and an example chosen from among them may conclude this review intended simply to demonstrate the use of seals with older motifs at Seleucia in the third to second century B.C. The pattern of seal no. 6 (S-2916) is a lion passant, completed by a crescent above its back. The impression has been made by an elliptical ring. The lion passant is already known from Seleucia (McDowell 1935: pl. v: 87, p. 123), and McDowell has classified it as 'general', that is, a motif which is common to both Greek and Oriental concepts. This is certainly true, but this does not necessarily mean that a more precise specification of the origin of a particular version of the motif must remain impossible.

The lion passant may be found in archaic and classical Greek gems (e.g. the archaic scaraboid Furtwängler 1900: pl. viii: 45 with curled tail, or the classical gems Furtwängler 1900: pl. xi: 39 = Lippold n.d.: pl. lxxxiv: 12; Richter 1968: pl. 373, 377. 378 with curled tail, all fifth century), and is also known on Graeco-Persian gems (Boardman 1970: pl. 995, with curled tail). Certainly the motif is Greek as well as Graeco-Persian and Mesopotamian. Suffice it to mention the almost obsessive use of the motif in the architectural decoration of Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon. On a more modest scale, we find it again at Ur in the Achaemenian period on the elliptical seal Legrain 1951: no. 794, p. 51 together with a star, a crescent and a trefoil(?). Its proportions are more slender than those of the Seleucia example but it has the same long erect neck and short mane giving it a radiate profile. The mouth is open at Seleucia as well.

The quality of the carving seems to be inferior to that of the Ur seal but on the whole it does correspond. No. 793 is also a lion, squatter than that of Seleucia, this last being less elegant than no. 794 because of its almost straight profile. That the lion passant was a fairly widespread motif in the Achaemenian empire is also attested by the seals found in Ramat Rahel, where we meet with a rough version of it (Aharoni 1962: p. 34, pl. 30: 7,9; p. 10, fig. 9: 9,10,12, pl. 8: 6; 1964: p. 22, pl. 21: 1-3).

Seleucid Mesopotamia provides evidence of the long life of this archaic version which is hardly found in the hellenistic world, so that it would perhaps be better to attach the origin of Seleucia seal no. 15 and related examples to the Mesopotamian-Achaemenian branch of the motif.

The lion of Anu-belšunu's seal (McEwan 1982: no. 21) is passant, preceded by a crescent, and has a thicker mane, with legs touching the edge of the elliptical seal. Its impression is on a tablet dated 26/—/80+ S.E. The lion of a seal on another Seleucid tablet whose precise date is lost, is in the same attitude, though even stiffer, and below a crescent. Similar motifs are also found on two elliptical rings which have left their impressions respectively on a tablet dated 132 S.E. (Delaporte 1920-23: A802, pl. 122: 2a,2b, p. 177: passant towards a symbol) and on a Seleucid bulla (Delaporte 1920-23: A806, pl. 122: 6c, p. 177: passant towards a crescent and a crab (?)). The same motif is also attested by the Seleucid Brussels tablets from Uruk (Speleers 1917: nos. 197-202). Because of the faint imprints, it would be rash to select a date for any original seal of this group, the Seleucia one included, in the Seleucid rather than the Achaemenian period.

In conclusion, the present evidence shows that several motifs employed at Seleucia may go back to an earlier date. These motifs show that the seals' owners searched the pre-Seleucid heritage for inspiration in various ways. The quality of the original carvings, as far as can be judged from the impressions, also seems varied and testifies to different levels in culture as well as in wealth among the citizens who used their seals in the municipal archives. The Seleucia community, and its culture, is, after all, far from being homogeneous or fully Greek in the Seleucid period, as is also pointed out by classical authors. The evidence of the archives, suggests that local elements may have had an important influence in the town, both in terms of wealth and of culture.

THE FIRST COINS OF JUDAH AND SAMARIA: NUMISMATICS AND HISTORY IN THE ACHAEMENID AND EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIODS

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I. *Introduction*

In the last two and a half decades something of the veil of darkness that has hung over Israelite and Jewish history in the Achaemenid and early hellenistic periods has begun to dissipate. We are still far from being able to write a coherent narrative of this history, but we can now talk more specifically, particularly for the Achaemenid part, about social organisation and material culture, thanks to the intensive archaeological exploration of Achaemenid Palestine, magisterially reviewed by Ephraim Stern (1982), coupled with the much better understanding now available of the overall workings of the Achaemenid empire (e.g., Tuplin 1987b). Of the new Palestinian data perhaps none has excited more attention than the coinage, the first known to have been minted in Judah and in its northern, ethnically and religiously related neighbour, Samaria. The present paper will survey the corpus of these coins — the history of their discovery, classification, and dating — and then look at some of the historical questions they pose.

II. *History of discovery*

Until the 1960s, the study of the Judaean and Samaritan coinage had proceeded rather fitfully. Only seven coins were known — six with some form of the name of Judah and one with the Biblical name Yehezqiyah and what came to be recognised as his title, 'the governor' (*hpḥh*). Important early analyses were contributed by G.F. Hill (1914), E. L. Sukenik (1934, 1935), and M. Narkiss (1938), but the number of coins was too small, and the knowledge of Achaemenid and early hellenistic Palestine too modest, to allow extensive discussion.

In the 1960s, continuing through the early 1980s, several hundred new coins appeared on the market, and more may well come. Most of these were 'unscientifically' discovered, and the pace of exploration was doubtless fuelled by the intensified political and military tensions of that period. These new coins not only added considerably to the number of Judaean types, they revealed a hitherto unsuspected Ptolemaic period of production, as well as, even more unexpected, Samaritan issues in several varieties. Scholarly discussion now picked up in tempo and volume, stimulated also by other, new archaeological data on Achaemenid and early hellenistic Palestine and a refocussing of attention on Jews and Judaism of these periods. The main surveys of the new coinage, bringing it together with the seven discovered before, are by L. Mildenberg (1979, 1988), U. Rappaport (1981), Y. Meshorer (1982; cf. his earlier 1967 volume), E. Stern (1982: chap. 8), J. Betlyon (1986), and D. Barag (1986-87).

III. *The corpus*

At present, two broad categories of coins can be discerned: those minted in the territorial unit of Judah and those in the unit of Samaria.

A. Judaean

The Judaean is by far the larger, numbering more than 300 coins (Meshorer 1982: 13). These have not all been published. Rather, we have been given examples of — hopefully — all the types, and in cases where the examples are not numerous, then all have been made available. Chronologically, the Judaean coins divide mainly into two groups: Achaemenid, of the fourth century B.C.; and hellenistic, specifically early Ptolemaic, of the first half of the third century. There may also be another hellenistic group, to be situated in the Macedonian period, i.e., in the last three decades of the fourth century B.C., of Alexander and the Diadochoi.

For these coins, a Judaean origin can be fixed by their legends and/or their provenience. There are two groups of legends, which always appear on separate coins and have different chronological distributions. The first, found on coins in all the periods, contains the name of the territorial unit, Judah, written (1) as *yhd* or less frequently *yhwd*, which if not an abbreviation is the Aramaic form, Yehud (*Ezra* 5:1,8; 7:14; *Daniel* 2:25; 5:13; 6:13; Cowley 1923: No. 30 [Elephantine papyri]); or (2) as *yhdh* and perhaps *yhwdh*, which are the Hebrew equivalent, Yehudah. One possible exemplar may have *yd*, which has been taken as an abbreviation for one of the above; or perhaps better is the proposal that we have here a ligature writing, *y+h d* (Meshorer 1982: 28-29, 160, Pl. 56.1). The other group of legends, which does not occur on Ptolemaic-period coins, has the name of an individual, all names belonging to the Israelite/Biblical onomasticon. The most common is *yḥzqyh* (= Yehezqiyah), often, but not always, accompanied by the title, in Hebrew form, *hpḥh* ('the governor'). One coin each has yielded the legend *ywḥnn* (= Yohanan), with the title, in Hebrew, *hkwhn* ('the priest'; Barag 1986-87), and the legend *ydw*^{c} (= Yaddua; Spaer 1986-87). To be noted is that all the legends but two are in palaeo-Hebrew script; the exceptions, both in Aramaic script, are the coin with *ydw*^{c} and the unique British Museum coin of a Corinthian helmeted male head/bearded seated male on a winged chariot + facing head of Bes, which has *yhd* (Kienle 1975).

As for the provenience, only a handful of Judaean coins can be archaeologically connected with particular sites, and none of these, it appears, was found in a clear, stratified context: two from Jerusalem; one from Ramat Rahel on the southern border of Jerusalem; one from Beth-zur; one, apparently, from a site about 15 km. north of Jericho; and five from Tell Jemmeh, the latter, as opposed to the other sites, not within Achaemenid and hellenistic Judah (cf. Meshorer 1982: 31; Stern 1982: 224-225). Of the archaeologically unprovenienced coins, the bulk that have turned up from the 1960s on seem to come from just south of Jerusalem, in the Bethlehem area (Spaer 1977: 203).

The Judaean coins are all silver and of very small weight, .12-.85 g. (with the majority in the .19.50 g. range), and size, 6-9.5 mm. There are at least four exceptions, however: two from the Achaemenid period which are over 3 g. (3.29 [the British Museum coin above], and 3.47) and 15 mm. (respectively, Kienle 1975; and Meshorer 1982: 28-29, 160, Pl. 56.1); and two Ptolemaic issues under 2 g. (1.55 and 1.75) and 11-13 mm. (Meshorer 1982: 184). The nearest correlation would seem to be the Attic model in use in the fourth century B.C. and afterwards, whereby the smaller coins would be an obol and its fractions, and the two larger groups within the range of a drachm and hemidrachm, respectively. To be noted, however, is that the weights, as indicated by the four heavier coins, follow not the Attic standard, based on a tetradrachm of ca. 17 g., but the lighter variant, sometimes called the 'Phoenician' after its prevalence there, which had a tetradrachm of ca. 14.25 g. This 'Phoenician' standard did not disappear with the coming of Alexander, even though he and certain of his successors encouraged the Attic standard. In fact, as a means of isolating and integrating his empire over against other hellenistic states, Ptolemy I decided on a standard more or less equivalent to the 'Phoenician' about 290 B.C. after several other efforts (Davies in *CAH* VII/1: 278), and this decision is what then is reflected in the Ptolemaic Judaean issues.

Let us look now more closely at the Judaean coins in their several chronological groupings. The Achaemenid is the most varied (cf. Meshorer 1982: Pl.1-3. 1-11b = Mildenberg 1979: Pl.21-22. 1-2, 4-18). Its dating is assured by the fact, now well known, that it belongs with the so-called 'Philisto-Arabian' issues of the Achaemenid fourth century B.C., i.e., coins minted at various places in Palestine and Egypt whose motifs and weight standards are mostly derivative of Greek coinage of the period, especially Attic which had then spread throughout the Achaemenid empire (Stern 1982: 221-224; Schlumberger 1953; Meshorer 1986: 201 summarises the evidence for six 'Philisto-Arabian' mints, viz., at Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gaza, Jerusalem, Samaria, and somewhere in Egypt). The Judaean exemplars are like these in following the Attic weight types, and the particular lighter standard used is also shared by some, though not all, 'Philisto-Arabian' coins (others have the heavier Attic standard). The connection is clear as well in the varying combinations which the Judaean coins show of Greek and local Near Eastern motifs, especially Persian and Phoenician. The basic type is an Attic imitation: Athena head// owl + crude olive spray + legend AΘE (= Athenaiōn 'of Athens/Athenian'). Substitutions can then occur for either motif set, involving: various male heads, bearded and unbearded, one wearing the Persian tiara (*kidaris*); various shapes of the owl, including an elongated form like that on fourth century Tyrian coins; a lily, substituting for an olive spray and sometimes standing alone in the field without the owl; falcon with spread wings; winged roaring lion; and for the Greek AΘE, a legend (*yhd*, *yhwd*, *yd* (or *y+h d*), *yḥzqyh* [*hpḥh*], *ywḥnn hkwhn*, *ydwʿ*), though occasionally all or part of the AΘE can be retained as well. It is among these legends that the two in Aramaic script occur, the *ydw*^{c} coin and the *yhd* of the British Museum coin. Otherwise palaeo-Hebrew script is used.

As for the early Ptolemaic coins of Judah, their legends, as we have seen, do not continue the personal names and titles of the Achaemenid period. They show only the territorial name, Judah, now only in palaeo-Hebrew script, although in Hebrew linguistic form (*yhdh*) as well as in the earlier Aramaic (*yhd, yhwd*). The motifs show an even sharper break with the Achaemenid ones, and furnish, indeed, the distinctive Ptolemaic signs. We have now combinations of the head of the mature Ptolemy I on the obverse and either the head of his queen, Berenike I, or an eagle clutching a thunderbolt on the reverse. Two instances have the eagle on the reverse but show on the obverse a young male head (Mildenberg 1979: 195 & Pl. 22. 21-22 = Meshorer 1982: 117 & Pl. 3. 14-14a). This could be taken for the young Ptolemy, since it apparently alternates with the mature Ptolemy head, but I do not know of a parallel for it in the other coinage of Ptolemy I, and the connection with some other Judaean coins (see below) adds a further complication.

A more serious problem is the exact dating of these Ptolemaic issues. The majority opinion, represented, e.g., by Kindler (1974), Jeselsohn (1974), Mildenberg (1979: 189-190), and Barag (1986-87: 6, 7, n. 20), identifies the mature portrait heads as those of Ptolemy I and Berenike I, and dates the coins in Ptolemy I's reign after he had consolidated control over Syria and Palestine (301-282 B.C.). Meshorer, on the other hand (1982: 18-20), while agreeing to the identification, proposes that it was the son, Ptolemy II (284/2-246 B.C.) — and perhaps for one issue, even the grandson, Ptolemy III (246-222 B.C.) — who mandated the coins, more or less, thus, as commemoratives, as occurred in several other Ptolemaic issues outside of Judah. The debate cannot, in my judgment, be settled at the moment because, of the arguments offered, two are particularly compelling, and would seem to cancel each other out. Thus, Meshorer notes that coins showing Berenike I are otherwise dateable only after her death, and hence in the reign of Ptolemy II, and it is unlikely that a small provincial coinage like Judah's would provide the first evidence of an exception. Barag does not address this point, but counterposes that silver hemidrachms and smaller currency, which our coins represent, are not otherwise found for Ptolemy II, and 'there is no evidence' that he issued them (Barag 1986-87: 7. n. 20). What we have here clearly are two opposing arguments from silence, and if the dating of our coins is to be resolved, then one of these silences will have to be broken. In the meantime, the most one can say is that the coins with Ptolemy I must date at least from 301 B.C., by which time the king was promulgating issues with his own portrait (started in 305/4; cf. Turner in *CAH* VII/1: 128) and had established control over Palestine, and those with Berenike I must be at least from 290 B.C., when she was officially made queen (noted in Mildenberg 1979: 189, n.31).

We come finally to the third chronological group of Judaean coins, the ones reckoned by some scholars to the Macedonian period. Two different coin types, mainly, are at issue.[1] The first is proposed by Mildenberg (1979: 188-189, 194-195 & Pl. 22. 19-20) and others, though opposed by Meshorer who keeps an Achaemenid date (1982: 17, 20, 116-117 & Pl. 3. 12, 12a, 13). This type comprises coins having a legend with the personal name Yehezqiyah (*yḥzqyh*) but without his title 'the governor' (*hpḥh*), which title accompanies the name on other Judaean coins generally agreed to be Achaemenid in date (for the latter, see Meshorer 1982: Pl. 2. 10-11a = Mildenberg 1979: Pl. 22. 14-18). The second type is the coins with the legend *yhwdh*, i.e., Judah in its Hebrew linguistic form, spelled plene and in palaeo-Hebrew script. Here Meshorer and Mildenberg are again at odds, but in reverse: Meshorer now proposing these coins, after some twists and turns, as Macedonian (1982: 14-15, 18, 20-21, 117 & Pl. 3. 17, 17SA, 17a, 17b); Mildenberg making them Achaemenid (1979: 186, n. 23, 192 & Pl. 21. 2-3).

The case for a Macedonian date is uncertain, much more so than for the Judaean coins assigned to the Achaemenid and Ptolemaic periods. But it may be made, however tentatively, on two opposing yet complementary sets of features. On the one hand, the motifs on our two coin types integrate in general quite well with those on 'Philisto-Arabian' and other Achaemenid-period issues. Thus, the Yehezqiyah without governor type shows on the reverse the forepart of a winged, lion-like creature (Mildenberg and Meshorer identify it as a lynx), which although not on the Achaemenid Judaean coins does recall similar fantastic creatures in Achaemenid art generally, and on the coins of Achaemenid Cilicia particularly (so Barag 1986-87: 10); one should also compare the hippocamps of Phoenician coinage of the same period (e.g., Betlyon 1980: Pls. 5. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9; 6.5; etc.). As for the *yhwdh* coins, these have on the reverse a bird looking backwards, apparently preening itself, which at least in its full tufted body and the shape of that body echoes some Achaemenid Judaean and other 'Philisto-Arabian' derivatives of Athenian owls (cf. Meshorer 1982: Pl. 2. 7, 10aBZ = Mildenberg 1979: Pl. 21. 10).[2] The obverse of the *yhwdh* coins is not clear to Meshorer (1982: 14), but one exemplar anyway (Meshorer 1982: Pl. 3. 17a = Mildenberg 1979: Pl. 21. 3) does show a human head, which could be a provincial imitation of Athena, as Mildenberg wants (cf. certain Achaemenid Judaean examples of Athena heads in Meshorer 1982: Pl. 1. 2a, 4SR; 2. 5 = Mildenberg 1979: Pl. 21. 5, 8, 9).

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[1] For the very tentative possibility of another group of coins as well, see the impressionistic observations of Meshorer 1982: 21.

Against these Achaemenid-period similarities, our two coin types have several other features which stand apart, at least from the Judaean coins of Achaemenid date. On the *yhwdh* coins, the distinguishing feature is the Hebrew form *yhwdh*, which Meshorer has discovered and singled out. If he has correctly reconstructed this legend, then of course he is right to note that it is never found in the Achaemenid Judaean coins — nor, one might add, in the Achaemenid Judaean seals and stamps as well — which have only the Aramaic *yhd*, *yhwd*, or an abbreviation thereof. It does, however, fit with the Hebrew *yhdh* of the Ptolemaic Judaean issues, though there the spelling lacks the vowel letter *w* and Aramaic *yhd/yhwd* can also occur.

As for the Yehezqiyah coins, Mildenberg and others direct attention to the absence of the governor title, arguing that in the light of the other Yehezqiyah coins which have the title, this absence becomes significant and should reflect some change of status in Yehezqiyah as the local Judaean ruler. The point would apply whether or not it is the same Yehezqiyah in both sets of coins, as Mildenberg assumes (1979: 188), or different rulers in the same line, as is conceivable from contemporary analogies in Judah and Samaria (cf. Cross 1975).[3] The questions are, however, when this change of status would have occurred and what was involved. Mildenberg, proceeding from the date of the Yehezqiyah with governor coins in the Achaemenid period, supposes something post-Achaemenid, specifically, an abolition of the office of 'governor' — at least in the Achaemenid administrative sense connoted here by the use of the Semitic term *pḥh* — by Alexander and his successors. This is possible, but not inevitable; and one can fairly ask whether too much is being concluded from the absence of the governor title alone — not only in date, but even in the notion of a status change. The case is considerably strengthened, however, by one other feature that separates the two Yehezqiyah coin types. This is the total difference in motifs used: for the Yehezqiyah with governor, frontal human head circled by a dotted border//Attic owl; for the Yehezqiyah without governor, youthful male head//forepart of a winged, lion-like animal. Even more, one of the latter motifs, the youthful male head, shows a Greek-style curled coiffure and, as Spaer (1977: 202) and Mildenberg (1979: 189) point out, bears a definite resemblance to the youthful male head on certain Ptolemaic Judaean coins, discussed above (cf. especially Mildenberg 1979: Pl. 22. 21 = Meshorer 1982: Pl. 3. 14). The likeness here is such that Mildenberg actually mistook one variant of these Yehezqiyah without governor coins for an actual Ptolemaic Judaean issue, with the male head that of Ptolemy I (Mildenberg 1979: 195 & Pl. 22. 23).[4]

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[2] Meshorer in 1967: No. 3 thought that the bird looking backwards was an owl, while in 1982: 14, he wondered if it was a dove. Mildenberg 1979: 186, n. 23 suggests that it is "a daylight bird of prey, probably a falcon."

[3] *Pace* Barag 1986-87: 6, n. 14, the occurrence of both Yehezqiyah types in the same hoard does not resolve the question of whether the two Yehezqiyahs are the same person.

Let us now summarise. Two opposite directions seem to define the *yhwdh* coins and those of Yehezqiyah without governor: one pointing to the Achaemenid period, the other toward the Ptolemaic. If these have been correctly discerned, then the date of our two coin groups should lie between the Achaemenid and Ptolemaic periods, when a standardised coinage emerged (more on the latter point below). That leaves the Macedonian period as the solution. Our two groups, thus, would underscore what other evidence suggests: that the Achaemenid-hellenistic transition at the end of the fourth century B.C., in Judaean Palestine as elsewhere in the Near East, was not always an abrupt one.[5]

B. Samaritan

Most of the coins known to have been minted in the territory of Samaria belong to a large hoard that contains a number of other coins of the Achaemenid period. The hoard is reported to come either from the Nablus region (so Mildenberg 1988: 728; S. Hurter & A. Spaer *apud* Starr 1977: 97) or, in what may not be a contradiction, from a cave in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh, where they would apparently have been associated with papyri and bullae from the Samaritan ruling elites ca. 375-335 B.C. before the Achaemenid collapse (Meshorer 1982: 31). These coins are not yet published, but will be so soon (for the interim, see Starr 1977: 97-98, 115, Pl.XVI and, though Starr's examples are coins that were not obviously minted at Samaria). Of the eleven published coins that were minted at Samaria (so from their legends, below), they are all unprovenienced, and it is unclear whether they belong to the Nablus/Daliyeh hoard. Like their Judaean counterparts, they can broadly be characterised as 'Philisto-Arabian,' and share, thus, the same range of motifs: bearded male head; galloping horse; unidentified animals; ship; imitations, or at least in one case an original, of the Attic Athena head//owl + olive spray (Meshorer 1981: Pl. 1. 3-10; 1982: 31-32, 160). A further motif has been described on one of the Nablus/Daliyeh coins: two human figures standing in a building, which Meshorer (1982: 34) suggests is the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim. The identification, however, is problematic, because despite the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* XI. 322-324) and the archaeological expectations of Wright and Bull (1965), no late fourth century B.C. temple has been found on Gerizim. The earliest sacred area — not clearly a sanctuary — seems to be of the second century B.C., and the existence of a fourth century temple remains moot (Magen 1990, especially 96; Anderson 1991).

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[4] What makes this coin a variant of the Yehezqiyah without governor type is that it has the same motifs on obverse and reverse, though facing right instead of left and missing, probably by blunder, any legend. Cf. Meshorer 1982: 117 & Pl. 3. 12a-13, and Barag 1986-87: 9.

[5] Cf., e.g., the Macedonian retention of Achaemenid officials like the satrap Mazdai (Leuze 1935/1972: especially 386-388, 392-399, 408-410, 430-435), and the continuation of local coinage, now sometimes with hellenistic markings, like that of the priestly dynasty of Hierapolis in Syria (Seyrig 1971).

Not surprisingly, these coins, as against their Judaean counterparts, bear distinctive legends and seem to be in Aramaic script only (Barag 1986-87: 18 & n. 73).[6] The legends are: *yrbᶜm*, the well-known Israelite name, Jeroboam; *šmryn*, the Aramaic form of the name, Samaria; and the letter *š*, which seems to be an abbreviation of *šmryn* and is found only on the Attic original and imitations, all of these retaining the Greek AΘE as well. The Attic original, furthermore, has yet another Aramaic letter on the same reverse as the *š* and AΘE: *m*, which with Meshorer may stand for Mazdai, the powerful Achaemenid satrap of Abar-nahara and Cilicia in the latter fourth century B.C. (Meshorer 1981: Pl. 1.3).

Finally, the Samaritan coins are all in silver, like the Judaean, and represent, mostly, the same weight categories: those with *yrbᶜm* and *šmryn* are in the range of a fractional to full Attic obol (.36-.6165 g.), while six of those with *š* fall into the drachm, though reflecting the heavier Attic standard (4.19-4.31 g.), not the 'Phoenician' of the Judaean coins. The Attic standard is also reflected in the two other *š* coins, including the Attic original with *š* and *m*. These, it should be added, belong to the tetradrachm range (16.38, 16.52 g.), which is not attested among the Judaean issues.

IV. *Historical implications*

In summary, then, the Judaean and Samaritan coinage is the product of the latest period of Achaemenid rule, the fourth century B.C. In the case of the Judaean, but not so far for the Samaritan, this continued, perhaps into the initial period of Macedonian conquest of the late fourth century, and then into the early third century when Palestine came under Ptolemaic rule. The coinage was minted locally; and when the find-spots and reputed locations of hoards are added up, it is clear that the main, if not exclusive minting sites were the capitals and principal cities of each territory, Jerusalem and Samaria. With few

[6] There may be one example in palaeo-Hebrew script, if we include a silver coin said to come from the Nablus region, apparently part of the Nablus/Daliyeh hoard described above. It is a typical Attic derivative — Athena head//owl in the range of an obol (.66 g.) — but the legend, *nml* (?), is strange and not obviously connected with Samaria. See Meshorer 1981: Pl. 1. 23.

exceptions, the pieces now known represented very small pocket change, appropriate for day wages to soldiers and other workers. Particularly important must have been the military demands in Palestine, both in the Achaemenid fourth century, with the campaigns to consolidate control of Egypt and to deal with the revolts of the western satraps and of the Phoenician cities led by Tennes, and in the following hellenistic decades, as Alexander completed his conquest and his successors fought over his legacy. In other words, there must have been numbers of soldiers moving through Palestine in the fourth and early third centuries, and the need to deal with them, and the traders and others associated with them, must have been a considerable stimulus to monetary production.[7]

Besides this issue of users, our coins pose a number of other historical questions, three of which may be reviewed here.

(1) The administrative status of Judah and Samaria

The existence of a distinctive local Judaean versus Samaritan coinage in the fourth century B.C. indicates that by that time Judah was a separate administrative unit from Samaria, a province in its own right in the Achaemenid system. How much earlier this status can be traced is not finally settled, and depends on other data: the Biblical books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Malachi, the Elephantine papyri, and especially a variety of other Judaean epigraphs — stamped jar impressions, seals, and bullae — whose legends, both in Aramaic and in palaeo-Hebrew scripts, include several familiar from the coins: Yehud in various spellings and abbreviations (*yhd*, *yhwd*, *yh*, *h*); personal names of Biblical type, though none specifically is found on the coins (*'wryw*, *ḥnnh*, *yhw*^{c}*zr*, *'ḥzy*, *'lntn*); and the title *pḥw'* ('the governor'), an Aramaic form equivalent to the Hebrew *hpḥh* on the coins, which when it occurs always accompanies one of the personal names. These epigraphs should be seen as the functional counterpart of the coins, i.e., as official statements of Judah's provincial status, with *pḥw'*, thus, signifying 'the governor' and not some lower official (see Williamson 1988: 71-74; Meyers 1985). The dating of the epigraphs, to be sure, is controversial; but if some of the Aramaic-scripted examples, including those with *pḥw'*, can be pushed back to the end of the sixth/early fifth centuries B.C., as Avigad (1976) has well argued, then Judah's separate provincial status would be in place virtually at the beginning of Achaemenid rule. This, in turn, would only confirm that in the Biblical passages bearing on this early period (e.g., *Ezra* 5:14; *Nehemiah* 5:14), *pḥh*, like *pḥw'*, really designates the Judaean governor and not an official of lower rank. In fine, Alt's celebrated thesis (1953/1934), that Judah was originally part of the province of Samaria, separating only in the mid-fifth century after Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem, would have to fall.

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[7] I thank Prof. Stanley Burstein for emphasising and elaborating this point for me.

(2) Who minted the coins in the Achaemenid period?

From other instances, it is evident that the Achaemenid kings allowed local coinage to be minted either by their own, non-native officials or by local rulers (e.g., Naster 1979). Sorting the matter out for Judah and Samaria is a delicate task.

Samaria is the clearer case. The books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, Josephus *Antiquities* XI, the Elephantine papyri, and now the Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri and bullae all combine to indicate that throughout the history of the Achaemenid empire, from the latter sixth through the latter fourth centuries, local rulers were in charge of the Samaritan province. From their names and descriptions, these were evidently of Israelite stock and worshippers of the Israelite god, Yahweh, and for at least the fifth and fourth centuries in this history, they seem to have constituted a single dynasty in which the name Sanballat is attested for at least two different members and can probably, with Cross, be postulated for a third (Cross 1974; 1975; caution in Grabbe 1987: 238, 245). The administrative picture for Achaemenid Samaria, in short, seems to be a uniform one, and it makes sense, thus, to ascribe our Samaritan coinage to these local dynasts. To be noted is the new individual introduced by the coinage, Jeroboam. He should probably be reckoned as one of the dynasts, given his appearance on official products like the coins and the distinct royal echoes of his name in pre-exilic Israel, of which the Samaritans felt themselves the descendants. Yet how to fit him into the Sanballatides of the fourth century as reconstructed by Cross is not clear. In any case, these dynasts seem to have kept a close relationship with the higher levels of the Achaemenid administration. The appearance of the Mazdai mark on one of the coins may point in this direction. Another indication is the pervasive use by these dynasts of Aramaic — the lingua franca of the western and increasingly other parts of the empire — in official communications, both without and within the province: cf. the Aramaic script and language on the coins and in the texts of *Ezra*, Elephantine, and the Wadi ed-Daliyeh. Native writing traditions, however, were not forgotten, as revealed by the use of Hebrew and the palaeo-Hebrew script for the Daliyeh bullae mentioning the Samaritan governor (Cross 1974: 18-19, 23; Barag 1986-87: 18 & n. 73), and by the emergence of a special Samaritan variant of this script to be used in the Samaritan Pentateuch and inscriptions.

If the Samaritan situation, then, is relatively clear, the identification of the minting authorities in Judah is more problematic. Again it is the Biblical books — *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Haggai*, *Malachi*, as well as *Zechariah* and II *Chronicles* — Josephus *Antiquities* XI, and the Elephantine papyri which furnish the framework of the discussion, to which one may add the stamped jar impressions and other non-coin epigraphs. As we have seen, these together attest a succession of governors of Judah from the beginning of Achaemenid rule in the latter sixth century through the end of the fifth century, when the information from the sources becomes sketchy. Most of the governors appear to be native Judaean, but there are also a non-native Judaean, Nehemiah, appointed directly by the Achaemenid king, and a governor with a Persian name, Bigwai/ Bagoas, who could be either a Judaean or more likely a Persian, from his description in Josephus *Ant.* XI. 297-301 (for recent discussion, see Williamson 1977 and, with unnecessary historical scepticism, Grabbe 1987: 235-236).

In addition to the governor, the above sources also describe the high priests of the Jerusalem temple (for an ingenious reconstruction of their succession, see Cross 1975). But they do not fully clarify in what sense, if any, high priestly authority was political and not simply religious. The impression given is that if it was political, it was subordinate to that of the governor — i.e., there was no theocracy — but we must remember that this applies only to the end of the fifth century. It says nothing about the bulk of the fourth century B.C., from roughly 400 to the eve of the Achaemenid collapse in 333-331, on which the sources we have been discussing are virtually silent. When written sources again become available, a change has occurred. Most certain is the indication from Hecataeus of Abdera (quoted in D.S. XL 3, 5; cf. Stern 1974: 26, 28, 31), writing after the Achaemenid collapse in the period of Alexander's Diadochoi, who observes that the only political authority in Judah is the high priest. But even before that, Josephus gives evidence, in his narrative covering the end of the Achaemenid period (*Ant.* XI 302-347), that high priestly rule was in place. Scholars have not often trusted this Josephus narrative, but while it clearly has embellishments and mistakes, the Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri in particular have suggested that we should not be quick to dismiss Josephus (cf. Cross 1974; 1975; Barag 1986-87: 10-17; a sceptical reaction in Grabbe 1987: especially 236-246). The question is, then, whether we can confirm Josephus on the matter of high priestly rule, and how far back into the fourth century should we push it.

It is precisely at this juncture that the Achaemenid Judaean coinage offers tantalising hints, since it dates roughly from the period 400-333 B.C. on which our other written sources are uninformative. Some of the coins indicate a Judaean governor, viz. those with the legend 'Yehezqiyah the governor.' But two at least do point to high priestly rule, viz., the piece with 'Yohanan the priest' and that with 'Yaddua,' both names proposed as fourth century high priests by Cross (1975 with reference to earlier papers) before the discovery of these coins, on the basis of the mention of the names in the Biblical sources and Josephus. Other coin features may contain further hints of political change: (1) the use of Aramaic script (*ydw*^{c} and British Museum *yhd* coins) versus palaeo-Hebrew (all others), paralleled by the same distinction in the rendering of *yhd* on the stamped jar impressions; (2) the appearance on some coins of a likeness of the Achaemenid king wearing the *kidaris*; (3) the existence of a second series of 'Yehezqiyah' coins, differing from the first in motifs and in the absence of 'the governor' or any other title. Unfortunately, all these hints are too laconic to be integrated into a coherent historical picture of Judaean politics in the fourth century B.C., and the task is made more difficult by our inability, despite several attempts (Mildenberg 1979; Meshorer 1982; Betlyon 1986; Barag 1986-87), to fix the precise sequence of the coins in the Achaemenid fourth century. What can perhaps be said is that the hints suggest a connection between the change from governor to priestly rule and closeness to, or independence from, the central Achaemenid administration. As such, the change may well be bound up with one or both of the major revolts — of the western satraps and of the Phoenician cities led by Tennes of Sidon — that racked the western part of the Achaemenid empire in the middle decades of the fourth century.

On the other hand, it may be that the change from governor to priest was not abrupt, but gradual and involving overlapping functions. Note in this regard that the coin with 'Yohanan the priest' has the same set of motifs — frontal male head//owl — and is in the same size and weight range as those with 'Yehezqiyah the governor,' and had even, until Barag's decipherment (Barag 1986-87), been classified as such a coin. As for Yehezqiyah himself, the only other occurrence of the name in sources on the fourth century is of a priest, perhaps a high priest, described by Hecataeus of Abdera (quoted in Josephus *Contra Apionem* I 186-187, using, of course, the Graecized form, Ezekias; cf. Stern 1974: 35, 38, 40-41) as an elderly, 66 year-old man, in 312 B.C. when he fled from Judah to Egypt with Ptolemy I. Clearly this man must have been active in Judah in the later Achaemenid, as well as the Macedonian, period, and Hecataeus makes explicit that he was someone of stature in the community. On that basis many scholars have connected him with the Yehezqiyah of the coins, in both of the series, and played with the possibility, as we have discussed above, that the second series, without the title 'the governor,' is not Achaemenid, but Macedonian in date, because then rule by high priests, not by governors, was in place. The issues cannot presently be resolved; but if the connection between coins and Josephus is retained, then this Yehezqiyah seems to have been a man whose activities overlapped the roles of governor and (high) priest.

(3) The coins and the transition from Achaemenid to Ptolemaic rule

As noted, only Judah, not Samaria, attests the survival of a local coinage into the hellenistic period, and our first problem is whether the Samaritan absence is simply an accident of discovery. It is possible, I think, to suggest otherwise. Quintus Curtius Rufus, Syncellus, and the Chronicles of Eusebius report, as is well known, that Alexander the Great destroyed the city of Samaria in 331, after it had revolted from him during his campaign in Egypt (references listed and discussed in Marcus 1937: 522-525). The disaster seems confirmed by the archaeological finds at the Wadi ed-Daliyeh cave to the southeast, which make the best sense as the remains of some two hundred refugees from Samaria who had fled the city on Alexander's approach and were then found out and suffocated in the cave by Alexander's army (Cross 1974). The aftermath of the disaster, as the above sources note and archaeology intimates (summary in Wright 1965: 179), was the resettlement of Samaria as a Macedonian military colony, though the sources differ as to whether this was initiated by Alexander or by Perdiccas, his general and immediate successor as regent. It may be, as Tcherikover suggests (1961: 104), that shortly after Alexander's death, the city was elevated to the status of a polis, but the evidence for this is not explicit; and polis or not, this did not prevent at least two further destructions in the decades following Perdiccas (Tcherikover 1961: 104). In any case, the important point is that, in the new order established by the Macedonian conquest, Samaria appears to have lost its independence and particularity in the sense of having its own local population with their own dynastic leadership. Significantly, the over one hundred hellenistic period coins found in Samaria are all official Ptolemaic or Seleucid issues (plus a gold daric, which may, however, come from Alexander's rule); coins reflecting a more local leadership do not appear until the latter first century B.C., in exemplars of the Roman client king, Herod the Great (Fulco & Zayadine 1981: 199, 203-208). As for the local population that inhabited Samaria before Alexander, most scholars agree that it transferred its centre to Shechem sometime in the late fourth century, as Josephus (*Ant.* XI. 340) and excavations at Shechem suggest (discussion in Wright 1965: 170-181; for problems about Mt. Gerizim, see Magen 1990 and Anderson 1991). But here also there is no evidence of a local hellenistic Samaritan coinage, only of official Ptolemaic and then Seleucid issues. If one is tempted once more to say that this is no accident of discovery, one could guess that it reflects a deliberate decision by the Macedonian leadership, a decision that was not later changed, not to award the privilege of minting to a population which, when still in Samaria, had revolted so treacherously from Alexander after initially pledging its support.

Let us turn now to Judah, where we have found a local hellenistic coinage, coming perhaps from the Macedonian decades at the end of the fourth century B.C. and then, more certainly, from somewhere at the beginning of Ptolemaic control of Palestine in the early third. The difficulties and possibilities of the Macedonian issues have already been considered. But some further words are needed about the Ptolemaic coins and their historical implications.

The first and strongest impression that these Ptolemaic Judaean coins leave, over against their Achaemenid and Macedonian forebears, is of standardisation around a central governmental authority. Put another way, the use of imperial motifs and the absence of the names of any local rulers and their titles make it clear that the coins are no longer local products issued by a local authority and adapting a range of external influences; they stand forth as products of an outside, superior authority, which at the direction of that authority have been minted in one of the local territorial subdivisions. This impression reflects what otherwise we know of Ptolemaic imperial administration in the third century B.C., regardless of whether these coins are attributed to Ptolemy I or II(/III). Palestine in that century was part of Coele-Syria — or what Ptolemaic sources normally call 'Syria and Phoenicia' — and the latter, Cyprus, and Cyrene were the principal external territories of the Ptolemaic realm. In Heinen's succinct description: "Together with Egypt they formed the nucleus of the empire and were administered in a very similar fashion to Egypt itself. Their ties with the central government in Alexandria were generally closer than those of the other territories. They formed a relatively closed monetary area based on the use of Ptolemaic currency, were subject to direct taxation, were administered direct by Ptolemaic officials and were covered by a network of garrisons" (in *CAH* VII/1: 443). On the monetary issue, one may elaborate that the first two Ptolemies brought to a kind of culmination the plan, initiated by Alexander the Great himself, of introducing a standard coinage. While under Alexander and the Diadochoi local coinages were not entirely eliminated, in the Ptolemaic realm they essentially were. Indeed, more than any of the other successors to Alexander, it was the first two Ptolemies, and especially Ptolemy II, who moved toward the 'closed monetary area' of which Heinen speaks, viz., the establishment in Egypt, Coele-Syria, Cyprus, and Cyrene of their standard coinage against the neighbouring coinage of their Seleucid rivals, such that Ptolemaic coins are hardly attested beyond this 'monetary area,' especially in Seleucid territories, and, more or less, vice-versa (Davies in *CAH* VII/1: 279 & n. 124; see the chart in Hengel 1973: 573). It is not surprising, therefore, that within Palestine, the coins of Ptolemy I-II show the highest attestation of any of the Ptolemaic rulers, and that of the two, those of Ptolemy II represent a dramatic increase over those of Ptolemy I. Indeed, it is not until the next century and then only in the eventful reign of the Seleucid Antiochus IV that attestations of a foreign coinage surpass that of Ptolemy II (chart in Hengel 1973: 573).

Yet despite this high degree of governmental organisation, it has long been observed that the Ptolemaic empire was not monolithic and rigid. The main goals, as Bickerman among others has commented, were to insure revenues for the home centre in Egypt, and territorial security, especially against the Seleucids who never relaxed their claims to Coele-Syria until they made them good finally at Panion in 199 B.C. (Bickerman 1988: 74). To achieve these goals, the Ptolemies recognised that local groups and traditions needed, where possible, to be respected, even as they were co-opted into the imperial system. For example, the local governments and trading activities traditionally maintained by the Phoenician cities were allowed. In the Transjordan, a Jewish family of long-standing local importance, the Tobiads, was granted control of a military colony (*cleruchia*) from their ancestral estate, and eventually one of them was able to win rights of tax farming (*telonia*) and even political representation (*prostasia*) of Judah/Jerusalem before the Ptolemaic central government (discussion of the history of the family, e.g., in Tcherikover 1961: 64-65, 126-142; Hengel 1973: 92-93, 486-503). And in Judah itself, though our sources are sparse, they point to the maintenance of native institutions. To be sure, Ptolemy I is reported to have forcibly transported a large number of Judaeans to Egypt around 300 B.C. (discussion in Tcherikover 1961: 55-58), but there is no reason to believe that this meant the end of the Judaean community, the Jerusalem temple, or the native priesthood. On the contrary, Hecataeus of Abdera, writing from about the same period, attests, as we have seen, the continued presence of the priesthood, indeed of its political importance for Judah. Ptolemy II, in turn, is reported by Josephus (*Ant.* XII 26-33) to have decreed the freeing of the Jewish captives his father had taken.[8] And at the end of the third century B.C., the new Seleucid ruler of Palestine, Antiochus III, proclaimed the right of the Judaeans to have a government according to its ancestral laws — a decree which should be understood not as introducing something new, but as reaffirming by a new ruler what had been in place (reported in Josephus *Ant.* XII 138-144; cf. the seminal discussion of Bickerman 1935/1981: 44-85).

Local traditions and government, thus, remained alive under the Ptolemies, however well monitored by the imperial bureaucracy. And it is these that are reflected in the retention of the legend 'Judah' on the Ptolemaic Judaean coins. Indeed, as the ancestral name of the local group and now exclusively in the local language and script, this legend seems to stand out as unusual, if not unique among Ptolemaic coins outside Egypt, which otherwise exhibit at the most a mark to indicate the local place or artisan of minting (cf. the coins from Phoenicia and Palestine published by Mørkholm 1980; 1990). The legend thus strongly reinforces the literary sources above in suggesting that the early Ptolemies were willing to take over at least something of the native tradition of polity for Judah that the Achaemenids had preserved.

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[8] For this decree, cf. the papyrus published by Liebesny 1936a, 1936b, which records an order of Ptolemy II that inter alia resolves difficulties in 'Syria and Phoenicia' over the illegal enslavement of free men and women.

Addendum:

A major new addition has now appeared: Y. Meshorer and S. Qedar, *The coinage of Samaria in the Fourth Century BCE* (Numismatic Fine Arts International, Inc., 1991). It collects 440 coins from Samaria, all of which seem to date, like those already known, to the Achaemenid part of the fourth century BC. The coins are presented in two groups: (1) that attributed by the authors to the mint of Samaria (106 coins), some of which have been published before, and many of which come from the Nablus hoard mentioned above, which has turned up piecemeal on the antiquities market and will eventually be published in full by A. Spaer and S. Hurter; and (2) a second hoard, labelled by our authors the 'Samaria Hoard' (334 coins), which was recovered intact in a pyxis jar and is here published completely. This second hoard comprises not only coins minted in Samaria (182 coins), but those from the major Phoenician mints, as well as Athenian imitations (some of these perhaps minted in Samaria?) and jewelry. In weight, silver content, and motif, both groups of coins correspond to the Samaritan exemplars discussed earlier, though there are no tetradrachms and the range of motifs is understandably greater, including Persian and Phoenician as well as 'Philisto-Arabian.' The legends also add a number of new names to those previously found, like *sn* (apparently Sanballat). And the script of these legends, while it is predominantly the expected Aramaic, offers a few palaeo-Hebrew examples and even two in Greek.

ALEXANDER IN EGYPT: CONTINUITY OR CHANGE

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The predominance of Greek and Latin sources is probably the single most familiar and discussed problem of Achaemenid history. And not only for the earliest periods of Persian history. For even the most thoroughly documented aspect of the empire's history, its sudden and violent end at the hands of Alexander and his Macedonians, we largely lack oriental sources to place in the balance against Arrian and the other classical sources for Alexander's reign. The problems of source selection and reliability posed by this situation are well known, and I have no intention of adding to the extensive scholarly literature concerning these issues. My concern in this paper is the 'externality' of the classical sources and its effect on scholarly interpretations of the attitudes of the native Egyptian élite to Alexander's invasion.

By 'externality' I mean the tendency of even the most reliable of the classical sources to report events from the 'outside,' that is, to report only Greek perceptions of events with little or no sensitivity to the intentions of their non-Greek participants. An obvious example of the distortion that can result from failure to take account of this peculiarity of our sources is the citation of the sources' clear description of the performance of a substitute king ritual at Babylon in 324 B.C. as evidence of an abortive Babylonian nationalist plot against Macedonian rule instead of an attempt by Babylonian priests to avert the danger to Alexander suggested by recent unfavorable omens. Elucidation by Assyriologists of the function of the substitute king ritual has eliminated this error (Eddy 1961: 109-110; Smelik 1978-79: 100-107). The purpose of this paper is to propose a similar revision of one of the fundamental theses of Alexander studies, namely, that Alexander was received as a 'liberator' from 'Persian oppression' in Egypt by the native Egyptian élite.

Certainly, a conciliatory pose toward the Egyptian élite would have been good policy on Alexander's part. The long bitter history of Egyptian resistance to Persian rule had ended shortly before Alexander's invasion of Asia with two episodes of severe repression, first in 343 B.C. when Artaxerxes III reconquered Egypt after half a century of independence and probably again in the mid-330s B.C. when the revolt of Khabbash was crushed. Proof of the strength of the subsequent anti-Persian reaction in Egypt has been seen in the decision of Mazaces, the last Persian satrap of Egypt, to surrender his satrapy to Alexander without a fight, supposedly because of the unreliability of the Egyptian population (Hamilton 1973:74). A varied list of actions by Alexander has also been cited by scholars to prove that he was aware of this anti-Persian feeling and successfully exploited it. Thus, although Alexander probably was not crowned king of Egypt in Memphis in 332 B.C. as has often been claimed,[1] he did, perhaps guided by his reading of Herodotus (Bowersock 1989: 410-411), sacrifice to Apis, the deity Greeks believed that most often had suffered mockery or worse at the hands of the Persians; and he is portrayed at Hermonthis as also sacrificing to the Buchis bull (Porter & Moss 1937 [= 1927-]: 158). In addition, there was construction in Alexander's name at Karnak (Porter & Moss 1929 [= 1927-]: 44-45) and Luxor.[2] Most important, it is claimed that he reorganised the administration of Egypt along traditional Egyptian lines with native Egyptians in prominent non-military positions. Finally, as has been revealed by a recently published papyrus, steps were taken to protect Egyptian sanctuaries from pollution by the ritually impure (Turner 1974: 239-242). Confirmation of the success of this policy has been seen in the enthusiastic welcome given Alexander by the Egyptians in 332 B.C. and the rallying to the Macedonian cause of such representatives of the native élite as the general Nectanebo, and the priest Somtutefnakht who successfully managed the transition from partisan of Persia — he may even have fought on the Persian side at the Battle of Issus — to honoured supporter of the new Macedonian regime (Briant 1988a: 155). Seemingly well justified, therefore, is Ulrich Wilcken's (1932: 131) optimistic conclusion that when Alexander left Egypt "he was accompanied by the affection of the Egyptians who felt themselves free of the load which had rested on them since the reconquest by Ochus."

A plausible theory is, however, not necessarily a valid theory. Similar interpretations of Asiatic Greek responses to Alexander's 'liberation' have long been treated with scepticism. Similar scepticism is probably also required with regard to such interpretations of Babylonian attitudes toward Alexander in view of recently published cuneiform texts that suggest that prior to the Battle of Gaugemela Darius III enjoyed significant support within the Babylonian priestly aristocracy[3] and that the enthusiastic reception Alexander received at

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[1] Cf. the doubts of Ernst Badian (1985: 433 n.1). The belief in Alexander's coronation is based on the existence of an Egyptian style titulary for him (cf. Wilcken 1932: 114). The value of Alexander's titulary as evidence for his coronation is, however, weakened by two facts: first, the existence of titularies for kings known not to have been crowned such as, e.g., Philip III and Alexander IV; and, second, the unprecedented variability of Alexander's titulary with three different attested Horus names and two praenomens (cf. Beckerath 1984: 117, 285-286). The latter fact is particularly significant since it implies the lack of a fixed form for Alexander's titulary which would be impossible had he been properly crowned.

[2] Alexander's sanctuary at Luxor has been published by Abd El-Raziq 1984.

[3] This is implied by the prophecy of Alexander's defeat in 'The Dynastic Chronicle' (Grayson 1975b: 34, col. 3, lines 12-22). *Contra* the view of Susan Sherwin-White (1987: 11), inclusion of a prophecy of Alexander's defeat in 'The Dynastic Chronicle' is surely best explained by the assumption that the preserved text represents a Seleucid period recension of an earlier text.

Babylon was in response to deliberately conciliatory gestures made by him during his march through Mesopotamia after the Battle of Gaugemela.[4] Somtutefnakht's boast of his previous support of Persia is clear evidence of similar Egyptian attitudes towards Persia before Alexander's invasion while the vigorous Persian response to Amyntas' attempted invasion of Egypt shortly after the Battle of Issus (Q.C. IV 1,23-32) suggests that the example of the fate of the loyalist defenders of Tyre and Gaza may have been more influential than fears concerning the reliability of the Egyptian population in persuading Mazaces to come to terms with Alexander. Most important, three pieces of evidence, a fragment of Manetho (*FGrH* 609 F10 = Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1,228-252), a recently published demotic ostrakon, and a passage in the so-called 'Satrap's Stele,' suggest that Alexander's actions in Egypt were less favourable toward the Egyptians than is usually believed and that Egyptians attitudes towards him continued to be ambivalent after the Macedonian conquest.

First Manetho: fragment 10 of Manetho purports to give the Egyptian side of the story of the Exodus. The story is quickly summarised.

A king named Amenophis, presumably Amenhotep III, desiring to have a vision of the gods, asked the advice of a wise man, Amenophis Paapis, that is, Amenhotep, the son of Hapu, who advised him to purify Egypt of lepers and other polluted persons. The king accordingly collected and confined such persons in stone quarries. Inadvertently included among them, however, were priests of the sun god Re. The seer, fearing the anger of the gods on account of the maltreatment of the priests, foresaw thirteen years of rule in Egypt by the lepers and their foreign allies, wrote his dire prediction in a book and then committed suicide. Later, having been given the former Hyksos capital of Avaris as their new home, the lepers' leader, a priest named Osarsiph, invited the descendants of the Hyksos to return to Egypt from their new capital Jerusalem. Amenophis at first advanced with an army to Pelusium[5] to confront the invading forces, but, terrified by the seer's prophecy, withdrew to Memphis without fighting, and then fled to Aithiopia together with his court, the Apis bull and the other sacred animals. The lepers and the descendants of the Hyksos then ruled Egypt for the prophesied thirteen years, during which time they terrorised the country, pillaging the temples, killing and eating the sacred animals and expelling the priests from their shrines, until Amenophis and his son Sethos/Ramses returned from exile and liberated Egypt.

Resolving the puzzles posed by this text has been a long process, involving the contributions of numerous scholars including Ulrich Wilcken (1897:

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[4] Alexander's effort to allay the fears of the Babylonians is suggested by the reference in a Babylonian astronomical diary to his forbidding looting at Sippar just prior to the mention of his entry into Babylon (Sachs & Hunger 1988: 179).

[5] Pelusium as the site of Amenophis' defeat is implied by Josephus *Contra Apionem* 1,274.

148-152), Raymond Weill (1918: 1, 94-145), Martin Braun (1938: 19-22), J. Yoyotte (1963: 136-142), and Donald Redford (1986: 282-283). Although much still remains unclear, there is general agreement on the following two points. First, Manetho's source was a work originally written in Egyptian and similar in character to 'prophecy texts' such as the Middle Kingdom *Prophecy of Neferti* and the hellenistic period *Potter's Oracle*. Second, the anti-Jewish aspects of Manetho's paraphrase represent secondary accretions to a text whose theme was one familiar since the Middle Kingdom and particularly prominent after the expulsion of the Hyksos by the founders of the eighteenth dynasty, namely, a period of troubles in Egypt caused by an invasion from the north that was ended by the appearance of a saviour king from the south.

There is less agreement concerning the date of Manetho's source, but three considerations suggest a date in the years immediately following Alexander's conquest of Egypt in 332 B.C. First, the prominent role of Amenhotep, the son of Hapu, in the text points to a date close to that of Manetho in the late fourth or early third century B.C. since Amenhotep's cult is first attested significantly in the early hellenistic period after several centuries of eclipse (Wildung 1977: 92-97). Second, as Martin Braun (1938: 20-21) first pointed out, the actions of King Amenophis reported in Manetho, Fragment 10 — abortive attempt to meet the attack of the lepers and their allies at Pelusium, retreat to Memphis without joining battle, and flight of the king, his court and the chief sacred animals and treasures to Aethiopia — are clearly modeled on those of Nectanebo II at the time of the reconquest of Egypt by Artaxerxes III in the fall of 343 B.C.[6] Consequently, these parallels suggest that the point of the work was to hold out the hope that, as in the story of the lepers, the period of troubles that began with Artaxerxes' victory would similarly end with the return from Aithiopia of another exiled saviour king, namely, Nectanebo II and/or his son.[7] Third, these parallels also imply that the period of thirteen years specified in Manetho, fragment 10 for the reign of the lepers and their allies should also correspond to the length of the time of troubles that began with Nectanebo's flight to Nubia.[8] Depending on whether the text's author calculated the period of Nectanebo's exile from Artaxerxes' victory in 343 B.C. or Nectanebo's final abandonment of Upper Egypt two years later (Lloyd 1988: 159), this would suggest a date for the composition of Manetho's source sometime between 331 and 329 B.C.

Of course, it was only in the fantasies of later popular tradition, now represented by the *Alexander Romance*, that the prophecy was fulfilled by Alexander, who was explained to be Nectanebo II's son magically fathered on Olympias by the wizard king (Braun 1938: 22-25). Be that as it may, the appearance of a work like Manetho's source so soon after Alexander's conquest of Egypt implies disillusionment with Macedonian rule on the part of some members, at least, of the Egyptian élite. In part, this could be due to the fiscally oppressive regime established by Cleomenes of Naucratis after Alexander left Egypt. There is also, however, reason to believe that disappointment at Alexander's own treatment of Egypt may have played a part.

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[6] Cf. Diodorus XVI 47-48, 51, 1; Manetho, *FGrH*, 609 F3C.

[7] The eldest son of Nectanebo II did, in fact, return from exile, presumably during the reign of Alexander the Great; cf. Clère 1951: 148, 151-152.

[8] Braun (1938: 20) realised this but did not draw the appropriate conclusion, noting only that the period was "approximately as long as the Persian's ... rule after the flight of Nectanebus".

The principal source for Alexander's organization of Egypt is Arrian (*Anab.* III 5,1-6):

> He then made his arrangements for Egypt; he appointed two Egyptians, Doloaspis and Petisis as nomarchs, dividing the whole country of Egypt between them ... As garrison commandants he appointed Companions, Pantaleon of Pydna at Memphis, and Polemon son of Megacles of Pella at Pelusium ... The government of the neighboring country of Libya was given to Apollonius son of Charinus; and that of Arabia around Heroönpolis to Cleomenes from Naucratis. He was instructed to permit the nomarchs to govern their own districts in accordance with the ancient practices, but to exact the tribute from them himself, while they were ordered to pay it over to him ... It is said that he divided the government of Egypt between many officers as he was strongly impressed by the character and defensibility of the country and did not think it safe to entrust the command of all Egypt to one man. (trans. P. Brunt)

Scholars generally agree with Arrian's overall assessment of Alexander's intentions in designing his reorganisation of the administration of Egypt, adding only, in the most recent formulation by A.B. Bosworth (1988: 234), that he paid "lip service ... to the nationalistic aspirations of the Egyptians" by appointing "two natives, Doloaspis and Petisis" who "were entrusted with the civil administration of Egypt, now divided again into its immemorially old twin kingdoms." Little attention has been paid, however, to two important weaknesses in this interpretation. First, as Janoś Harmatta (1963: 199-213) pointed out, not only did Alexander's organisation of Egypt replicate in its general outlines that of the preceding period of Persian rule, but one of his two 'native nomarchs,' Doloaspis, has an Iranian name (Harmatta 1963: 208), suggesting that, contrary to what Arrian believed, he was not an Egyptian but a Persian, probably an Egyptianised Persian such as those discussed by Georges Posener (1936: 24-35, 178-179). Second, as Victor Ehrenberg (1926: 48-49) noted, Arrian's use of the term 'nomarch', the Greek designation for a governor of the forty-two local districts into which Egypt was traditionally divided, for Doloaspis and Petisis' offices is probably an error, since their functions seem to correspond to those of the earlier Persian satraps of Egypt. Confirmation of the validity of Harmatta's and Ehrenberg's observations has now been provided by the recent publication of a late fourth century B.C. demotic ostrakon from Memphis in which Petisis appears with the title satrap

(*Pȝ-di-'Ist pȝ ihstrpny*, that is, 'Pediese the Satrap').[9] Taken together, these considerations suggest, therefore, that, except for a short lived division of Egypt into two satrapies, Alexander left largely intact the administrative organisation he found already in place in Egypt in 332 B.C.[10]

Nor was this continuity limited to the administrative organisation of Egypt. Arrian's (*Anab.* III 4,4) reference to Alexander instructing Cleomenes of Naucratis to collect the tribute from the nomarchs implies that he also took over the existing fiscal system.[11] Still more revealing is a passage in the 'Satrap's Stele,' a hieroglyphic inscription recording benefactions to the temple of Horus of Buto made by Ptolemy I in 311 B.C., in which Ptolemy is made to say that he "restore(s) to Horus ... the territory of Patanut, from this day forth for ever, ... together with what has been added since, by the gift, made by the king, lord of both lands, Khabbash, the ever-living" (Sethe 1904: 11, 19).[12] The land in question presumably was donated by Khabbash to the temple of Horus of Buto during his revolt against Persia in the early 330s B.C. and subsequently confiscated by the Persians after his suppression. The fact that the temple still had not resumed possession of this territory in 311 B.C., however, can only mean that Alexander not only took over the administrative and fiscal system he found in place in Egypt in 332 B.C. but also that his gestures to the Egyptian priesthood did not include restoration of properties and revenues lost during the period of Persian occupation. Disillusionment with Macedonian rule by members of the Egyptian élite who had initially co-operated with Alexander such as Pediese, who resigned his satrapy of Lower Egypt,[13] therefore, is not surprising. Neither would the appearance of renewed hope for the return of native rule implied by a text such as the source of Manetho fragment 10.

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[9] H.S. Smith 1988: 184-186. The text consists of four words from the ends of two lines: "...ȝrgstrȝsh(.t) (?)/...Pȝ-di-'Ist pȝ ihstrpny (...Alexander/...Pediese the Satrap)". Smith proposes to understand the second line as 'Pediese of/to/for/in respect of the satrap,' assuming the scribe omitted the preposition *n* between Pediese's name and the definite article *pȝ*. This is a possible but hardly a necessary assumption since Smith's only reason for proposing it was the belief that "no man of Egyptian name is known to have held the title Satrap." Omission of a cartouche in the writing of the name Alexander does not mean that he is not intended in line 1 in view of the probability, noted in note 3, that he was never crowned king and the well attested irregularities in the writing of the names of foreign rulers of Egypt in the hellenistic period (cf. Ray 1976: 17-18, n. ff).

[10] The experiment ended when Doloaspis became sole satrap following the resignation of Pediese (Arrian *Anab.* III 4,2; like Helmut Berve [1926: II, 317-318], I understand ἀπειπαμένου as meaning 'resign' instead of 'refuse'). This interpretation of Alexander's organisation of Egypt also has the advantage of making it easier to understand the sources' references without comment to Cleomenes of Naucratis as satrap in the 320s B.C. (cf. Berve [1926: II, 210] s.v. Kleomenes, for references).

[11] For evidence that Alexander acted to maintain the existing satrapal bronze coinage in Egypt, see Price 1981: 32-37; 1985: 245-246.

[12] The translation of the 'Satrap's Stele' is quoted from Bevan 1927: 31.

[13] The Memphite ostrakon establishes that Pediese's satrapy was that of Lower Egypt, as might be expected if he belonged, as Harmatta (1963: 208-209) suggested, to the family of the Shipmasters of Heracleopolis.

Future discoveries may require modifications in the details of the reconstruction outlined above, but its general implications are clear. Traditionally scholars have interpreted Alexander's respectful attitude towards the Egyptian gods and his appointment of native Egyptians to responsible positions in his government of Egypt as evidence of a new policy of sympathy for, and co-operation with, the Egyptian élite that was abandoned by the Ptolemies with disastrous results. Recent studies of Alexander's actions in other areas of his empire have called into question such interpretations, emphasising instead the underlying continuities between Alexander's regime and that of his Achaemenid predecessors. The evidence discussed in this paper suggests that this was also true of his actions in Egypt as well. In a very real sense, therefore, Alexander's conquest can be more truly said to conclude the story of the Achaemenid empire than to begin that of the hellenistic kingdoms.

ZUM NACHLEBEN VON ACHAIMENIDEN UND ALEXANDER IN IRAN

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1. *Die Achaimenidenkönige in der Überlieferung der Seleukiden-, Parther- und Sāsānidenzeit in Iran*

Es ist schon seit langem darauf verwiesen worden, daß Meder und Achaimeniden in dem, was man 'Iranische Nationalgeschichte' zu nennen pflegt, also der mehr oder weniger kanonisierten offiziösen spätsāsānidischen Tradition iranischer Geschichte, so gut wie nicht vorkommen.[1] Yarshater hat dabei zu Recht betont, daß der entscheidende Schritt zu dieser 'historischen Amnesie' in parthische Zeit fallen muß, da von den Sāsāniden, die in vielem die Achtung ihrer 'Vorfahren' aus Fārs bezeugen (s.u.), eher eine Auffrischung denn eine Verdrängung achaimenidischer Traditionen zu erwarten gewesen sei (Yarshater 1983: 389). Was die Art und Weise der Amnesie angeht, so denkt man vor allem daran, daß — bei einem Schatz an gemeinsamer Volksüberlieferung, der bereits seit vorachaimenidischer Zeit existierte — die ostiranische kayānische (epische) Tradition in arsakidischer Zeit lokale südwestiranische Überlieferung aufgesogen oder ersetzt habe.[2] Damit ist der Sachverhalt grundsätzlich sicher richtig erklärt, bleibt in Nuancen aber noch unklar. Immerhin hatten ja auch die Parther sich ein rudimentäres Wissen um die Achaimeniden bewahrt, und auch die postachaimenidische Geschichte von Fārs bleibt in das allgemeine Schema genauer einzuordnen. Zunächst zu letzterer: Nach neueren Untersuchungen steht fest, daß die Persis nach Alexander lange Zeit relativ unangefochten in makedonischem, i.e. seleukidischem Besitz blieb, und dort (ab dem Beginn des 2. Jh. v.Chr.) in seleukidischem Auftrag amtierende Dynasten (*frataraka̅*) sich erst kurz vor der parthischen Eroberung dieses Gebietes (ca. 140 v.Chr.) unabhängig zu machen vermochten.[3] Worin zeigt sich bei ihnen achaimenidisches Erbe? Offensichtlich nicht in großköniglichen Ansprüchen, denn sie führen weder diesen Titel noch tragen sie die achaimenidischen Zeichen der Herrschaft (*tiara orthē*, großköniglicher Bogen etc.). Es dürften diese 'gemäßigten' Ambitionen gewesen sein, die die Parther dazu bewogen, jene Dynasten als *mlk'* in Amt und Würden zu belassen. Ein wie detailliertes und ausführliches Wissen sich jene (von achaimenidischen *syngeneis* abstammenden?) 'Fürsten' von den Achaimeniden bewahrt hatten, ist in Ermangelung einer — der griechischen vergleichbaren — persischen historiographischen Tradition und angesichts geringer klassischer Überlieferung nur rudimentär zu bestimmen. Für die schriftlich fixierte persische Überlieferung ist daran zu erinnern, daß die Keilschrift offensichtlich schon in spätachaimenidischer Zeit allmählich außer Gebrauch gekommen und Zeugnisse dieser Art zunehmend 'unleserlich' geworden waren. Geht man davon aus, daß die aramäische Schrift an die Stelle der Keilschrift getreten war,[4] sich entsprechend auch die Beschreibstoffe geändert hatten, dann dürfte — in Verbindung mit dem Umstand der Zerstörung von Persepolis und der Abhängigkeit der Persis von der seleukidischen Zentralgewalt — die Vermutung zutreffen, daß Schriftlichkeit in der Persis in jener Zeit eine im Vergleich zur achaimenidischen Epoche (noch) geringere Bedeutung zukam. Bezieht man weiterhin die Ergebnisse der 'oral history'- bzw. 'oral tradition'-Forschung mit ein,[5] dann ist davon auszugehen, daß bereits in der Zeit der *frataraká* das Wissen um historische achaimenidenzeitliche Zusammenhänge nur rudimentär gewesen sein kann: »die Überlieferung knüpft sich ... an Personen, Sachen oder Ereignisse, die je für sich oder im Hinblick auf ihre Auswirkungen auf die Gegenwart außergewöhnlich und deshalb erinnernswert sind, und sie befriedigt die dadurch geweckte Neugier, antwortet auf die Frage nach dem Wie und Weshalb« (Raaflaub 1988: 221). Konkret: Namen von Achaimenidenkönigen waren zweifellos bekannt, wie Namen von post-achaimenidischen Dynasten der Persis (*'rtxštr, d'ryw*) beweisen,[6] wohl auch die Grundzüge achaimenidischer Königsideologie, wie die Rückbesinnung der Sāsāniden auf das *ariya* der Achaimenidenzeit ebenso zeigt[7] wie die Verwandtschaft des achaimenidischen mit dem sāsānidischen Königsideal.[8] An mündlichem Überlieferungsgut wird eine Fülle gemeiniranischer Mythen und Sagen ebenso umgelaufen sein wie ein Schatz an 'story-patterns', die jeweils mit (neuen) historischen Figuren und Themen ausgefüllt werden konnten.[9] In dieser Nachordnung der historischen Persönlichkeiten, Ereignisse und Details gegenüber den Rahmenstoffen dürfte, neben anderen Faktoren der

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[1] Vgl. vor allem Yarshater 1971 und 1983; s. auch Wiesehöfer 1986a und Gnoli 1989: 115ff.

[2] Vgl. die Literatur in n.1. Dagegen hat Boyce (1954: 49ff.; 1955: 474; 1983: 1161) diese Entwicklung der Sāsānidenzeit zuweisen wollen, was mit der Fortsetzung südwestiranischer Traditionen durch diese Dynastie aus Fārs (s.u.) kaum in Einklang zu bringen ist.

[3] Wiesehöfer 1988 und ausführlich Wiesehöfer 1994.

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[4] Zur Inschrift am Dareiosgrab in aramäischer Schrift und iranischer Sprache aus spätachaimenidischer Zeit s. Wiesehöfer 1994.

[5] Maßgeblich ist Vansina 1985; vgl. auch v. Ungern-Sternberg & Reinau (Hsg.) 1988.

[6] Alram 1986: 162ff.; zu den Namen: Sundermann 1986: 293.297. Gerade in diesen beiden 'Thronnamen' (Schmitt 1977b; 1982) möchten Kellens & Pirart (1988: 40f.) eine Manifestation der Verbindung zur altavestischen Tradition erkennen.

[7] Vgl. dazu die zahlreichen Studien von Gnoli, vor allem 1987a und b sowie 1989.

[8] S. zusammenfassend Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1985: 459f.

[9] Ib.: 463. Danach war auch die achaimenidische Ausprägung der Volksüberlieferung sekundärer Natur und gegen neuere Umformung nicht gefeit. Die ältere Volksüberlieferung spiegelt sich z.B. in dem Namen eines weiteren Dynasten in Fārs: *mnčtry* (Gnoli 1989: 125f.).

Überlieferungsverformung in oralen Kulturen, auch der Grund dafür zu suchen sein, daß das Wissen um Kyros und seine Nachfolger immer mehr schwand bzw. andere Gestalt annahm.[10] Etwas anderes wird ebenfalls deutlich: Zumindest in der politischen Führungsschicht von Fārs in seleukidischer und parthischer Zeit speiste sich eigenes Selbstbewußtsein nicht aus der Quelle antigriechischer oder antimakedonischer Haltung, ein 'Hort des Widerstandes gegen den Hellenismus' war die Persis politisch zumindest nicht (Wiesehöfer 1994 gegen Eddy 1961). Andererseits: Trotz des Fehlens eines Konzeptes von 'Staatsreligion' (ähnlich dem Christentum der römischen Spätantike) in Iran von den Achaimeniden bis zu den Sāsāniden,[11] trotz der politischen Bestimmtheit königlichen Verhaltens gegenüber unterworfenen Völkern und ihren Religionen, ist eine Förderung der zoroastrischen Religion durch die Könige nicht zu leugnen. Dabei hatte sich zunächst der religiös bestimmte Zarathustrianismus[12] in der Nachfolge Zarathustras zum Zarathustrizismus der Achaimenidenkönige gewandelt, der, von 'Priestern' propagiert, nahöstliche Traditionen aufnahm und sich an politischen Notwendigkeiten orientierte.[13] Es hat nun den Anschein, als ob sich in seleukidischer und parthischer Zeit, trotz politischer Anerkenntnis der Gegebenheiten und Machtverhältnisse, in Fārs eine spezifische Vorstellung eines 'arischen' und 'zoroastrischen' Königtums bis in sāsānidische Zeit hinein halten konnte, eine Vorstellung, die sich zwar nicht mehr mit historischen achaimenidischen Persönlichkeiten verband, dennoch aber so stark war, daß die Sāsāniden sie als Element ihrer Königsideologie wiederbeleben konnten.

Das Gefühl für eine spezifisch südwestiranische Geschichte und Tradition dürfte auch durch die Existenz 'heiliger Stätten' in Naqš-i Rustam, Persepolis und anderswo in Fārs erhalten geblieben sein; davon zeugen bauliche Veränderungen und Neubauten in Persepolis und Umgebung ebenso wie die sāsānidische 'Wiederverwendung' der Felswand von Naqš-i Rustam und der Kaʿba-i Zardušt oder die — auch nominelle — Wiederaufrichtung von Persepolis in Ṣṭaxr.[14] Es ist schon bemerkenswert, daß arsakidische Zeugnisse an diesen Plätzen nahezu vollständig fehlen. Denkt man daran, daß Cassius Dio Ardaxšīr I. seine territorialen Ansprüche an die Römer unter Berufung auf die — namentlich unbestimmten — *palai Persai* bzw. *progonoi* erheben läßt (Dio 80,3,4. vgl. Wiesehöfer 1986a: 181ff.), daß auch Šābuhr I. in seiner Inschrift an der Kaʿba-i Zardušt seine *ahēnagān/progonoi* erwähnt,[15] dann ist es sicherlich nicht vermessen anzunehmen, daß Ardaxšīr und Šābuhr unter diesen — ihnen namentlich nicht mehr bekannten — Vorfahren die Könige auf den Felsgräberreliefs oder auf den Reliefs aus Persepolis verstanden. Auch die Rolle der Anāhīd aus Ṣtaxr läßt Anklänge an die 'kriegerische Göttin' Plutarchs aus Pasargadai in der *vita* des Artaxerxes vermuten (Plut. *Artox.* 3; vgl. Gnoli 1989: 127f.).

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[10] Was Kyros angeht, so dürfte er — aufgrund des gemeinsamen oder ähnlichen Schatzes an 'Königslegenden' — nach dem Ende der Achaimenidenzeit mit Mitgliedern des kayānischen Herrscherhauses verschmolzen sein, vor allem mit Kai Xusrau (Yarshater 1983: 389). In der zoroastrischen Tradition erlebte Kyros — offensichtlich unter graeco-babylonischem bzw. auch jüdischem Einfluß — eine Renaissance in 'Bahman dem Gerechten' (Ib.: 470f.).

[11] Wiesehöfer 1993.

[12] Zur begrifflichen Unterscheidung zwischen 'Zarathuštrianism' (Religion Z.'s), 'Zarathuštricism' (Religion des jüngeren Avesta und der Achaimeniden) und 'Zoroastrianism' (Religion der Sāsānidenzeit) vgl. Gershevitch 1964: 32.

[13] Vgl. zusammenfassend Gnoli 1989: 85ff. Der Verf. denkt dennoch, daß man die religiöse Überzeugung der Könige von ihrer Religionspolitik sowie, ähnlich wie im Falle der Sāsānidenherrscher, von der religiösen Praxis der Priesterschaft trennen muß.

[14] Wiesehöfer 1994. Zur Bedeutung von Ṣṭaxr für die Sāsāniden vgl. Chaumont 1958; 1959; 1964.

Es wäre prinzipiell natürlich möglich, daß sich die Ansprüche der Sāsāniden auf achaimenidische Territorien und ihr Anknüpfen an die Zeit vor den Parthern der Vermittlung durch eben diese Dynastie verdankten. Immerhin darf man die Sāsāniden mit Fug und Recht in erster Linie als Erben der Parther, nicht der Achaimeniden, bezeichnen (Wiesehöfer 1986a; 1986b). Hatten nicht auch die Arsakiden achaimenidische Traditionen fortleben lassen und Ansprüche auf das Erbe ihrer Vorgänger deutlich gemacht: in der Übernahme des Titels 'König der Könige', im Anknüpfen an Artaxerxes II. als ihren Ahnherrn, in den Forderungen Ardavāns II. an Tiberius (vgl. Wiesehöfer 1986a)? Zweifellos, aber: Der Partherkönig ließ die Gebiete zurückverlangen unter Berufung auf Kyros und Alexander; demgegenüber wurde sāsānidische Politik und Propaganda gerade unter Zurückweisung römischer *imitatio Alexandri* betrieben. Parthisches Wissen um einzelne Achaimenidenkönige ging bis zur Sāsānidenzeit verloren oder wurde von den Sāsāniden nicht (oder nur auf dem Umweg über graeco-babylonische bzw. jüdische Gewährsleute) wiederaufgenommen. Und auch das sāsānidische Anknüpfen an den 'Ariyanismus' der Achaimeniden ist eine Entwicklung erst des 3. Jh. n.Chr. und muß vom 'Neo-Iranismus' der Parther[16] ab dem 1. Jh. n.Chr. geschieden werden. Dies gilt es trotz der Tatsache zu betonen, daß die (spät?)sāsānidische Verdrängung der

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[15] ŠKZ pa. 16. Auf die Achaimeniden bezieht diesen Ausdruck zu Recht Gnoli 1989: 119 n. 24. In der griechischen Version wird, wie bei Dio, von *progonoi* gesprochen. Der Verf. hält diese begriffliche Übereinstimmung einerseits für eine Bestätigung seiner in 1986a geäußerten Ansicht, daß die Ansprüche auf alle Gebiete bis zum 'Griechischen Meer' namentlich unbestimmt vorgebracht wurden, andererseits aber auch für einen deutlichen Beweis für Dios Zuverlässigkeit an dieser Stelle (80,3,4); er wird diesen Gedanken an anderer Stelle ausführen.

[16] Hier sei nur erinnert an die allmähliche Verdrängung griechischer Legenden auf parthischen Münzen seit Valāš (Vologeses) I. (Henning 1958: 40), an die offensichtlichen Bemühungen eines (dieses?) Valāš um die Bewahrung des Avesta (DkM 412, 5-11). Andererseits möchte der Verf. noch einmal betonen, daß man die Arsakiden der Zeit vor dem 1. Jh. n.Chr. nicht einseitig als 'Philhellenen' sehen sollte; in politischer Weitsicht waren sie den griechischen Untertanen 'Philhellenen' (und schätzten deren kulturelles Erbe), den iranischen gegenüber gerierten sie sich als Achaimenidennachfolger. Die stärkere Bevorzugung dieser zweiten Komponente ihrer Herrschaft ist sicherlich politisch erklärbar (Dąbrowa 1983: 176; vgl. 1981: 190f).

Parther aus der iranischen 'Nationalgeschichte' und ihre Herabstufung zu Fremdherrschern und Teilkönigen (*mulūk aṭ-ṭawā'if*; Literatur bei Wiesehöfer 1986a: 177f. n.6.) ihren gerechten Anteil an iranischer Größe und Macht, aber auch an politischer und kultureller Kontinuität verdeckt hat.

Es bleibt zu fragen, wer die Garanten der Bewahrung einer spezifisch südwestiranischen Tradition waren. Zweifellos kommt in achaimenidischer Zeit den zoroastrischen Priestern und Gelehrten dabei besondere Bedeutung zu: Sie hatten nicht nur priesterliche Funktionen inne, sondern spielten eine große Rolle auch in allen Fragen der Legitimierung, Propagierung und Sicherung des achaimenidischen Königtums. Gaumātas Rolle ist uns dafür ebenso Beweis wie die griechischen Nachrichten über ihren Anteil an der Prinzenerziehung und über ihre Aufgaben am Kyrosgrab. Es steht zu vermuten, daß in Anbetracht der politischen Entwicklung in postachaimenidischer Zeit — einer Zeit politischer Fremdbestimmung durch die in politischen und religiösen Angelegenheiten 'toleranten' Seleukiden und später durch die iranischen, sich als Nachfolger der Achaimeniden gerierenden Arsakiden — die Rolle der 'Priesterschaft' der Persis als Königsmacher keine große Bedeutung mehr besaß, entsprechend das parthisch propagierte ostiranische (kayānische) Gedankengut mit seiner spezifischen Dynastienfolge auch in Südwestiran Anklang und Verbreitung finden konnte (vor allem in der politischen Führungsschicht von Fārs). Die Priester werden sich in dieser Zeit der Pflege der zoroastrischen Tradition gewidmet haben (vgl. Hoffmann & Narten 1989: 90); ihrer Traditionspflege zuzuordnen ist allerdings auch die Überlieferung des Konzeptes von einer genuin 'ērānischen' Vergangenheit, das die frühen Sāsāniden so entscheidend wiederbelebten. In der zoroastrisierten (religiösen) Sicht von Geschichte, die dann später, wenn man so will, zusammen mit den profanen (vor allem kayānischen) Anteilen die iranische 'Nationalgeschichte' bestimmte (vgl. Christensen 1931: 35ff.; 1936: 33ff.; Yarshater 1983: 395ff.), hat auch Alexander seinen — negativ bestimmten — Platz gehabt, als Zerstörer der religiösen Überlieferung.

2. *Alexander der Große in der iranischen Überlieferung*[17]

Es ist schon seit langem bekannt, daß sich in Iran, grob vereinfacht, zwei unterschiedliche Alexandertraditionen begegnen, von denen die eine, in starkem Maße vom antiken Alexanderroman bestimmt, Alexander als persischen Prinzen und mächtigen König, als Muslim, Weisen oder gar Propheten darstellt, die andere ihn als das Böse schlechthin, als Handlanger des 'Teufels' und als einen Menschen zeichnet, der wie kaum ein anderer Unheil und

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[17] Zu diesem Thema ist eine eigene ausführliche Darstellung in Vorbereitung (Wiesehöfer 1995).

Zerstörung über das Land Ērānšahr brachte.[18] Die erste Tradition, die sich in den Werken muslimischer Dichter, Schriftsteller und Historiker iranischer und arabischer Abkunft findet (Southgate 1977), steht also in scharfem Gegensatz zu jener zweiten der mittelpersischen, vornehmlich religiös-didaktisch ausgerichteten (zoroastrischen) Literatur, die hier besonders interessieren soll.[19]

Boyce hat überzeugend dargelegt, daß eigentlich erst seit sāsānidischer Zeit von iranischer 'Literatur' gesprochen werden kann, die damals eben in Mittelpersisch abgefaßt wurde (vgl. besonders Boyce 1968: 31f.). Damit liegen Probleme des Traditionszusammenhangs auf der Hand: Zum einen enthalten viele der uns erhaltenen mittelpersischen Kompositionen erheblich älteres Gedankengut, so daß das Alter einer bestimmten Schrift, i.e. das Alter ihrer Aufzeichnung, bedeutend weniger aussagekräftig ist als es auf den ersten Blick erscheinen mag (*ibid.*). Zum anderen lassen sich, wie fast immer bei mündlich tradierter und erst später schriftlich fixierter Tradition, einzelne Phasen des Entstehungsprozesses dieser Literatur nur schwer unterscheiden (*ibid.*). Zum dritten ist eben nur ein Teil dieser Tradition, fast ausschließlich religiös-didaktischen Charakters, direkt auf uns gekommen, obwohl feststeht, daß z.B. in sāsānidischer Zeit die Hauptmasse iranischer Literatur eindeutig dem nichtreligiösen Bereich zuzuordnen war (Boyce 1968: 33).

Was die zoroastrische Literatur angeht, so war in sāsānidischer Zeit die Aufzeichnung, Kodifizierung und Kanonisierung des Avesta mit seinen 21 *nasks* die wohl wichtigste religiös-literarische Tat,[20] zu der sich die Übersetzung dieser Sammlung ins Mittelpersische und die exegetische, kommentierende und interpretierende Behandlung der heiligen Texte (*Zand*) gesellte (Boyce 1968: 34f.). Als weiterer Schritt schloß sich dann in späterer Zeit (7.-9.Jh.?; *ibid.*: 38ff.) die Schaffung neuer religiös-didaktischer Texte an, indem man, ein oder mehrere Sachthemen behandelnd, Exzerpte aus Avesta und Zand zu, wenn man so will, Auswahlsammlungen religiösen Inhalts zusammenstellte, dazu neue Überlegungen und auch anderes Gedankengut miteinschloß. Daneben existierten Schriften apokalyptischen und visionären Inhalts, Weisheitsliteratur sowie historische und politische Romane und Abhandlungen, Rechtsbücher und kleinere didaktische Prosawerke, Glossare und andere Schriften mehr, die aber fast immer mehr oder weniger stark in inhaltlichem Zusammenhang mit dem Avesta bzw. der religiösen Sphäre standen.[21] In vielen von ihnen, aber auch in der neuzeitlichen zoroastrischen Tradition, in der manichäisch-sogdischen

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[18] Vgl. zusammenfassend Abel 1966 sowie Southgate (transl.) 1978.

[19] Spuren dieser Tradition finden sich auch in der muslimischen Literatur des Iran (s.u.).

[20] Zur Frage nach der möglichen schriftlichen Fixierung von Teilen des Avesta bereits in vorsāsānidischer Zeit vgl. Kellens 1989 sowie demnächst Wiesehöfer 1995. Dazu und zur 'Erfindung' der Avestaschrift s. nun Hoffmann & Narten 1989.

[21] Die hier benutzte Grobeinteilung des Schrifttums findet sich bei Boyce 1968 und ähnlich auch bei Menasce 1983.

Literatur und sogar in Teilen der persischen Alexanderromanzen sowie persoarabischen Literatur und anderswo wird Alexander brutales Vorgehen gegen die zoroastrische Religion und das Land Ērān unterstellt.

Folgende 'Vorwürfe' lassen sich dabei unterscheiden: 1. Alexander tötet Dārā bzw. stiftet zum Mord an; 2. Alexander tötet den iranischen Adel; 3. Alexander tötet (die) Priester (und Gelehrte(n)); 4. Alexander zerstört (die) Feuertempel bzw. löscht die Feuer; 5. Alexander zerstört Städte und Festungen in Iran; 6. Alexander 'verschleppt' die heiligen Schriften bzw. Bücher; 7. Alexander läßt Bücher übersetzen; 8. Alexander verbrennt Bücher bzw. das Avesta; 9. Alexander zerstreut die Literatur und schafft dadurch Unsicherheit; 10. Alexander teilt das Reich auf.[22] Dabei verbindet sich mit den Vorwürfen 6-9 natürlich die Frage nach der Geschichte des zoroastrischen Schrifttums, d.h. dem Problem, seit wann es schriftlich fixierte zoroastrische Überlieferung, vor allem ein schriftliches Avesta, gegeben hat. Es ist hier nicht Raum noch Zeit, die verschiedenen Forschungstheorien zu dieser Frage vorzustellen (vgl. Kellens 1989; Wiesehöfer 1995), nur soviel sei gesagt, daß — da sind sich nahezu alle Gelehrten einig — zur Zeit Alexanders ein schriftliches Avesta oder Teile davon noch nicht vorlagen.

Wenn Alexander demnach augenscheinlich keine heiligen Schriften verbrennen oder verschleppen konnte, bedeutet dies dann, daß die zoroastrische Überlieferung, aus welchen Gründen auch immer, den Makedonenkönig zu Unrecht frevelhaften Verhaltens beschuldigt? Oder verbirgt sich, trotz aller Übertreibungen und Verdrehungen, hinter den Anschuldigungen ein historischer Kern? Ein Lösungsvorschlag dergestalt, daß Alexander erst in sāsānidischer oder muslimischer Zeit mit dem Makel eines Zerstörers heiliger Schriften bedacht worden sei, läßt sich kaum begründen.[23] Warum hätte man damals Alexander als Geschöpf Ahrimans einführen sollen, eine Gestalt, die zum einen schon viele Jahrhunderte tot und zum anderen, wie man weiß, auch im Sāsānidenreich durch das vom Alexanderroman propagierte Bild vom vorbildhaften König Alexander für manche Kreise durchaus attraktiv geworden war? Nein, die Entstehung und die breite und langandauernde Wirkung des negativen Alexanderbildes läßt sich nur verstehen, wenn sich die zoroastrischen Vorwürfe trotz aller Übertreibungen auf historische Fakten stützten. Welche Taten Alexanders könnten nun aber Ursache für den Haß der Zoroastrier gewesen sein?

Zum einen vielleicht die Vorgänge am Kyrosgrab in Pasargadai, die in der Folterung der Magier kulminierten (Arr. VI 29,9-10; vgl. Plut. *Alex.* 69,3); zum zweiten die Plünderung und Zerstörung von Persepolis, bei der neben

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[22] Ausführlich werden alle Belegstellen zitiert und kommentiert in Wiesehöfer 1995.

[23] Dies bedeutet natürlich nicht, daß nicht in späterer Zeit weitere Vorwürfe hinzugekommen sein könnten, Vorwürfe, die sich eigentlich gegen die Muslime o.a. richteten, aus Opportunitätsgründen aber auf den bereits bekannten 'Erzfeind' gerichtet wurden.

Kultgebäuden und Inventar auch Priester betroffen worden sein dürften.[24] Drittens ähnliche Plünderungen und Zerstörungen in Ekbatana (Polyb. X 27,6ff.; vgl. Arr. VII 14,5; Iust. XLII 3,5), viertens die blutigen Auseinandersetzungen mit Massentötungen und -versklavungen in Ostiran (vgl. zusammenfassend Lauffer 1981: 111-138), fünftens schließlich die chaotischen Zustände der frühen Diadochenzeit, die später zweifellos Alexander angelastet wurden.[25] Erinnert sei auch daran, daß bei Diogenes Laertios das Ende der Nachfolge(r) Zarathustras mit dem 'Untergang der Perser durch Alexander' in Verbindung gebracht wird (*Prooim.* 2). Ist es vermessen zu vermuten, ein 'Oberhaupt' der Magier, wie auch immer ein solches ausgesehen und anerkannt gewesen sein mag, könnte im Verlauf des Alexanderzuges ums Leben gekommen sein (Boyce 1982: 228ff.)? Diese möglichen historischen Anknüpfungspunkte sind nun keinesfalls Hinweise auf einen aus religiösen Gefühlen genährten Haß Alexanders auf den zoroastrischen Glauben, sondern allein Folgen seiner konkreten Politik in Iran.[26]

Wichtiger noch als die ihm zugeschriebenen Zerstörungen war dabei, und wurde deshalb besonders betont, der Vorwurf der Vernichtung oder Wegführung der heiligen Schriften. Zwar besaßen die Zoroastrier damals, wie gesagt, augenscheinlich keine schriftliche Überlieferung des Avesta, die 'verbrannt' oder 'gestohlen' werden konnte, der Tod von 'Priestern,' die in einer Zeit, in der die Tradition mündlich weitergereicht wurde, gleichsam als 'lebende Bücher des Glaubens' (Boyce 1984: 79) fungierten, wirkte sich jedoch wie ein Traditionsverlust aufgrund von Brand und Diebstahl aus: Mit den Priestern 'starb' ein Teil der religiösen Überlieferung.[27] Wie schwer es war, später die Gebete, Vorschriften und anderen Texte wieder zu sammeln, darüber geben die mittelpersischen Zeugnisse erschöpfend Auskunft (Boyce 1984: 79).

Vor dem Hintergrund der starken Zoroastrisierung der 'Nationalgeschichte' verwundert es dann nicht, daß aus dem Religionsverfolger Alexander auch der Feind Irans wurde, der, der den legitimen König ermordet oder ermorden läßt, der neben den Priestern auch den iranischen Adel dezimiert, der Städte und Festungen dem Erdboden gleichmacht. Es spricht vieles dafür, daß dieser zusätzliche negative Zug erst in sāsānidischer oder frühislamischer Zeit dem Bild Alexanders hinzugefügt wurde. Zum einen wegen der den Arsakiden fremden Griechen- bzw. Makedonenfeindlichkeit, zum anderen wegen der wohlbegründeten Annahme, daß die Figur Dārās b. Dārā erst durch Vermittlung des Alexanderromans den sāsānidischen 'Geschichtsschreibern' bekannt geworden sei (Grignaschi 1973: 98f.).

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[24] Curt. 5,6,4-8; Diod. 17,70,1-6; vgl. Arr. 3,18,12. Widengren (1983: 93) möchte die Nachricht vom Verbrennen des *apastāk* aus Ṣṭaxr (BdA 214, 12f.) mit der Brandstiftung in Persepolis in Zusammenhang bringen. Erinnert sei auch an Hoffmanns Vermutungen, in der Persis habe es eine Art Gelehrtenschule für die Pflege und Tradierung des Avesta gegeben (1979: 89ff.).

[25] Vgl. zu ähnlichen Traditionszusammenhängen für Babylonien in dieser Zeit (negatives Alexanderbild der 'Dynastic Prophecy') Sherwin-White 1987: 10-16.

[26] Daß die Vorwürfe gegen Alexander die zoroastrische Tradition so maßgeblich bestimmen, könnte Hinweis darauf sein, daß sie sich nicht nur südwestiranischer religiöser Tradition verdanken, sondern gemeiniranische zoroastrische Ursprünge besitzen. Dafür spricht auch die Tatsache, daß Texte nicht'persischen' Ursprungs Vorwürfe dieser Art ebenfalls kennen.

[27] Sehr anschaulich: Abdīh ud sahīgīh ī Sagistān 13-15 ed. Jamasp-Asana. Die Erwähnung von 'Büchern' könnte auf die Verschriftung des zoroastrischen Überlieferungsgutes verweisen.

Ein letzter Vorwurf gegen Alexander bleibt noch zu behandeln, die Aufteilung des Reiches unter die sog. 'Teilkönige.' Grignaschi hat nun nachweisen können, daß das sāsānidische 'Testament Ardaxšīrs an seine Nachfolger', das sich in arabischer Übersetzung in den *Taǧārib al-umam* des Ibn Miskawaih findet, diesen Vorwurf bereits kannte. Dies bedeutet zweifelsohne auch, daß dieser Anklagepunkt (erst) in sāsānidischer Zeit erhoben wurde. Derselbe Gelehrte hat dann weiter festgestellt, daß die bei den meisten Autoren postulierte Rückführung dieser Tat auf einen brieflichen Rat des Aristoteles erst in islamischer Zeit aufkam (Grignaschi 1966: 71).

Daß im Sāsānidenreich ein zweites, eindeutig positives Alexanderbild existierte, das sich wohl nicht in priesterlichen, aber doch z.B. in Adelskreisen großer Beliebtheit erfreute, war oben bereits betont worden. Es geht zurück auf eine Rezension des Alexanderromans, die nachweislich gegen Ende der Sāsānidenzeit ins Mittelpersische übersetzt worden war (Nöldeke 1890). Diese Version und ihre Übersetzungen ins Syrische und ins Arabische sowie ihre Übertragung ins Neupersische waren es dann auch, die — aufs Ganze gesehen — in Iran dem positiven Alexanderbild zum Siege verhalfen.[28] Er lebt in der frühislamischen Historiographie schließlich weiter als Mitglied des kayanischen Herrscherhauses (z.B. als Sohn Dārās d.Ä. und Halbbruder Dārās d.J.), als gerechter Widerpart des tyrannischen Königs Dārā (d.J.); drittens schließlich wurde er, nachdem er mit der Gestalt des D̲ū l-Qarnain identifiziert worden war und Eingang in den Qur'ān gefunden hatte, Perser, Muslim und Welteroberer zugleich. Seine Maßnahmen gegen den zoroastrischen Glauben wandelten sich zu Taten zur Bekämpfung von Götzendienst und zu Handlungen zur Durchsetzung des rechten Glaubens.[29]

Es ist nicht verwunderlich, daß in der Zeit der vor allem durch den letzten Šāh betriebenen 'Reiranisierung', bei der gerade der achaimenidischen und sāsānidischen Epoche große Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wurde, persische Wissenschaftler und Literaten den Alexander *gizistag* der zoroastrischen Überlieferung (zuungunsten des Alexander D̲ū l-Qarnain) wiederzuentdecken begannen und sich sogar zu Anklagen gegen die großen — alexanderfreundlichen — iranischen Dichter wie Niẓāmī u.a. verstiegen (Chelkowski 1977: 20f.).

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[28] Zum ägyptischen Hintergrund der mittelpersischen Fassung und seiner Bearbeitung in frühislamischer Zeit vgl. Macuch 1989.

[29] Vgl. Springberg-Hinsen 1989: bes. 114-118. Zum geistesgeschichtlichen Hintergrund dieser Entwicklung s. Busse 1968.

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Muscarella, Oscar White
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Introduction — The Persian Empire: Continuity and Change (VIII, 1994, 1-7).

Seidl, Ursula
Achaimenidische Entlehnungen aus der urartäischen Kunst (VIII, 1994, 107-129).

Sekunda, Nick
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Achaemenid Settlement in Caria, Lycia and Greater Phrygia (VI, 1991, 83-143).

Sherwin-White, Susan & Kuhrt, Amélie
Xerxes' Destruction of Babylonian Temples (II, 1987, 69-78).
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Lies and Inventions in Deinon's *Persica* (II, 1987, 27-35).

Stern, Ephraim
New Evidence on the Administrative Division of Palestine in the Persian Period (IV, 1990, 221-226).

Stolper, Matthew W.
The Kasr Archive (IV, 1990, 195-205).
On Some Aspects of Continuity between Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylonian Legal Texts (VIII, 1994, 329-351).

Sumner, William
Archaeological Measures of Cultural Continuity and the Arrival of the Persians in Fars (VIII, 1994, 97-105).

Tuplin, Christopher
  The Treaty of Boiotios (II, 1987, 133-153).
  Persian Garrisons in Xenophon and other Sources (III, 1988, 67-70).
  Persian Decor in *Cyropaedia*: Some Observations (V, 1990, 17-29).
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  Modern and Ancient Travellers in the Achaemenid Empire: Byron's *Road to Oxiana* and Xenophon's *Anabasis* (VII, 1991, 37-57).
  Persians as Medes (VIII, 1994, 235-256).

Vickers, Michael
  Interaction between Greeks and Persians (IV, 1990, 253-262).
  Persian, Thracian and Greek Gold and Silver: Questions of Metrology (VI, 1991, 31-39).
  The Views of Persepolis by William Marhsall and Wenceslaus Hollar in Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels* (VII, 1991, 59-69).

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  Some Remarks on Eastern Iran in the Late Achaemenid Period (I, 1987, 183-189).
  Some Observations on Achaemenid Hyrcania: A Combination of Sources (III, 1988, 121-135).
  The Achaemenids and India (IV, 1990, 93-110).

Wallinga, H.T.
  The Ancient Persian Navy and its Predecessors (I,1987, 47-77).
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Walser, G.
  Persischer Imperialismus und griechische Freiheit (II, 1987, 155-165).

Wiesehöfer, Joseph
  Das Bild der Achaimeniden in der Zeit des Nazionalsozialismus (III, 1988, 1-14).
  Zypern unter persischer Herrschaft (IV, 1990, 239-252).
  Zur Geschichte der Begriffe 'Arier' und 'arisch in der deutschen Sprachwissenschaft und Althistorie des 19. und der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts (V, 1990, 149-165).
  PRTRK, RB HYL', SGN und *MR'* — Zur Verwaltung Südägyptens in achaimenidischer Zeit (VI, 1991, 305-309).
  Engelbert Kaempfer in Naqš-i Rustam und Persepolis (VII, 1991, 71-87).
  Zum Nachleben von Achaimeniden und Alexander in Iran (VIII, 1994, 389-397).

Windfuhr, Gernot L.
  Saith Darius. Dialectic, Numbers, Time and Space at Behistun (DB, Old Persian Version) (VIII, 1994, 265-281).

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  Achaemenid Influences in Lycia (Coinage, Sculpture, Architecture). Evidence for Political Changes during the 5th Century B.C. (VI, 1991, 145-160).